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BUCHANAN'S
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.

In TWENTY BOOKS.

CONTAINING,

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|---|--|
| I. An Account of its several SITUATIONS; and the Nature of its SOIL and CLIMATE. | III. A Chronicle of all its KINGS; in an exact Series of Succession, from FERGUS, the first Founder of the SCOTTISH MONARCHY, to the Reign of King JAMES VI. of SCOTLAND, and I. of ENGLAND. |
| II. The Antient NAMES, MANNERS, LAWS, and CUSTOMS of the Country, and what People inhabited the ISLAND from the very Beginning. | |

The FOURTH EDITION. Translated from the *Latin* Original.

Wherein several Errors in the *English* Editions are corrected.

To which is added,

An APPENDIX, containing a Genealogy of all the Kings from FERGUS I. to JAMES VI.

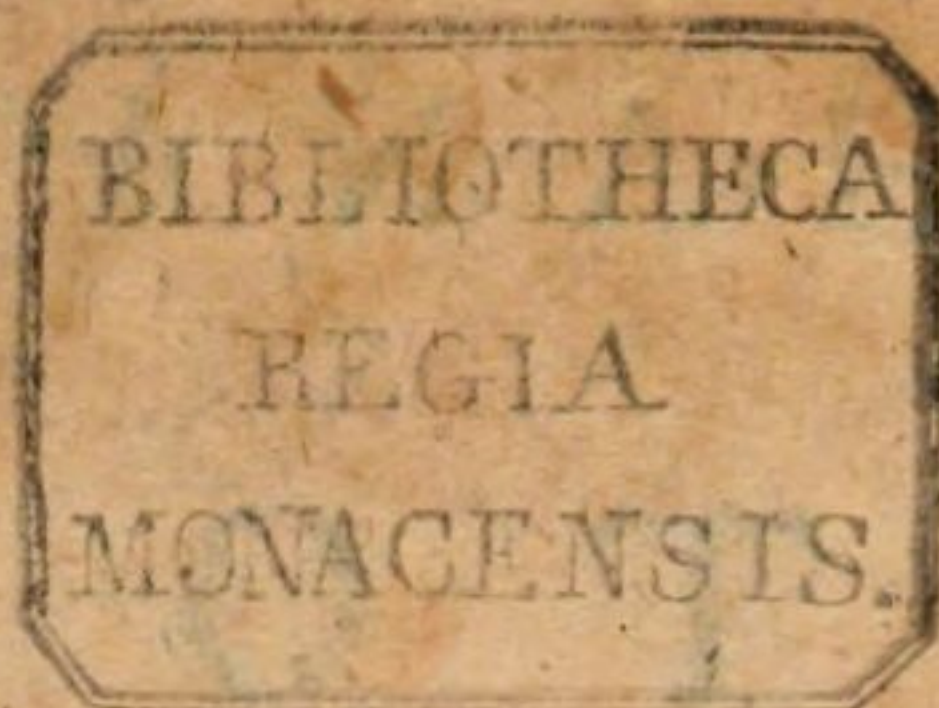
In TWO VOLUMES.

Adorned with COPPER-PLATES, and a Map of *Scotland*.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by HAMILTON, BALFOUR, and NEILL,

For J. WOOD, at the Cross, *Edinburgh*, and R. TAYLOR, *Berwick*.
M,DCC,LI.



THE
EPISTLE DEDICATORY

TO

J A M E S VI.

*King of SCOTLAND, and First of
ENGLAND.*

AFTER four and twenty Years Absence, returning to my native Country, I desired nothing more than to review my Papers, that were dispersed, and many Ways injured by the Iniquity of the Times: For I found, that the over Officiousness of my Friends, to precipitate the Publication of what was yet unfit to see the Light, and that excessive Liberty which Transcribers take to censure the Works of other Men, had altered many Things, and corrupted others, according to their several Humours. But whilst I was endeavouring to remedy these Disorders, the sudden and unexpected Solicitations of my Friends broke my Measures; all of them, as if they had conspired together, exhorting me to lay aside Things of less Weight, that rather delight the Ear than instruct the Mind, and apply myself to write the History of our Nation, as a Subject not only suitable to my Age, and sufficient to answer the Expectation of my Countrymen; but deserving great Commendation, and most likely to preserve one's Memory to succeeding Ages. Amongst other Reasons, which I omit, they added, That though BRITAIN be the most famous Island in the World, and every Part of its History contain most remarkable Things; yet, scarce one was to be found in any Age, who durst attempt so great a Work, or if he did, was able to accomplish it. Neither

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

Neither was it the least Inducement to this Undertaking, that I hoped my Pains herein would not be unsuitable, nor unacceptable to your Majesty. For I thought it shamefully absurd, that your Majesty, who in your tender Years, have read the Histories of all Nations, and retain very many of them in your Memory, should only be a Stranger at home. Besides, an incurable Distemper having made me unfit to discharge, in Person, the Care of your Instruction committed to me, I thought that Sort of writing, which tends to the Information of the Mind, would best supply the Want of my Attendance, and resolved to send your Majesty faithful Counsellors from History, that you might make use of their Advice in your Deliberations, and imitate their Virtue in your Actions. For there are, amongst your Royal Ancestors, Men excellent in every Respect, of whom Posterity will never be ashamed; and, to omit others, your Majesty will hardly find in History, any HERO worthy of your comparing with our DAVID. And if the Divine Goodness was so liberal to him, in those most calamitous and wicked Times, we may with Reason hope, That your Majesty will be (as the Royal Prophet says) A Pattern of all those Excellencies, which Mothers desire in their Children, when they give them their best Wishes; and that this GOVERNMENT, which seems to be hurried on to Ruin and Destruction, may be supported till the Time shall come, when all sublunary Things, having finished the Course appointed them by God's Eternal Decree, shall arrive at their designed Period.

Edinburgh,
Aug. 27.

GEORGE BUCHANAN.

THE

T H E
L I F E
O F
G E O R G E B U C H A N A N,

[Written by himself two Years before his Death.]

GEORGE BUCHANAN was born in *Lenox-Shire*, (commonly called the *Sheriffdom of Dumbarton*), in *Scotland*, situate near the River or Water of *Blane*, in the Year of our Lord 1506, about the Beginning of *February*, in a Country Town within that Shire, of a Family rather antient than rich. His Father died of the *Stone*, in the Flower of his Age; whilst his Grandfather was yet alive, by whose Extravagance, the Family which was but low before, was now almost reduced to the Extremity of Want. Yet such was the frugal Care of his Mother *Agnes Heriot*, that she brought up five Sons and three Daughters to Mens and Womens Estate. Of the five Sons, *George* was one. His Uncle, *James Heriot*, perceiving his promising Ingenuity in their own Country Schools, took him from thence, and sent him to *Paris*. There he applied himself to his Studies, and especially to Poetry; having partly a natural *Genius* that way, and partly out of Necessity, (because it was the only Method of Study propounded to him in his Youth). Before he had been there two Years, his Uncle died, and he himself fell dangerously sick; and being in extreme Want, was forced to go home to his Friends. After his Return to *Scotland*,

he spent almost a Year in taking Care of his Health ; then he went into the Army with some *French Auxiliaries*, newly arrived in *Scotland*, to learn the *Art Military* : But that Expedition proving fruitless, and those Forces being reduced, by the deep Snows of a very severe Winter, he relapsed into such an Illness, as confined him all that Season to his Bed. Early in the Spring he was sent to *St. Andrew's*, to hear the Lectures of *John Major* ; who, though very old, read *Logick*, or rather *Sophistry*, in that University. The Summer after he accompanied him into *France* ; and there he fell into the Troubles of the *Lutheran Sect*, which then began to increase : He struggled with the Difficulties of Fortune almost two Years ; and at last was admitted into the *Barbaran College*, where he was *Grammar Professor* almost three Years. During that Time, *Gilbert Kennedy*, Earl of *Cassils*, one of the young *Scottish Nobles*, being in that Country, was much taken with his Ingenuity and Acquaintance ; so that he entertained him for five Years, and brought him back with him into *Scotland*.

AFTERWARDS having a Mind to return to *Paris* to his old Studies, he was detained by the King, and made Tutor to *James* his Natural Son. In the mean time, an Elegy made by him, at leisure times, came into the Hands of the *Franciscans* ; wherein he writes, That he was solicited in a Dream by *St. Francis*, to enter into his Order. In this Poem there were one or two Passages that reflected on them very severely ; which those ghostly Fathers, notwithstanding their Profession of Meekness and Humility, took more heinously, than Men (having obtained such a Vogue for Piety among the Vulgar) ought to have done, upon so small an Occasion of Offence. But finding no just Grounds for their unbounded Fury, they attacked him upon the Score of Religion ; which was their common Way of terrifying those they did not wish well to. Thus, whilst they indulged their impotent Malice, they made him, who was not well affected to them before, a greater Enemy

Enemy to their Licentiousness, and rendered him more inclinable to the *Lutheran* Cause. In the mean time, the King, with *Magdalen* his Wife, came from *France*, not without the Resentment of the *Priesthood*; who were afraid that the Royal Lady, having been bred up under her Aunt the Queen of *Navarre*, should attempt some Innovation in Religion. But this Fear vanished upon her Death, which followed shortly after.

NEXT, there arose Jealousies at Court about some of the Nobility, who were thought to have conspired against the King; and, in that Matter, the King being persuaded the *Franciscans* dealt unsincerely, he commanded *Buchanan*, who was then at Court, (though he was ignorant of the Disgusts betwixt him and that Order), to write a *Satyr* upon them. He was loth to offend either of them; and therefore, though he made a Poem, yet it was but short, and such as might admit of a doubtful Interpretation, wherein he satisfied neither Party; not the King, who would have had a sharp and stinging Invective; nor the *Fathers* neither, who looked on it as a capital Offence, to have any thing said of them but what was *honourable*. So that receiving a second Command to write more pungently against them, he began that *Miscellany*, which now bears the Title of *The Franciscan*, and gave it to the King. But shortly after, being made acquainted by his Friends at Court, that Cardinal *Beton* sought his Life, and had offered the King a Sum of Money, as a Price for his Head, he escaped out of Prison, and fled for *England*. But there also Things were at such an Uncertainty, that the very same Day, and almost with one and the same Fire, the Men of both Factions (*Protestants* and *Papists*) were burnt; *Henry* the Eighth, in his old Age, being more intent on his own Security, than the Purity or Reformation of Religion. This Uncertainty of Affairs in *England*, seconded by his antient Acquaintance with the *French*, and the Courtesy natural to them, drew him again into that Kingdom.

As soon as he came to *Paris*, he found Cardinal *Beton*, his utter Enemy, Ambassador there; so that, to withdraw himself from his Fury, at the Invitation of *Andrew Govean*, he went to *Bordeaux*. There he taught three Years in the Schools, which were erected at the publick Cost. In that Time he composed four Tragedies, which were afterwards occasionally published: But that which he wrote first, called *The Baptist*, was printed last, and next the *Medea* of *Euripides*. He wrote them in compliance with the Custom of the School, which was to have a Play written once a-year, that the acting of them might wean the *French* Youth from Allegories, to which they had taken a false Taste, and bring them back as much as possible to a just Imitation of the Antients. This Affair succeeding, even almost beyond his Hope, he took more Pains in compiling the other two Tragedies, called *Jephtha* and *Alcestes*; because he thought they would fall under a severer Scrutiny of the *Learned*. And yet, during this Time, he was not wholly free from Trouble, being harassed between the Menaces of the *Cardinal* on the one Side, and of the *Franciscans* on the other. For the *Cardinal* had wrote Letters to the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, to apprehend him; but, providentially, those Letters fell into the Hands of *Buchanan's* best Friends. However, the Death of the King of *Scots*, and the Plague, which then raged over all *Aquitain*, dispelled that Fear.

In the interim, an Express came to *Govean* from the King of *Portugal*, commanding him to return, and bring with him some Men, learned both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues; that they might read the *Liberal Arts*, and especially the Principles of the *Aristotelian Philosophy*, in those Schools which he was then building with a great deal of Care and Expence. *Buchanan*, being addressed to, readily consented to go for one. For, whereas he saw that all *Europe*, besides, was either actually in foreign or domestick Wars, or just upon the Point of being so, that one Corner of the World was,
in

In his Opinion, likeliest to be free from Tumults and Combustions : And besides, his Companions in that Journey were such, that they seemed rather his Acquaintance and familiar Friends, than Strangers or Aliens to him. For many of them had been his Intimates for several Years, and are well known to the World by their learned Works, as *Nicholaus Gruckius*, *Gulielmus Garentæus*, *Jacobus Tevius*, and *Elias Vinetus*. This was the Reason that he did not only make one of their Society, but also persuaded a Brother of his, called *Patrick*, to do the same. And truly the Matter succeeded excellently well at first, till in the Midst of our Enterprize *Andrew Govean* was taken away by a sudden Death, which proved mighty prejudicial to his Companions. For, after his Decease, all our Enemies, endeavoured at first to ensnare us by Treachery, and soon after ran violently upon us as it were with open Mouth ; and their Agents and Instruments being great Enemies to the Accused, they laid hold of three of them, and haled them to Prison ; whence, after a long and loathsome Confinement, they were called out to give in their Answers ; and, after many bitter Taunts, were remanded to Prison again ; and yet no Accuser did appear in Court against them. As for *Buchanan*, they insulted most bitterly over him, as being a Stranger ; and knowing also, that he had very few Friends in that Country, who would either rejoice in his Prosperity, sympathize with his Grief, or revenge the Wrongs offered to him. The Crime laid to his Charge was the Poem he wrote against the *Franciscans* ; which he himself, before he went from *France*, took care to get excused to the King of *Portugal* ; neither did his Accusers perfectly know what it was : For he had given but one Copy of it to the King of *Scots*, by whose Command he wrote it. They farther objected, *His eating of Flesh in Lent* ; tho' there is not a Man in all *Spain* but uses the same Liberty : Besides, he had given some sly Side-blows to the *Monks*, which, however, no body but a *Monk* himself could well except against.

MORE-

MOREOVER, they took it heinously ill, that, in a certain familiar Discourse with some young *Portugal* Gentlemen, upon mention made of the *Eucharist*, he should affirm, That, in his Judgment, *Austin* was more inclinable to the Party condemned by the Church of *Rome*. Two other Witnesses (as, some Years after, it came to his Knowledge), viz. *John Tolpin*, a *Norman*, and *John Ferrerius* of *Sub-Alpine Liguria*, had witnessed against him, that they had heard from divers creditable Persons, *That Buchanan was not Orthodox as to the Roman Faith and Religion*.

BUT to return to the Matter; after the Inquisitors had wearied both themselves and him for almost half a Year, at last, that they might not seem to have causelessly vexed a Man of some Name and Note in the World, they shut him up in a Monastery for some Months; there to be more exactly disciplined and instructed by the *Monks*, who (to give them their Due) though very ignorant in all Matters of Religion, were Men otherwise neither bad in their Morals, nor rude in their Behaviour.

THIS was the Time he took to form the principal Part of *David's Psalms* into *Latin Verse*. At last he was set at Liberty; and suing for a Pass, and Accommodations from the Crown, to return into *France*, the King desired him to stay where he was, and allotted him a little Sum for daily Necessaries and Pocket-expences, till some better Provision might be made for his Subsistence. But he, tired out with Delay, as being put off to no certain Time, nor on any sure Grounds of Hope; and having got the Opportunity of a Passage in a Ship then riding in the Bay of *Lisbon*, was carried over into *England*. He made no long Stay in that Country, though fair Offers were made him there; for he saw that all Things were in an Hurry and Combustion, under a very young King; the Nobles at Variance one with another, and the Minds of the Commons yet in a Ferment, upon the account of their Civil Combustions. Whereupon he returned into *France*,
about

about the Time that the Siege of *Metz* was raised. There he was in a manner compelled by his Friends to write a Poem concerning that Siege; which he did, though somewhat unwillingly, because he was loth to interfere with several of his Acquaintance, and especially with *Mellinus Sangelafius*, who had composed a learned and elegant Poem on that Subject. From thence he was called over into *Italy*, by *Charles de Cofse* of *Brescia*, who then managed Matters with very good Success in the *Gallic* and *Ligustic* Countries about the *Po*. He lived with him and his Son *Timoleon*, sometimes in *Italy*, and sometimes in *France*, the Space of five Years, till the Year of *Christ* One thousand five hundred and sixty; the greatest Part of which Time he spent in the Study of the Holy Scriptures, that so he might be able to make a more exact Judgment of the Controversies in Religion; which employed the Thoughts, and took up all the Time of most of the Men of those Days. 'Tis true, those Disputes were silenced a little in *Scotland*, when that Kingdom was freed from the Tyranny of the *Guises* of *France*; so he returned thither, and became a Member of the Church of *Scotland*.

SOME of his Writings, in former Times, being as it were redeemed from Shipwreck, were by him collected and published: The rest, which are still scattered up and down in the Hands of his Friends, he commits to the Disposal of Providence.

BEING at this Time in the Seventy fourth Year of his Age, he still attends the Education of *James* the Sixth King of *Scotland*, to whom he was appointed Tutor in the Year 1565, and quite broken with the Infirmities of old Age, he longs for the desired Haven of his Rest.

G. B.

He departed this Life, at *Edinburgh*, on the 28th Day of September, anno Dom. 1582.

The

The Names of the **KINGS** of SCOTLAND.

- | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1. F ergus 1. | 38. Fethelmacus. | 77. Indulphus. |
| 2. Feritharis. | 39. Eugenius 1. | 78. Duffus. |
| 3. Mainus. | 40. Fergus 2. | 79. Culenus. |
| 4. Dornadilla. | 41. Eugenius 2. | 80. Kenneth 3. |
| 5. Nothatus. | 42. Dongardus. | 81. Constantine 4. |
| 6. Reutherus. | 43. Constantine 1. | <i>Surnamed, The</i> |
| 7. Reutha. | 44. Congallus 1. | Bald. |
| 8. Thereus. | 45. Goranus. | 82. Grimus. |
| 9. Josina. | 46. Eugenius 3. | 83. Malcolm 2. |
| 10. Finnanus. | 47. Convallus. | 84. Duncan 1. |
| 11. Durstus. | 48. Kinnatellus. | 85. Macbeth. |
| 12. Evenus 1. | 49. Aidanus. | 86. Malcolm 3. |
| 13. Gillus, (<i>Base</i> | 50. Kenneth 1. | 87. Donald Banus |
| <i>Born</i>). | 51. Eugenius 4. | 7. |
| 14. Evenus 2. | 52. Ferchard 1. | 88. Duncan 2. |
| 15. Ederus. | 53. Donald 4. | 89. Edgar. |
| 16. Evenus 3. | 54. Ferchard 2. | 90. Alexander 1. |
| 17. Metellanus. | 55. Malduinus. | <i>Surnamed, The</i> |
| 18. Caratacus. | 56. Eugenius 5. | Sharp. |
| 19. Corbred 1. | 57. Eugenius 6. | 91. David 1. |
| 20. Dardanus. | 58. Amberkelethus. | 92. Malcolm 4. |
| 21. Corbred 2. <i>Sur-</i> | 59. Eugenius 7. | 93. William. |
| <i>named</i> Galdus. | 60. Murdacus. | 94. Alexander 2. |
| 22. Luctacus. | 61. Etfinus. | 95. Alexander 3. |
| 23. Mogaldus. | 62. Eugenius 8. | 96. John Balliol. |
| 24. Conarus. | 63. Fergus 3. | 97. Robert Bruce. |
| 25. Ethodius 1. | 64. Solvathius. | 98. David 2. |
| 26. Satrael. | 65. Achaius. | 99. Edward Balliol. |
| 27. Donald 1. | 66. Congallus 2. | 100. Robert 2. |
| 28. Ethodius 2. | 67. Dongallus. | 101. Robert 3. |
| 29. Athirco. | 68. Alpinus. | 102. James 1. |
| 30. Nathalocus. | 69. Kenneth 2. | 103. James 2. |
| 31. Findochus. | 70. Donald 5. | 104. James 3. |
| 32. Donald 2. | 71. Constantine 2. | 105. James 4. |
| 33. Donald 3. | 72. Ethus. | 106. James 5. |
| 34. Crathlinthus. | 73. Gregory. | * 107. Henry Stuart |
| 35. Fincormachus. | 74. Donald 6. | and Mary Stuart. |
| 36. Romachus. | 75. Constantine 3. | 108. James 6. |
| 37. Angufianus. | 76. Malcolm 1. | |

* The Name of *Mary* is set before *Henry* in the Body of this *History*; because she reigned several Years before her Marriage with *Henry*, and also after his Decease.

THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.

BOOK I.

Containing an Account of its several SITUATIONS;
Nature of its SOIL, CLIMATE, &c.

WHEN I first determined to write the famous Atchievements of our Ancestors, and, after I had purged them from the Mixture of vain Fables, to vindicate them from Oblivion; I thought it conducive to my Purpose, to recite from the very Beginning, (as much as so long a Distance of Time, and *first* the Scarcity, *then* the Loss of learned Monuments, would permit), what the Situation of the Countries were; what was the Nature of the Soil and Air; what were the antient Names and Manners, and who were the first Inhabitants of the Islands called of old *Britanny*; which are extended between *Spain* and *Germany*, in a long Tract of Land near the Coast of *France*. *Albion* and *Ireland*, two of them, do far exceed the rest in Bigness; and therefore of these two I shall speak *first*; afterwards, as Convenience serves, I will explain the *Site* and the Names of the rest.

THE first for Bigness, is *Albion*; which now alone retains the Name of *Britain*, formerly common to them all. Concerning its Breadth and Length, other Writers do, in effect, agree with *Cæsar*; namely, that the Length of it from *North* to *South*, is 800 Miles; and the Breadth, where it is widest, which is (as some think) where it looks towards *France*; or (as others say)

from the Point of *St. David's* in *South-Wales* to *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*, almost 200 Miles; from thence it narrows by degrees, till we come to the Borders of *Scotland*. The *Romans*, who, as yet, knew not the farthest Parts thereof, believed the *Island* to be *Triangular*; but when they proceeded a little farther, they found, that beyond *Adrian's Wall*, it extended itself broader by degrees, and ran out far Eastward. This, in brief, concerning its *Bigness*.

THE Climate of *Britain* is more temperate than that of *France*, as *Cæsar* affirms; but the Climate of *Ireland* is milder than them both. The Air therefore is seldom clear, but commonly darkened with thick Mists; the Winters are mild enough, rather rainy than snowy. The Soil brings forth Corn plentifully; and, besides Corn, it produceth all sorts of Metals. It is also very fruitful in Breeds of Cattle. They who inhabit the extreme Parts of the Island, which are more infested with Cold, eat Bread made of Oat-meal; and, for Drink, they use a Wine or strong Liquor made of damaged Corn: Some boil Whey, and keep it in Hogheads under Ground for some Months; which is counted by many of them, not only a wholesome, but a very pleasant Drink. There was no Controversy concerning the Name of *Britain* among the Antients, except that the *Greeks* called it *Brettania*, the *Latins*, *Britannia*. Other Nations, in their Appellation of it, used one or other of these Names, as they saw fit. But of late some Men have started up, not so much desirous of Truth as of Contention, who hoped to make themselves famous by carping at other eminent Persons: For they imagined that they must needs obtain a great Opinion of Learning amongst the Vulgar, who dared to enter the Lists against, and to combat with all Antiquity; and though the Dispute was about a Thing of no great Consequence, yet, because it concerned the very Name of their Country, they thought it worth contending for with all their Might, as if the antient Glory of the whole Nation had lain at Stake. They say, that three antient Names of the Island have their several Assertors, viz. *Prudania*, *Prytaneia*, and *Britannia*. * *Llud* contends with might and main for *Prudania*; *Thomas Eliot*, a *British* Knight, for *Prytaneia*, but very modestly; almost all other Nations do retain the Name of *Britain*.

LLUD, to maintain his Assertion for *Prudania*, useth the Authority of a certain old Paper-fragment, which Rust, Mouldiness, and Length of Time (and nothing else) have almost made sacred with him. Though he counts that Proof firm enough of itself, yet he strengthens it by Etymology; by the Verses of the old *Bards*; by the Country Dialect; and by the venerable Rust

* *Llud* or *Lloid*, and *Eliot*, two Writers of *British* Antiquities, in *Henry VIII.* and *Queen Elizabeth's* Reigns.

of Antiquity. But, in the first place, I ask him, whence came that *Fragment*, on which he lays the Stress and Weight of his Cause? When was it writ? Who was the *Author* of it? Or, what says it, that makes for his Assertion? Concerning the Name, the Time, the Author, all these (he may perhaps alledge) are uncertain, which proves, he thinks, the Antiquity thereof. An excellent Proof indeed! where the Certainty, Credit and Authority of the Testimony doth depend on Ignorance, Meanness and Obscurity; and that which is made use of to explain the Matter in Controversy, hath more Intricacy and Weakness in it, than the Cause which it is brought to defend. Who is the Witness in this Case? I know not (says he). What is it that he offers for Evidence? I know not that neither, (replies he); but this I have heard, that in that Fragment it is called *Prudania*. But, prithee, tell me what is that *Prudania*? Is it a Mountain, or a River? a Village, or a Town? a Man, or a Woman? Here I am posed too (says he); but I conjecture that *Britain* is signified by that Name. Well then, let *Prudania* signify *Britain*; yet what doth this your Fragment make for you? I would ask you this Question, Whether it affirms *Prudania* to be the true Name of the Island, or doth not rather upbraid their Ignorance who ascribe that false Name to it? Here too I am nonplust (says *Llud*); but this I am certain of, that here is the Sound of a *British* Word; and the Force of the *British* Language doth appear, even in the very *Etymology* thereof. For *Prudania* is as it were *Prudcania*, which is in *British*, excellent Beauty, from *Pryd*, signifying Beauty, and *Cam*, White; the Asperity of the Word being somewhat mollified. But for that reason it should be called *Prudcamia*, not *Prudania*; which Word the *Bards* do pronounce *Pruda*, in their Country Speech. I shall not here speak, how trivial, deceitful, and oftentimes ridiculous, this Inquiry after the Original of Words is. I pass by *Varro*, and other learned Men, who have been often laughed at upon this account. I omit also the whole *Cratylus* of *Plato*; wherein he is guilty of the same Fault. I will only affirm this, that, before impartial Judges, a Man may more easily prove, that the Word *Cambri* is derived from *Canis* and *Brutum*, a Dog and a Brute, than you shall persuade me, that *Prudania* comes from *Prudcamia*. For by this means you may derive *Quidlibet* é *Quolibet*, as you please. And indeed, *Llud* himself shews, what little Confidence he puts in his own Proofs, when he calls in the *Bards* to his Aid; a Race of Men, I grant indeed, very antient, but yet Antiquity affirms they committed nothing to Writing. But of these I shall speak more elsewhere.

LET us now come to the last Refuge of *Llud*. *Cæsar*, (says he) who first mentioned the Name of this Island in *Latin*, called it

Britain; whose Steps almost all *Latin* Writers having trod in, did not change the said Name. Here *Llud* begins with a notorious Mistake, that *Cæsar* was the first of the *Latins* who called it by the Name of *Britain*; for before ever *Cæsar* was born, *Lucretius* makes mention of *Britain*; and *Aristotle*, amongst the *Greeks*, long before him; and *Propertius*, not long after *Cæsar*, when he saith,

Cogor & in Tabula pictos ediscere Mundos.

*Our Force of Art, in Maps, the Globe descrys,
Where painted Nations meet our wond'ring Eyes;*

shews thereby, that, in his Age, the Description of the World in Maps, was wont to be fastened to the Walls of Mens Houses. I would ask yourself, Sir, do you indeed think, that *Cæsar*, who was so well skilled in all sorts of Learning, did never see or read a Description of the World? Or, can you be persuaded, that the *Island* of *Britain* alone, the greatest in the whole World, then so famous both in the *Latin* and *Greek* Monuments, was omitted in those *Maps*? Or, do you believe, that *Cæsar*, who was so inquisitive to know the Affairs of *Britain*, as, what Men did inhabit that Country then, and before his Time; what Animals and Plants did grow, or were bred therein; what were the Laws and Customs of the Country; do you, I say, believe, that he, who had been so solicitous about those Things, would have neglected to set down the Name of the whole *Island*? Or, that he, who, with so great Faithfulness and Diligence, gave right Names to the Cities of the *Gauls*, would deprive the *Britains* of their antient Glory? Upon the whole, I see no reason at all, why *Llud* should think that the old Name of the *Island* was *Prudania*, (for he values himself much on the account of this Title), unless Words do also contract Authority from the Rust of a Worm-eaten Paper. This is all I have to say to *Llud* at present, who, by home-bred Witnesses, and by his own Dreams together, hath thought fit to oppose himself against the current Verdict of all the learned Men that now are, or ever have been, in the World.

As for Sir *Thomas Eliot*, my Task will be easier with him; he, being induced not only by probable Conjectures, but also by some Authors, and those not obscure, thinks, that the *Island* was sometimes called *Prytaneia*. He judged it not improbable, that an *Island* abounding with Plenty of all Things, not only for the Necessities, but even the very Ornaments of Life, should be so called. In this Case, if we should weigh the Reason of Names, *Sicily* rather deserves the Title of *Prytaneia*, and so do some other *Islands* also; which go as far beyond *Britain* in the Fruitfulness of Soil, as they fall short of it in the Extent of Territory.

ritory. Besides, in those *Authors*, by whose Testimony the Name *Prytaneia* is confirmed, it easily appears, that the Orthography is vitiated. As for *Stephanus*, there is the highest Inconstancy in him. In the Word *Albion*, he says, that That is the Island of *Brettain*, following *Martian* therein, as he alledges. In the Words *Juvernica* and *Juverna*, it is writ *Prætanica*. Elsewhere, says he, in the Ocean are the *Brettish* Islands, whose Inhabitants are called *Brettains*; but that *Martian* and *Ptolemy*, in these Words, make *P* the first Letter. If any one compare the Places, without Doubt he will find that the Writing is corrupted, and that *Stephanus* himself was of Opinion, that *Bretania* ought to be writ by *B* the first Letter, and two *tt*'s. *Eliot*, I believe, was not ignorant of this, and therefore, being content to advertise his Reader, as much as was needful, what Things Men, greedy of Praise, will scrape together for the Ostentation of their Learning, he leaves the Matter in Dispute entirely to his Judgment. But *Llud*, that you may know his Disposition more fully, of the *Three* Names of this large Island, approves *that most*, which hath the fewest Assertors, viz. *Prudania*; next to that he commends *Prytaneia*. But he rejects *Britannia*, which Name was now grown famous through all Nations, and celebrated both in *Greek* and *Latin* Monuments, (as *Pliny* affirms) as corrupted in Tract of Time, and fix'd by *Julius Cæsar*; whom he falsely affirms, (as hath been said) to have first mentioned the Name of *Britannia* in *Latin*, and that he drew others with him into the same Error. But I can prove the Antiquity of the Word *Britannia*, by many clear and ample Testimonies, if that were the Matter in dispute; and that it was not corrupted by *Cæsar*, but delivered down to us, pure from Hand to Hand, by our Ancestors, save that the Antients were wont to write it with a double *T. T.* (*Brittannia*): And therefore it was, as I suppose, that *Lucretius* made the first Syllable of the Word *Britain* long in Verse; but now the *Latins* leave out one *T*, which is still retained in the Word *Britto*. The *Greeks*, who write *Brettania*, come nearest to the Pronunciation of the Country Speech, which the *Britons* themselves, and all their Neighbours, do yet retain. For the neighbouring *Gauls* call all *British* Women *Brettæ*; and *Bretter*, with them, is to speak *British*: And a Promontory in *Gascogne* is commonly called *Cape-Bretton*; and both sorts of *Scots* (*i. e.*) both the *Albians* and the *Hibernians*, speak so too; only with this Difference, that they who delight in the *German* Dialect, do sometimes use the Transposition of Letters, and pronounce *Berton* for *Breton*. But *Dionysius Afer* in that Verse,

Ωκεανὸν κέχυται ψυχρὸς ῥόος, ἔνθα Βρετανοί.

mentioning

mentioning the *Bretains* to inhabit near the cold Surges of the Ocean, hath used a poetical Licence in leaving one τ out of the Word *Βρετανοί*, as he hath also done in the Word *Σαμάραι* for *Σαρμαται*, by an Elision of the Letter ρ . Here the Consent of so many Nations, (almost from their Originals) both among themselves, and with the Antients, as well *Greeks* as *Latins*, will have greater Weight with me, than all the Hodge-podge Trash of *Llud*, raked by him out of the Dunghil, Collections good for nothing but to be laughed at, and to disparage the Collector; and though they have a confident Patron, to urge them to give in a false Testimony against Antiquity, yet to make their aukward Appearance they have not dared. Let him shew, if he can, what Author ever wrote *Prudania* before *Aristotle*: Let him turn and wind himself as he pleases, he will never be able to do it; seeing, some Ages after *Aristotle*, 'tis certain, that the *Bards* committed nothing to Writing. Away then with that (shall I say?) vain-glorious, or may I not rather say senseless, Boast of Antiquity, of which no Argument, no Footstep, no nor the least Print of any Footstep can be found?

AMIDST this Diversity of Opinions, and the various Modes and Customs of Speech, *Llud* thinks it most adviseable always to look to *Antiquity*, and the Country-Manner of Speech, as a Pole-star; and, by that, to direct the whole Course of his Language: For my Part, I would not much dissent from him, if that, which was in antient Use, and therefore thought certain, could be always observed and kept. But there are several Reasons why that cannot be done.

FIRST, Because, in every Language, 'tis very difficult to find out the Original of Words; and therefore 'tis more adviseable, in this Case, to follow the Custom of the Learned, than by a vain and ridiculous Labour, always to search after Originals, as after the Fountain of *Nilus*; especially since the Original of Words depends not on the Judgment of the wiser Sort but on the Pleasure of the Vulgar; who, for the most part, are rude and unpolished; and therefore anxiously to inquire after Reason, is a Piece of needless Curiosity; and, if you should find it out, it would not be worth your Labour. For, as in the Generation of all other Things, which either grow naturally of themselves, or else are invented by Men for the Use of Life, the first Embryo's are very imperfect, and come forth less acceptable, not only for Use, but even for Sight; yet afterward, by Culture, they are improved, and are made amiable by good Management. 'Tis so in Language, which, taking its first Rise from Men rude and impolite, came forth harsh, rugged, and uncouth; until, by Use, it gradually put off its natural Horror and Unpleasantness, becoming more gentle and sweeter to the Ear,

Ear, and more easily insinuating itself into the Minds of Men. And therefore, in this Case, (if any) I think something is to be indulged to the Custom of Men more polite than others; and that such a Pleasure, which is neither uncomely nor ungraceful, as far as it is not hurtful to Mens Manners, is not to be despised. But if any one is born under such an ill Constellation, that he rather affects the Language of *Cato* and *Ennius*, than of *Cicero* and *Terence*; and when *Corn* is found out, yet had rather feed on *Mast* still, my Vote is, *Much good may it do him*. But this our present Dispute is not concerning the Purity and Elegancy of the *Latin* Tongue; for it does not come within the Compass of it, to know how the *Britons* of former Ages sounded their Letters or their Words. My whole Endeavour is, to shew how the *Latins* may learn the *British*, not how the *British* may learn the *Latin* Pronunciation. For my Part, I had rather be ignorant of the Gibberish of the old *Britons*, than forget that little of the *Latin* Tongue, which I imbibed with great Pains when I was a Child. And I have no other Reason for lessening my Disgust when I find the antient *Scottish* Language dying away by degrees, but this one Consideration, which I own is very pleasing to me, and it is this; That while we banish those wild barbarous Sounds, we borrow harmonious ones from the *Latin*, and substitute them in their Room. And in this Transmigration of Languages, if one must needs yield to another, Good-now, of the Two, let us pass from Rusticity and Barbarism, to Culture and Humanity; and, by our Choice and Judgment let us put off that Uncouthness which accrued to us by the Infelicity of our Birth. And if our Pains and Industry can avail any thing in this Case, let us bestow them all this way, *viz.* To polish, as much as we can, the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, which the better Part of the World hath publickly received; and, if there be any Solecisms or Flaws sticking thereto, from the Contagion of barbarous Languages, let us do what we can to purge them away.

BESIDES, this over-anxious Diligence about foreign Names, especially in transferring them into another Language, can never be observed, neither is it expedient that it should: For what Language is there, which hath not some Letters and Sounds, which cannot fully be expressed by the Characters of another Tongue? What Nation, besides the *German*, can pronounce the Letter *W*? Who can give that Sound to the Letters *D. G. P. T. X.* and *Z.* in *Latin*, which the *Spaniards*, the *Britons*, and Part of the *Scots*, do?

BECAUSE of this Absurdity of Sound, as I suppose, it is, that *Pliny*, reckoning up the Cities of *Spain*, denies, that some of them can be well pronounced in the *Latin* Tongue: Some he
calls

calls ignoble, and of barbarous Appellation; Others, he says, cannot be so much as named without grating the Ear. What, I beseech you, would *Llud* do in this Case, if he were to write the History of *Britain* in *Latin*? With all his Stock of rusty Barbarism, I believe, he would scarce know how to pronounce the genuine Names of the *Britons*. For seeing he vexes himself so much how he should write *Llud*, either *Lhuyd*, or *Llud*, or else bare *Ludd*, none of which can be written, pronounced, or heard amongst *Latinists* without Regret: If he retains the true Sound, he will make not a *Latin*, but a semi-barbarous Oration: but if he bend foreign Words to the Sound of the *Latin*, he will commit as great a Trespass, as *Cæsar* is said to have done in the Word *Britannus*. What then shall we do to please so captious and so morose a Person as *Llud*? Shall we call the Island *Prudamia*, rather than *Britannia*? *Llud* himself, who is so severe a Censor of others, will not exact this of us; He will permit it to be called *Prudania*, from *Pruda*. But if any one dare to pronounce and call it *Britannia*, or *Bretania*, he'll lay about him, and accuse him presently of violating sacred Antiquity, of corrupting and contaminating the antient and sincere Language; and of turning it into an effeminate and soft Pronunciation, from a robust and masculine Sound. What shall we do in this Case? May we not take leave to brighten some Expressions, and rescue them from the Gloom of Antiquity by changing their Air? Or, if we must not change, yet, pray, may we not polish some rough Words, and soften them a little from their Harshness and Barbarity, that at least they may sound like the Speech of Men? We see our Ancestors have done this in the Words *Morini*, *Moremarusa*, and *Armorici*; so that if we cannot make those Words free of old *Rome*, yet at least we may imitate the Garb and Similitude of the *Latin* in them. But, I see, *Llud* will not allow us that Liberty. He calls us back to the august Antiquity of the *Prudany's*, and forbids us to depart in the least from the *Bards* and *Graybeards*. But the antient *Greeks* and *Latins* were never so strait-laced: For when the Stiffness of their antient Speech began a little to remit, there was none among them who had rather pronounce *Famul* and *Volup*, than the Words which were substituted in their Rooms; and they used a very great Liberty in translating *Latin* Words from *Greek*, and *Greek* from *Latin*. Who ever blamed the *Latins*, for turning *Polydeuces* into *Pollux*, *Heracles* into *Hercules*, *Asclepios* into *Æsculapius*? Or, who hath reproved the *Greeks* for calling *Catulus*, *Catlus*; and *Remus*, *Romus*? Nay, what did the *Greeks* do, in translating barbarous Words into their own Language? Did they ever make any Scruple to turn *Al*, a *Punick* Termination, into *As*, in the End of Words?

If a Man pronounce *Annibas* for *Annibal*, must he (forsooth) presently tread under Foot the Majesty of all History? Must he be said to corrupt the Truth, or to do a notorious Injury to the *Pu-nick* Language? See how the Study of Humanity and Politeness, which was eminent amongst the antient *Saxons*, and the *Danes*, who passed over later into *Britain*, differs from *Llud*'s uncouth and slovenly Affectations. They being rude and ignorant of all Learning, when they came to Men that used a barbarous and broken Kind of Language, were so far from suffering themselves to be infected with their Solecisms; that, on the contrary, when they had once tasted of the Sweetness of the *Latin* Tongue, they pared away much of the Roughness which they had brought upon it: They rendered some harsh Words so smooth, as to make them less offensive to the Ear, such as are *Oxonia* and *Roffa*, for *Oxonfordia* and *Raufchestria*, and many others, which *Llud* himself does not pretend to contradict. And he allows himself the same Liberty in many other Words, though he is so severe and so obstinate a Critick in this one Word *Britannia*. But now he stiffly opposes the antient Custom of all Nations, for a new, obscure, and uncertain Word: Lest forsooth the Royal Name of *Llud*, descended from old *Brennus*, and kept as a *Palladium* to this very Day, should be buried in Oblivion. To prevent which, *Llud* manages a Contest against the general Consent of Mankind, the Antiquity of Time, and even against Truth itself.

THERE is yet also another Observation to be made upon the Word *Britannia*, that foreign Writers make it the Name of the whole Island; but the *Britons* and *English*, who have written the *British* History, sometimes agree with foreign Writers, in their Appellation of it; and sometimes they call only that Part of the Island *Britain*, which was a *Roman* Province; and that variously too, as the Event of War changed the Borders; for sometimes they made the Wall of *Adrian*, sometimes that of *Severus*, the Limits of their Empire: The rest, which were without those Walls, they sometimes termed barbarous, sometimes outlandish People. *Bede*, in the Beginning of his first Book, writes thus: *Wherefore the Picts, coming into Britain, began to inhabit the North Part of the Island; for the Britons inhabited the South.* He says also, Chap. xxxiv. *Aidan was King of the Scots, who inhabit Britain.* And Lib. IV. Chap. iv. writing of the Return of *Colman* out of *England* into *Scotland*, he says, *In the mean time Colman, who was of Scotland, leaving Britain: And elsewhere, Then they began for many Days, to come from the Country of Scotland into Britain.* And farther, *Oswald was slain near the Wall that the Romans had built from Sea to Sea, to defend Britain, and to repel the Assaults of the Barbarians.* The same Form of Speech

is found in the same Author, Lib. II. Chap. ix. *Claudian* doth not seem to be ignorant of this Manner of Speech, peculiar to the *Britons*, when he writes, That the *Roman Legion*, which curbed the fierce *Scot*, lay between the *Britons*, *i. e.* opposite to the *Scots*, that it might cover the *Britons* from their Fury, in the farthest Part of *England*, and Borders of *Scotland*. *William of Malmſbury*, and *Geoffry of Monmouth*, none of the obscureſt Writers of *Britiſh Affairs*, do often uſe this Kind of Speech, in whom a Man may eaſily take notice, that That only is called *Britain*, which is contained within the Wall of *Severus*. Though this Matter be ſo clear in theſe Writers, that no Man can be ignorant of it, yet it hath produced great Miſtakes amongſt the Writers of the next Age, what ſome have affirmed in their Works, *i. e.* That *Alured*, *Athelſtan*, and ſome other of the *Saxon Kings*, did ſometimes reign over the whole Iſland; when yet, 'tis clear, they never paſſed beyond the Wall of *Severus*. For when they read, That they held the Empire of all *Britain*, they preſently thought, that they were Maſters of the Iſland, and had it wholly in their own Hands.

WE may obſerve the ſame likewise from the conſtant Way of uſing thoſe Names *Britannus* and *Britto*; for all the old *Greek* and *Latin* Writers call the whole Iſland *Britannia*, and all its Inhabitants *Britains*, without making any Diſtinction. The firſt, that I know, of the *Romans*, who called them *Brittons* was *Martial*, in that Verſe,

Quam veteres bracchæ Brittonis pauperis.

—The old Trousers of *Britton* poor.

THE Vulgar commonly call the Inhabitants of the *Gallick Peninſule*, *Brittons*, though *Gregory* * *Turonenſis* always calls it *Britain*, and its Inhabitants *Britains*. The *Romans* do conſtantly call their Provincials *Britains*, though their Provincials themſelves like the Name of *Brittons* beſt. Both Names have one *Radix* and one Original, *viz.* *Britannia*; and as they both ſpring from one and the ſelf ſame Root, ſo they both ſignify one and the ſelf ſame Thing. And that the Verſes of *Auſonius* the Poet do plainly ſhew.

† *Silvius ille bonus, qui carmina noſtra laceſſit:*
Noſtra magis meruit diſticha Britto bonus.

Silvius

* Biſhop of *Tours*.

† This Epigram was made by the Poet againſt one *Silvius*, ſurnamed *Bonus*, of *Little-Britain* in *France*, againſt whom he had a Pique, (and, it ſeems, againſt the whole Nation of the *Britains* for his Sake). He takes an Occaſion to jeer him from the Ambiguity of his Surname *Bonus*, which ſignifies alſo good in *Latin*,
and

Silvius hic bonus est. Quis Silvius? iste Britannus.

Aut Britto hic non est Silvius, aut malus est.

Silvius esse bonus Britto, ferturque Britannus,

Quis credat civem degenerasse bonum?

Nemo bonus Britto est. Si simplex Silvius esse

Incipiat, simplex desinet esse bonus.

Silvius hic bonus est: sed Britto est Silvius idem.

Simplicior res est dicere, Britto malus.

Silvi, Britto bonus, quamvis homo non bonus esse

*Ferris, nec se quit jungere * Britto bono.*

THEY who contend, that the Britons were a Colony of the Gauls, do say, that Hercules begat a Son on Celto, a Gallick Virgin, called Britannus, from whom the Nation of the Britons had their Original. Pliny placeth this Nation near to the Morini, the Atrebates, and the Gessoriaci. Neither are there wanting some Greek Grammarians to confirm it; as Suidas, and he who wrote the Book called *Etymologicum Magnum*. C. Julius Cæsar, and C. Cornelius Tacitus, seem to have been of the same Opinion; and so do other Latin Writers also, not unlearned, yet not so famous as those two. Besides, the Religion, Speech, Institutions and Manners of some Nations, inhabiting near the Gallick Sea, do evince the same Thing; from whence the Britons were, in my Opinion, transplanted by whole Colonies, and the Morini by little and little quite extinguished. The Word *Morinus* seems to draw its Etymology from *More*, which, in the old Gallick Tongue, signifies the Sea. *Venta*, called in old Latin, *Venta Belgarum*, (because inhabited by the Gallo-Belgæ) i. e. Winchester; and *Icenum* derived from *Icium*: These Names make it very probable, that their Colonies transported with them into a foreign Soil their own Country Terms in the Place of a Surname; and at their very Entrance, meeting with the Britons, whom they acknowledged to be their Off-spring, they brought them home, and did, as it were, maintain them at their own Houses. For *Morinus* amongst the old Gauls, signifies *Marinus*; and *Moremarusa*, *Mare Mortuum*: Though Goropius hath almost stolen from us these two last Names, whilst

and (by the Figure *Antiphrasis*) evil, as here sometimes it is taken. This Author makes it a *Dodecastich*; whereas later Interpreters have divided it into six Distichs, (but all of one Subject) according to the Poet's Mind, expressed in the first of them. They are not here quoted for the Sarcasms contained therein, (and therefore are not here translated), but only to shew, that, in this Poet's Time, who lived under Gratian the Emperor, about Anno Christi 390, Britto and Britannus were Terms synonymous.

* The printed Books read *Britto & homo*, which is scarce Sense; and therefore Vinetus hath amended it, *Britto bono*.

he is studious to extol his *Aduatici* beyond Measure. Neither can the *Aremorici*, or *Armorici*, deny that they are of our Stock; for we have ample and clear Testimonies, both old and new, as Pledges thereof; because *Ar*, or *Are*, is an old Gallick Preposition, which signifies *at*, or *upon*; as if we should say, *at* or *upon* the Sea, *i. e.* maritime. And *Moremarusa* is derived from *More*, *i. e.* *Mare*, the Sea; the last Syllable being long, after the manner of a Greek Participle. As for *Aremorica*, or *Armorica*, (he that cannot know them at first hearing, must be wholly ignorant of the old Gallick Tongue), they also signify maritime; and so *Strabo* interprets them, who in Greek always renders them *Apoceanitæ*. *Cæsar* writes thus of the *Armoricks*, Lib. V. *That great Forces of the Gauls, out of the Cities called Armoricæ, were gathered together to oppose him.* And Lib. VII. *Out of all the Cities near the Ocean, which, according to their Custom, are called Armoricæ.* And Lib. VIII. *And the other Cities situate in the extreme Parts of France, near the Sea, called Armoricæ.* As often as *Cæsar* makes mention of these Cities, he always adds, *Which are so called*; but he so adds it, that it rather seems an Epithet, or Surname of a Place, than its proper Name. Neither is that found to be the Name of a City in any other authentick Writer, yet that Word is spread far and near in that Coast, *viz.* from *Spain* to the *Rhine*; and amongst all Writers, I find *Pliny* alone seems not to understand the Force of the Word; for he thinks that all *Gasconne* was sometimes so called. But enough of it at present; more may be said of the Gallick Tongue hereafter.

THE most antient Name of the Island is thought to have been *Albion*; or, as *Aristotle*, or rather *Theophrastus*, in the Book intitled, *De Mundo*, writes it *Albium*. But that Name is rather taken out of Books, than used in common Speech, unless amongst the old *Scots*, who, as yet, call themselves *Albinich*, and their Country *Albin*. Many think, that this Name was given to it, from the white Rocks which first appear to Mariners, as they sail from *France*. But it seems very absurd to me, to fetch the Original of a *British* Name from the *Latin*, there being then so little Commerce between strange Nations. Others are of Opinion, that this Name was given by *Albion* the Son of *Neptune*, whom they feign to have been sometime King of *Britain*: A bold Fiction, and having no Ground from Antiquity to support it; yet some are not ashamed to give *Albion* this Kingdom, upon so weak a Foundation as that of a Similitude in Names. For I see no other Foundation in History, which might occasion this Fable. Amongst the *Greeks*, 'tis true, *Diodorus Siculus* and *Strabo* have made mention of *Albion* and *Bergion*; of the *Latins*, *Cato*, *Hyginus*, and *Mela*; from whom

we

we may gather, that *Albion* and *Bergion*, the Sons of *Neptune*, being *Ligurians*, infested the Highways with Robberies, which lead from the Country of the *Albici* into *Italy*. These Men, when *Hercules*, after he had conquered *Geryon*, was returning out of *Spain*, fought to rob him of his Prey, and maintained so sharp a Fight with him, that he, almost despairing of Victory, (as old Story says), was forced to implore the Aid of *Jupiter*, who sent down a Shower of Stones to relieve his Son; and that the Field of Stones remained to Posterity as a Testimony of that Fight. I will not deny, but that both the Island, and the Robber too, took their Name from *Album*. But this I say, that *Album* was a common Name amongst many Nations, and that it signified with them, not only Colour, but Height too. And *Festus Pompeius* affirms, that what the *Latins* call *Alba*, the *Sabines* call *Alpa*; from whence the *Alps* had their Name, because they are white with continual Snow. For my part, as I assent concerning the one, that *Album* and *Alpum* were synonymous amongst the Antients, and I have the Authority not of *Festus* only, but of *Strabo* also, to support my Opinion; so I also judge, the *Alps* were so called, rather from their Height than their Whiteness. My Reasons are, first, because *Alba* is the Name of many Cities in *Italy*, *France* and *Spain*, which are all situate on Hills, or near them: And besides, because *Strabo* acknowledges, that these Names, *Alba*, *Alpa*, *Alpia*, *Albionia*, *Albici*, without any Difference, are derived from the same Root, in the Signification of Height; and therefore he shews, that they are most used, where the *Alps* begin to grow high. Hence, in *Liguria*, there is *Albingaunum*, and *Albium Intimelum*; and among the *Iapodes* there is *Albium* an exceeding high Cliff, where the *Alps* do end. There are other Places, which may seem to be so named from their Height. In *Italy* there is the River *Albula*, rising in the Mountains of *Etruria*, and the Waters called *Albulæ*, flowing down from the *Tibertine Mountains*. In *Gallia Narbonensis* there are the *Albici*, a mountainous People. In *Germany* there is the River *Albis*, arising from the Mountains of *Bohemia*. In *Asia*, the River *Albanus* flows down from Mount *Caucasus*, and the *Albanians* dwell about the same Mountain. By which Instances I think we may conclude, that *Album* is not a Word of one, but many Nations; and in all the Places which I have named, their Height is always one and the same; but their Whiteness happens but for some few Months in the Year, and in some of them not at all. The Names of the *Ligurian* Giants do also confirm this Conjecture, *Albion* and *Bergion*, both of them, as I judge, being named from their Tallness. What the Antients thought of the Word *Album*, I have said enough. That the *Germans* call

call high, *Berg*, is too well known to want Explanation: And there is a Place in *Pliny* that shews, it was antiently used in the same Sense amongst the *Gauls*; it is in his third Book, which I am of Opinion must be thus read; “ Whence *Cato* affirms, “ the *Bergomates* to have had their Original, they discovering “ themselves by their Names to be situated more highly, than “ happily.” Therefore *Albion* and *Bergion* were Men, it seems, far taller than their Neighbours, who in Confidence of their Strength, did commit Robberies in those Coasts of *Liguria*, whom *Hercules*, travelling that Way, subdued by Force of Arms. But none of the Antients ever affirmed, that they reigned in *Britain*, and the *then* State of the *Gallick* Affairs makes it very improbable, that it should be so; and it is likely, that the State of *Britain* was not much more quiet; in which Land the great *Albion* left a famous Kingdom, that he might play the Robber at home. Now as I do not much differ from their Opinion, who assert, that *Albion* was so called from *Album*; so I think the Occasion of the Name was not from the Colour, but from the Height of the Mountains; They who imposed that Name were, I believe, something inclined thereunto by comparing *England* with *Ireland*, there being but a narrow Sea between them: For they seeing one Shore to be altogether mountainous, and the other depressed, level, and spread into campaign or open Fields, they called the first, *Albion*, from its Height: But whether they gave any Name to the second, from its low Situation, the Length of Time, and the Negligence of the Inhabitants in recording antient Affairs, hath made uncertain. Besides, this also adds Strength to my Opinion, that the Name of the Island, derived from *Album*, whether *Albion*, or *Album*, remains in *Scotland* to this very Day, as in its native Soil; neither could it ever be extirpated there, notwithstanding so many Changes of Inhabitants, Kingdoms, Languages, and the Vicissitude of other Things. These Things seem true, or at least probable to me; yet if any Man can inform me better, I will easily be of his Opinion.

HITHERTO of the antient Names of the Island: The next Thing is, to explain the Situation of the Countries. The *English* Writers have plainly and clearly enough described their own several Counties: But *Hector Boëtius*, in his Description of *Scotland*, hath delivered some Things not so true, and he hath drawn others into Mistakes, whilst he was over-credulous of those, to whom he committed the Inquiry after Matters, and so published their Opinions rather than the Truth. But I shall briefly touch at those Things which I am assured of; and those which seem obscure and less true, I will correct as well as I can.

ENGLAND,

ENGLAND, as far as concerns our present Purpose, is most conveniently divided by four Rivers, two running into the *Irish* Sea, viz. *Dee* and *Severne*; and two into the *German* Sea, i. e. *Thames* and *Humber*. Between *Dee* and *Severne* lies *Wales*, being distinguished into three several Regions. Between *Severne* and *Thames*, lies all that Part of *England* which is opposite to *France*. The Countries interjacent between *Thames* and *Humber*, make the third Part; and the Countries reaching from *Humber* and *Dee* to *Scotland*, make up the fourth.

BUT *Scotland* is divided from *England*, first, by the River *Tweed*; then, by the high Mountain *Cheviot*; and where the Mountain fails, then by a Wall or Trench newly made, and afterwards by the Rivers *Eske* and *Solway*. Within those Bounds, from the *Scottish* Sea to the *Irish*, the Counties ly in this Order. First *Merch*, in which the *English* do now possess *Berwick*, situate on the left Side of the *Tweed*. On the *East* it is bounded with the *Firth* of *Forth*. On the *South* with *England*. On the *West*, on both Sides the River *Tweed*, lies *Tiviotdale*, taking its Name from the River *Tiviot*: It is divided from *England* by the *Cheviot*-Hills. After this ly three Counties not very great, *Liddisdale*, *Eusdale* and *Eskdale*, being so called of three Rivers which have an Affinity in the Sound, viz. *Lidal*, *Eue*, and *Eske*. The last is *Annandale*, taking its Name from the River *Annand*, which divides it almost in the Middle, and, near to *Solway*, runs into the *Irish* Sea.

Now to return again to *Forth*; on the *East* it is bounded by *Lothian*. *Cockburnes Path* and *Lamormore*-Hills divide it from *Merch*. Then, bending a little to the *West*, it touches *Lauderdale* and *Twedale*; the one so called from the Town *Lauder*, the other from the River *Tweed*, dividing it in the Middle. *Liddisdale*, *Nithsdale*, and *Clidesdale*, do border on *Twedale* on the *South* and *West*. The River *Nith* gives Name to *Nithsdale*, running through it into the *Irish* Sea. *Lothian* was so named from *Lothus*, King of the *Picts*. On the *North-East* it is bounded with the *Forth*, or *Scottish* Sea, and it looks towards *Clidesdale* on the *South-West*. This Country does far excel all the rest, in the Civility of its Inhabitants, and in plenty of all Things for the Use of Life. It is watered with five Rivers, *Tine*, both the *Eskes*, (which before they fall into the Sea join in one Channel), *Leith* and *Almond*. These Rivers, arising partly from the *Lamormore*-Hills, and partly from *Pentland*-Hills, disgorge themselves into the *Firth* of *Forth*. *Lothian* contains these Towns, *Dunbar*, *Hadington*, *Dalkeith*, *Edinburgh*, *Leith*, and *Linlithgoe*. More to the *West* lies *Clidesdale* on both Sides the River *Clyde*; which, by reason of its Length, is divided into two Sheriffwicks. In the uppermost of them there is an Hill,

Hill, not very high, yet out of it Rivers run into three divers Seas, *Tweed* into the *Scottish*; *Annand* into the *Irish*, and *Clyde* into the *Deucaledonian*-Seas. The most eminent Cities in it, are *Lanerick* and *Glasco*. *Kyle* on the *South-West* is adjoining to it; beyond *Kyle* is *Galloway*. It is separated from *Nithsdale* by the River *Clyde*, bending almost wholly to the *South*, and that remaining Part of *Scotland* is also covered by its Shore.

It is all more fruitful in Cattle than Corn; it hath these Rivers running into the *Irish* Sea, *Ure* or *Ore*, *Dee*, *Kenn*, *Cree*, and *Lufs*; it hath scarce any great Mountains, but only some small Hills in it; between which, the Water, stagnant in the Valleys, makes Abundance of Lakes, by which, in the first Showers after the Autumnal *Æquinox*, the Rivers are increased, which bring down an incredible Quantity of Eels, which the Inhabitants take in Weels made of Osier Twigs, and, salting them, get no small Profit thereby. The Boundary of that Side is the Mul of *Galloway*, under which, in the Mouth of the River *Lufs*, is a Bay, which *Ptolemy* calls *Rerigonius*. The Bay commonly called *Loch-Rian*, and, by *Ptolemy*, *Vidogara*, flows into it on the other Side from the *Firth* of *Clyde*. The Land running betwixt those Bays, the Inhabitants do call *Rinns*, (*i. e.*) the Edge of *Galloway*: They also call *Nonantum*, the Mul, (*i. e.*) the Beak, or Jaw: But the whole Country is called *Galloway*; for *Gallovid*, in old *Scottish*, signifies a *Gaul*.

BELOW *Loch-Rian*, on the back Side of *Galloway*, there lies *Carrick-Bailiery*, gently declining to the *Firth* of *Clyde*. Two Rivers pass through it, *Stinsiar* and *Girvan*, both of them having many pleasant Villages on their Banks. Between the Rivers there are some small Hills, fruitful for Pasture, and not unfit for Corn: 'Tis all not only self-sufficient with Land and Sea-Commodities, but it also supplies its Neighbours with many Necessaries. The River *Down* separates it from *Kyle*, which ariseth from a Lake of the same Name, wherein is an Island with a small Castle. *Kyle* follows next, bordering upon *Galloway* on the *South*, and on the *North-East* on *Clidesdale*; on the *West* it is separated from *Cunningham* by the River *Irwyn*; the River *Aire* divides it in the Middle. Near it is situated *Air*, a Town of great Trade; the Country in general abounds more with valiant Men, than with Corn or Cattle; for the Soil is poor and sandy, and that sharpens the Industry of the Inhabitants; and their Parsimony confirms the Strength both of their Bodies and Minds. After *Air*, *Cunningham* runs on the *North*, and doth as it were juggle out and streighten the *Clyde*, and brings it into the Compass but of a moderate River. The Name of the Country is *Danish*, and, in that Language, signifies *The King's House*; which is an Argument,

ment, that the *Danes* did sometimes possess it. Next is *Renfrew*, situate at the *Eastern* Part thereof; so called from a little Town, wherein they were wont to celebrate their Conventions; 'tis commonly called the Barony of *Renfrew*. Two Rivers, both of them called *Carth*, divide it in the Midst. After the Barony of *Renfrew*, *Clidesdale* is stretched out on both Sides of the River *Clyde*, and, in regard of its Largeness, is divided into many Jurisdictions. It pours out many famous Rivers, on the left Hand, *Even* and *Duglass*, which run into *Clyde*; and on the right, another River called *Even*, which divides *Lothian* from *Sterling-shire*. These two Currents take the common Appellation of Rivers, instead of a proper Name, as, in *Wales*, the River called *Avon* doth, in a divers Dialect. The River *Even* or *Avon*, separates the County of *Sterling* on the South from *Lothian*; on the East the *Firth* of *Forth*, until at last, being lessened, it is reduced to the proper Size of a passable River, and admits of a Bridge near *Sterling*. There is but one memorable River which divides this Country, called *Carron-Water*, near which there are some antient Monuments. On the left Hand of *Carron*, there are two small Hills or Barrows, made of Earth by Man's Hand, (as the Thing itself shews) commonly called *Duni pacis*, (*i. e.*) Emblems of Reconciliation. But about two Miles lower, on the same River, there is a round Edifice made without any Lime, but so formed with sharp Stones, that Part of the upper Stone is, as it were, mortassed into the lower; so that the whole Work, mutually conjoined, sustains itself with the Weight of the Stones, from Top to Bottom, growing narrower and narrower by degrees. The Top of it is open: The common People have several Fancies, according to their divers Humours, concerning the Use and Author of this Structure. For my part, I once conjectured, that it was a Temple of the God *Terminus*; which, they say, was wont to be built round and open at Top: And the *Duni pacis* near adjoining, seemed somewhat to strengthen my Conjecture, as if a Peace had been made there, of which these Hills are a Monument, because there the *Romans* terminated the Bounds of their Jurisdiction and Empire; neither could any Thing have altered my Opinion, unless I had been informed by creditable Persons, That, in a certain Island, there are many Edifices in other Respects like the Structure which I have spoken of, but that they are greater, and not so compact. There are also two Chapels in *Ross* of the like Shape. These Things made me suspend my Opinion, and to judge that these were *Monuments* or *Trophies* of some famous Deeds, placed, as it were, at the Fag-end of the World, that they might be preserved from the Injury and Fury of Enemies. But whether these were *Trophies*, or

(as some think) *Sepulchres* of famous Men, I believe they were Monuments consecrated to be perpetuated to Posterity, but built by rude and unskilful Workmen, after the Similitude of the *Chapel* erected at *Carron*. On the right Side of *Carron*, the Ground is generally plain and level, only there is a little Hill in it, almost in the Mid-space between the *Duni pacis* and the Chapel; and just there, at the bending of the Angle, some Remains of an antient City appear to this very Day. But the Foundation of the Walls, and the Description of the Streets, partly by reason of Countrymens plowing up the Ground, and partly by plucking out the square Stones to build some rich Mens Houses thereabouts, are quite blended and confused. English *Bede* expressly calls this Place *Guidi*, and places it in the very Angle of the Wall of *Severus*. Besides him many famous *Roman* Writers make mention of this Wall; yea, several Footsteps thereof do yet appear, and many Stones are dug out, with Inscriptions containing either a Gratulation of Safety and Victory received by the Centurions and Tribunes of the *Romans*, or else some funeral Epitaphs engraven therein. And seeing the Wall of *Severus* is seldom less distant than 100 Miles from *Adrian's* the older of the two, (as the Remains of both do shew) *English* Writers betray their great Ignorance, either in not understanding the *Latins*, who have delivered these Things down to us; or else their Carelessness, who have translated that so confusedly, which is so plain in the Original. However it be, the Thing is worthy, if not of a sharp Reprehension, yet of a light Admonition at least; especially, since by the Monuments lately spoken of, and by *Bede's* English History too, it plainly appears, that once the Boundary betwixt the *Britons* and the *Scots* was there. Those who fancy *Maldon* to be situate here, are the same Men who affirm, That the Chapel or Structure we spoke of, was the Temple of *Claudius Cæsar*; but they are hugely mistaken in both, seeing *Maldon*, a Colony of the *Romans*, is above 300 Miles distant from that Place, if we may believe *Ptolemy*, and the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*. *Cornelius Tacitus* doth plainly confute this their Mistake, as in all his other Narrations, so especially when he says, that the *Romans* having lost *Maldon*, fled to the Temple of *Claudius Cæsar* for Safety. But that Structure, whether it were a *Chapel* or *Temple* of *Terminus*, or else a Monument of some other Thing, having no Doors, nor Sign of any, and being open also at Top, from the casting in of Stones, can scarce contain, much less shelter, ten Soldiers. Moreover, about forty Years after the Expedition of *Claudius Cæsar* into *Britain*, *Julius Agricola* was the first of the *Roman* Generals who penetrated with his Army into those Parts: Besides, *Adrian* also, fifty Years after *Agricola*, settled the

Bounds

Bounds of the *Roman* Province, between the Rivers *Tine* and *Eske*, by making a Wall, of which divers Footsteps in many Places do yet remain. But *Septimius Severus*, about the Year of our Lord 210, entering into *Britain*, built a Wall 100 Miles beyond the Limits made by *Adrian*, from the *Firth* of *Clyde* to the Conflux of *Forth* and *Avon*, of which many clear and evident Tokens yet remain. Besides, we never read in antient Writings, that the chief Seat of the *Picts* was at *Maldon*, but at *Abernethy*; there was their Royal, and also Episcopal, Seat, which was afterwards translated to St. *Andrew's*. And if it be demanded, what moved the *Romans* to draw a Colony thither, and how they maintained it in a Soil so barren, and (at that time) woody, uncultivated, and obnoxious to the daily Injuries of the fiercest of their Enemies; I suppose, they will answer, (for I see not what else they can say), that it was supplied from the Sea, for then Ships came up to the very Gates of the City; though against the Stream of *Carron Water*. If that were true, then the Grounds lying on both Sides the *Forth* must needs be overwhelmed with the Inundations of the Ocean, and must therefore be barren, which alone, in that Tract, ought to have borne Corn. But this is yet a more difficult Question; That seeing the Sea-water did run on both Sides the *Forth*, why the *Romans* did not *there* make their Boundary-wall, rather than unnecessarily carry it many Miles farther?

BEYOND the County of *Sterling* lies *Lennox*, divided from the Barony of *Renfrew* by *Clyde*, and from the County of *Glasco* by the River *Kelvin*; from the County of *Sterling* by Mountains, and from the Stewarty of *Menteath* by the *Forth*; at length it is terminated in the Mountain *Grampius*, or *Grantshain*, at the Foot of which, through an hollow Valley, *Loch-Lomund* spreads itself, which is twenty four Miles long, and eight broad; it contains above twenty four Islands; besides a Multitude of other Fishes, it hath some of a peculiar Kind, very pleasant to eat, they call them *Pollacks*. At length, breaking out towards the South, it pours out the River *Leven*, giving Name to the whole Country, and near the Castle of *Dumbar-ton*, and a Town of the same Name, falls into *Clyde*. The farthermost Hills of Mount *Grampius*, do heighten the extreme Parts of *Lennox*, being divided by a small Bay of the Sea, called *Loch-Ger*, from its Shortness. Beyond that, there is a Bay much larger, called *Loch-Long*, from the River *Long*, falling into it; that is the Boundary between *Lennox* and *Cowel*. *Cowel* itself, *Argyle*, and *Knapdale* are divided into many Parts, by reason of several narrow Bays of the Sea running down into them, from the *Firth* of *Clyde*: There is one Bay, or Loch, more eminent than the rest, among them called *Loch-Finn*,

obtaining its Name from the River *Finn*, which it receives into it; it is above sixty Miles in Length. There is also in *Knapdale* a *Loch* called *Loch-Awe*, in which there is a small Island, and a Castle that is fortified. The River *Awe*, or *Owe*, issues out from that *Loch*, which is the only River in that Country, that empties itself into the *Deucaledonian* Sea.

BEYOND *Knapdale*, to the South-West, there runs out *Cantyre*, i. e. The Head of the Country; it stands over against *Ireland*, from which it is divided but by a narrow Sea: It is not so broad as it is long; and it is joined to *Knapdale* by so narrow an *Isthmus*, or Neck of Land, that it is scarce a Mile over: and that Space too is nothing but Sand, so plain and level, that sometimes Seamen, to make their Voyages shorter, do hale their small Vessels, called *Birlings*, over it, from one Side of *Loch-Tarbet* to the other.

LORN touches *Knapdale*, it borders immediately on *Argyle*, and reaches as far as the Country of *Abyr*, commonly called *Loch-Abyr*: It is a plain Country, and not unfruitful; where the Mountain *Grampius* is lowered, and more passable, that Country is called *Braid-Albin*, which is as much as to say, *The highest Part of Scotland*; and where the loftiest Pic, or Top of all is, that is called *Drum-Albin*, i. e. *The Back of Scotland*, and not without Cause; for from that Back, there run down Rivers into both Seas, some into the North or *German*, others into the South or *Deucaledonian* Sea. For from *Loch-Earn* it pours out the River *Earn*, towards the South-East, which falls into the River *Tay*, about three Miles below *Perth*. From this River, the Country called in Highland, or old Scots Language, *Strath-Earn*, takes its Name, being situate on both Sides of its Banks. For the Highlanders use to call a Country, lying at the Fall of Rivers, *Strat*. Between the Mountains of the Country and the *Forth*, lies the Stewarty of *Menteath*, taking its Name from the River *Teath* which runs through the Middle of it. Next to *Menteath* stand the Mountaips called *Ocel-Hills*, a great Part of which, as also of the Country lying at the Foot of them, is reckoned within the Stewarty of *Strath-Earn*; but the rest of the Country, even into the *Forth*, Man's Ambition hath divided into several Stewarties, as the Stewarty of *Clacman*, of *Culross*, and of *Kinross*. From these Stewarties and the *Ocel-Hills*, all the Country lying between the *Forth* and the *Tay*, grows narrow like a Wedge, Eastward even to the Sea; and it is all called by one Name *Fife*, a Country self-sufficient with all Necessaries for the Use of Life: It is broadest where *Loch-Leven*, and the River *Leven* running through it, do divide it; and from thence it narrows on each Side, till you come to the Town of *Carail*; it affords

affords but one remarkable River, and that's called *Leven*. Its whole Shore is stored with Abundance of Towns, of which the most remarkable for the Study of the Arts is *St. Andrew's*, which the Highlanders call *Fanum Reguli*: More to the Inland, almost in the Middle of the Country, lies *Cowper*, the Shire or Assize Town, whether the rest of the Inhabitants of *Fife* come for the Administration of Justice. Where it touches *Strath-Earn* stands the Town of *Abernethy*, the antient royal Seat of the *Picts*. Here the River *Earn* falls into the *Tay*.

As for the *Tay* itself, that breaks out from *Loch-Tay*, which is in *Braid-Albin*, (a Loch twenty four Miles long); it is without question the greatest River in *Scotland*; for winding about towards the *Grampian-Hills*, it touches upon *Athol* a fruitful Country, situate in the very woody Passages of Mount *Grampius*. That Part of it which is extended into a Plain, at the Foot of the Mountain, is called, *The Blare of Athol*, which Word signifies a Soil bare of Trees.

BELOW *Athol*, on the right Side of the River *Tay*, stands the Town of *Caledonia*, which yet retains its antient Name, though vulgarly called *Dunkelden*, (*i. e.*) an Hill full of Hasel-trees. For those Trees, growing thick in such unmanured Places, and shadowing the Country, like a Wood, gave Name both to the Town, and also to the People thereabouts. For the *Caledons*, or *Caledonians*, heretofore one of the most famous Nations amongst the *Britons*, made up one Part of the Kingdom of the *Picts*, as we may be informed by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who divides the *Picts* into two Tribes, *i. e.* the *Caledones* and the *Vecturiones*, though at this Day there is hardly any Token left of either of these two Names.

TWELVE Miles below *Dunkelden*, on the same Right-hand Bank of the *Tay*, stands *Perth*, otherwise called *St. Johnstons*. And on the left Bank of the *Tay*, below *Athol*, towards the East, stands *Gowry*, a Country abounding with rich Corn-fields.

BELOW *Gowry*, between the *Tay* and the *Eske*, is extended *Angus*, or, as the Highlanders call it, *Æneia*; some call it *Horrestia*, or, according to the English Dialect, *Forestia*. In it there are these two Cities, *Cowper*, and that which *Boëtius*, to gratify his Countrymen, ambitiously calls *Deidonum*; but, I think, the old Name thereof was *Toadunum*, *i. e.* *Dundee*, from *Dune*, *i. e.* an Hill situated by the River *Tay*; for at the Foot of that Hill the Town is built.

FOURTEEN Miles beyond the *Tay*, in a direct Line along the Shore, we meet with the Town of *Aberbrothoc*, sometimes called *Abrinca*. Then follows the Promontory, called *Red-head*, which shews itself at a good Distance. The River *South-Eske*
runs

runs through the Middle of *Angus*; and the *North-Eske* divides it from the *Mearns*. The *Mearns* is, for the most part, a plain and level Country, till it toucheth Mount *Grampius*, beyond the little Town of *Fordun*, and *Dunotter*, a Castle belonging to the Earls of *Marshall*: Then it grows lower and lower, declining towards the Sea. Beyond *Mearns*, towards the North, is the River *Die*, commonly called *Diemouth*; and about a Mile beyond it, is the River *Don*. Upon the *one*, there stands *Aberdone*, a Town famous for Salmon-fishing; and upon the *other*, stands *Aberdee*, (for so 'tis called in old Records) where the Bishop's See is, and also a flourishing University: But now a-days both Towns are distinguished only by the Names of Old and New *Aberdene*.

FROM this narrow Front, between those two Rivers, begins *Marr*, which growing wider and wider by degrees, extends itself sixty Miles in Length, even unto *Badenach*. *Badenach* is all full of Hills and Mountains, which sends forth Rivers into both Seas.

ABYR borders upon *Badenach*, it declines gently towards the *Deucaledonian* Sea; a Country (for a *Scottish* one) very much abounding with all Land and Sea Commodities: As it is fruitful in Corn and Pasture, so it is also very pleasant by reason of its shadowy Groves, and the delightful Fountains, Brooks and Rivulets, which glide along through it. As for the Multitude of Fish, hardly any County in *Scotland* can compare with it: For, besides the plenty of fresh Water Fish, which so many Rivers afford, the Sea also contributes its Dole of Salt-water ones; piercing, in a long Channel, through the level Part of the Country, and there being somewhat curbed and pent in by the higher Boundary of the Land, for some Space, at length it diffuses and spreads itself abroad again, representing the Form of a *Meer*, or rather *Loch*. Hence 'tis called *Abyr*; *i. e.* in our Country Language, *A Road for Ships*: They give also the same Name to the Country thereabouts; those that affect to speak after the *English* Mode call both, *i. e.* that Bay of the Sea and the Country too, *Loch-Abyr*; but in that they mistake, and talk without Grounds. These three Countries *Abyr*, *Badenach* and *Marr*, do take up all the Breadth of *Scotland* between the two Seas, the *Deucaledonian* and the *German*.

ON the North, next to *Marr*, stands *Buchan*, divided from it by the River *Don*; it stretcheth out itself farthest of any County in *Scotland*, into the *German* Sea. It is rich in Pasture, and in a good Breed of Sheep; and is able to maintain itself with all Conveniencies for the Support of Life. The Rivers in it abound with Salmon; and yet (which is strange) there is one of its Rivers, called *Ratra*, that hath not a Salmon in it.

On

On the Shore of *Ratra*, there is a strange kind of a Cave, and I cannot omit describing the Nature of it. The Water in it drops down from a natural Vault or Arch, and is turned into Pyramids of Stone; so that if Men were not constantly cleaning it, the whole Space, to the very Roof, would be quickly petrified, and filled up as one continued Solid. The Stone thus concreted is of a middle Nature between Stone and Ice; for it is friable, and never arrives at the Hardness and Solidity of Marble. When I was at *Tholouse*, about the Year of our Lord 1544, I was informed by credible Persons, that there was a Cave in the neighbouring *Pyrenæan* Hills, altogether like this in *Scotland*.

BEYOND *Buchan* to the North, ly two small Counties, *Bion* and *Ainy*, which reach to the River *Spey* that separates them from *Murray*. As for the River *Spey*, that hath its Rise in the Ridge of Hills in *Badenach*, of which I have made mention before, and not far from the Fountain thereof is a Loch, which sends forth a River called *Lochtee*, which rolls itself into the West Sea. At the Mouth of it there was once (as they say) a noble Town called *Inner-Lochtie*, borrowing its Name from the Loch aforesaid. The Truth is, if you consider the Nature of the neighbouring Soil, and the Conveniency of Transporting and Carriage by Sea, it is a Place very fit for a Mart-town: And our antient Kings, tempted and invited by those Conveniencies, made their Abode there for some Ages in the Castle of *Evonia*, which some falsely persuade themselves to be *Dunstafrage*; for the Rubbish and Ruins of that Castle are yet to be seen in *Lorn*. There are some small Counties, lying betwixt *Buchan* and the West Sea, but having scarce any Thing remarkable in them, I shall not waste Time to describe them.

BEYOND the *Spey*, even unto the River *Nefs*, there follows *Murray*, heretofore (as 'tis thought) called *Varar*. Between those two Rivers, (the *Spey* and the *Nefs*), the German Ocean doth (as it were) drive the Land backward to the West, and so, with a vast Bay, abridges the Largeness of it. This whole Country (for the Bigness of it) abounds with Corn and Pasturage; but as for Pleasantness, and the Profit arising from Fruit-trees, it bears away the Bell from all the other Countries in *Scotland*. It hath two eminent Towns in it, *Elgin* and *Inverness*: *Elgin* stands on the River *Loffie*, and as yet retains its antient Name. *Inverness* is situate by the River *Nefs*, which issues out of *Loch-Nefs*, a Loch twenty four Miles long; the Water in it is almost always warm, and all the Year long 'tis never so cold as to freeze; nay, in the sharpest Winter that is, if Flakes of Ice are put into it, they will quickly be thawed by the Warmth of its Waters.

BEYOND

BEYOND *Loch-Nefs* towards the West, there are only eight Miles of Continent interjacent; so small a Portion of Ground hinders the Conjunction of the two Seas, and consequently the making of the rest of *Scotland* an Island; for all that Space of Land, which lies betwixt that narrow Neck and the *Deucaledonian* Sea, is cut off from the rest by several Bays of the Sea breaking into it.

THAT Part of the Country, which lies beyond *Loch-Nefs*, and those narrow Streights, or Neck of Land, before mentioned, is wont to be divided into four Provinces or Shires, viz. *Ross*, *Strath-Naver*, *Sutherland*, and *Caithness*; [* *Naver*, or, as commonly called, *Strath-Naver*, taking its Name from the River *Naver*]; beyond the Mouth of *Nefs*, where it disembogues itself into the *German* Sea, lies *Ross*, which runs out into the Sea with very high Promontories, as the Name itself shews; for *Ross*, in the *Scottish* Dialect, signifies a Promontory. This Province hath more of Length than Breadth in it; for it reaches from the *German*, quite home to the *Caledonian* Sea: Where it is mountainous, 'tis barren and untill'd; but the Plains scarce yield to any Part of *Scotland* for Fruitfulness. It hath also many pleasant Valleys in it, which are watered with Rivers full of Fish, together with several *Lochs* well stored with Fish. But the greatest of them all is *Loch-Loubrun*. From the *Deucaledonian* Sea the Shore grows somewhat narrower, and turns back towards the North-East: From the opposite Shore, the *German* Sea, making its Way between the Clefs of high Rocks within Land, expands itself into a spacious Bay, which affords a safe Harbour, and Road for Ships, against all Storms; for the Passage into it is not difficult, and when you are once entered, even the greatest Fleets that are, may be secure from all Injury of Wind and Weather.

AT the farthest Point of *Ross*, towards the North, lies *Naver*, so called from the River *Naver*, which the Vulgar, following the Propriety of their Country Speech, call *Strath-Naver*. *Ross* bounds it on the South; the *Deucaledonian* Sea washeth it West and North; and on the East it reaches to *Caithness*.

SUTHERLAND is so situated between the three last mentioned Provinces, that it borders on them all, and, in some Quarter or other, touches them all: For on the West of it lies *Strath-Naver*; on the South and East *Ross*; and, on the North *Caithness*. The Inhabitants there, according to the Nature of the Soil, are more given to Pasturage than Tillage. I

* This Clause, betwixt the two Crotchets, seems to have been inserted here by the Mistake of the Transcriber; for the whole of it is mentioned by and by, in its proper Place.

know no remarkable Thing in it, save only that it hath some Mountains of white Marble, (a rare Miracle in so cold a Country), which yet is of little or no Use to the Inhabitants, because that luxuriant Humour, which covers it, hath not yet reached to this Place.

CAITHNESS is the last Province of Scotland towards the North, in which Coast *Strath-Naver* also comes up with it. These two Countries do contract the Breadth of Scotland into a narrow Front. In that Front there are three high Promontories: The highest of them all is in *Strath-Naver*, which *Ptolemy* calls *Orcas*, or *Tarvedrum*, now *Farrow-Head*; the other two are in *Caithness*, but not so high as the former; *i. e.* *Vervedrum*, now called *Hoia*, *i. e.* *Strathy-Head*; and *Be-tubium*, (*Dunsbey-Head*) falsely called by *Hector Boëtius*, *Dume*; some call it *Duncans-Bei*, from which Word some Letters being subtracted, the Word *Duns-Bei* seems to be derived. At the Foot of the Hill there is a small Bay, which little Vessels, coming from the *Orcades*, use as an Haven or Port. For a Bay of the Sea is there called *Bei*: And this Creek, or Bay, being called by the neighbouring Inhabitants the *Bei of Duncan*, or *Donach*; from both those Words conjoined, the Country Language hath formed *Dunis Bei*.

In this Tract *Ptolemy* places the *Cornavii*, (or *Caithness-men*), some Similitude of which Name does yet remain, for they commonly call the Castle of the Earls of *Caithness*, *Ger-nico*; for those whom *Ptolemy*, and other Foreigners call *Cornavii*, the *Britons* call *Kernici*. And seeing he places the *Cornavii*, not in this Tract only, but even in a far distant Part of the Island, *viz.* *Cornwal* in *England*; they, who retain the old *British* Speech, do yet call the same Persons, *Kernici*: And, perhaps, 'tis no absurd Conjecture to imagine, that the *Cornovalli* are so called for *Kernicovalli*, (*i. e.*) the *Kernic-Gauls*; nay, in the very Midst of the Island, some Marks, though obscure ones, of that Name seem to have remained. For *Bede* writes, that the Beginning of the Wall of *Severus* was not far from the Monastery of *Kebercurnig*; whereas there is now no Sign of a Monastery in those Parts; but there remains not far from thence, the half-ruined Castle of the *Duglaffes*, called *Abrecorn*: Whether both of those Words, or only one of them, be corrupted from *Kernicus*, I leave to the Reader to judge.

It remains now, that I speak something concerning the *Islands* of Scotland, (which Part of the *British History* is perplexed with Abundance of Mistakes). But omitting the Antients, who have delivered nothing certain on this Subject, I shall only insist on what the *Writers* of our Times have more truly and plainly acquainted us with. Of all the Islands, which do,

as it were, begirt *Scotland*, they make three Classes or Ranks, the *Western*, the *Orcades*, and the *Zealandish*, or *Shetland*, Islands.

THOSE are called the *Western* Isles, which ly between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, on the West of *Scotland*, in the *Deucalionian* Sea, and reach almost to the Isles of *Orkney*, or *Orcades*. They, who have written of the *British* Affairs, either now, or in the Age before us, call them *Hebrides*, a new Name, of which there is not any Sign, or any Original, in antient Writers. For, in that Tract of the Sea, some Authors place the *Æbudæ*, or *Æmodæ*, but with such Inconsistency amongst themselves, that they scarce ever agree in their Number, Situation, or Names. *Strabo* (to begin with the most antient) may be the better excused, because he followed uncertain Report, that Part of the World being not fully discovered in his Time. *Mela* reckons the *Æmodæ* to be seven; *Martianus Capella* makes the *Acmodæ* to be as many; *Ptolemy* and *Solinus* count the *Æbudæ* five; *Pliny* numbers the *Acmodæ* to be seven; and the *Æbudæ* thirty. I, for my part, think it fit to retain the Names most used by the *Antients*, and therefore I call all the *Western* Isles *Æbudæ*; and I purpose to describe the Site, Nature, and Commodities of every one of them, as out of later, so out of surer, Authors.

IN performing this Task, I will principally follow *Donald Monro*, a pious and diligent Person, who travelled in Person over all those *Islands*, and viewed them exactly. They ly dispersed in the *Deucalionian* Sea, being above three hundred in Number. The *Kings of Scotland* were Masters of them, Time out of Mind, until *Donald*, the Brother of *Malcolm III.* yielded up the Possession of them to the King of *Norway*, that by his Aid, he might forcibly seize upon the Crown of *Scotland*, to which he had no Right. The *Danes* and *Norwegians* enjoyed them about one hundred and sixty Years, until, being overcome in a great Battle, they were outed of them by *Alexander III.* King of *Scotland*. These Islanders either confiding in their Strength, or else eaged on and induced by Sedition, have sometimes endeavoured to assert their Liberty, and to set up *Kings* of their own; for of late *John* of the Family of the *Donalds*, as well as others before him, usurped the Name of *King*. In their Diet, Habit, and the whole Administration of their domestick Affairs, they use the antient Parsimony. Hunting and Fishing afford them Food. They boil their Flesh in Water poured either into the Paunch, or into the Skin of the Beasts they kill; and in hunting they sometimes eat raw Flesh, when the Blood is squeezed out. The Broth of boiled Flesh-meat is their Drink. They sometimes drink Whey
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very greedily in their Feasts, after it hath been kept, in proper Vessels, for some Years. That kind of Drink they call *Blaedium*; but, for the most Part of them, they drink Water. They make their Bread of Oats and Barley, (for they have no other Grain growing in those Parts), which is not unpleasant to the Taste; and, by frequent Use, they are very expert at making and moulding of it. In the Morning they eat a little of it, and so go a Hunting; or, if they have any other Work to do, they are content with that light Breakfast, and fast till the Evening. They use party-coloured Garments, and especially striped Plaids. Of all Colours they love the Purple and the Blue most. Their Ancestors wore party-coloured Plaids, variously striped, which Custom some of them do still retain; but, now a-days, many of them wear their Apparel of a dark brown Colour, almost like *Heath*; that so, lying in the *Heath-bushes*, they may not, in the Day-time, be discovered by their Cloaths. Being rather loosely wrapped, than closely covered, with this Sort of Blanketing, they endure the fiercest Weather, even in the open Air; and sometimes they sleep in them, though covered all over with Snow. In their Houses they also ly on the Ground; only they lay under them *Fern* or *Heath*, which they place with their Roots downward, and their Brush upwards, so prettily, that their Beds are almost as soft as a Feather-bed, but far more wholesome. For *Heath* being naturally a very great Drier, doth exhaust superfluous Humours, and restores Vigour to the Nerves, after it hath freed them from such noxious Moisture; so that they who ly down in the Evening weary and faint, in the Morning rise up nimble and sprightly. They are all of them very regardless of their Bed-Tykes and Coverlets, nay, they affect an uncouth Slovenliness in that particular; for, if any Occasion, or Necessity, cause them to travel into other Parts, when they go to Bed, they throw the Bed and Blankets of their Hosts on the Ground, and wrap themselves up in their own Garments, and so go to sleep. The Reason they give is, least such barbarous Effeminacy (for so they call it) should taint and corrupt their native and inbred Hardiness. In War they cover their Bodies with Iron-Helmets and a Coat of Mail, made of Iron Rings, reaching almost down to their Ancles. Their Weapons are Bows, and Arrows for the most part *hooked*, the Iron Barbs standing out on both Sides, which cannot be drawn out of the Body they pierce, unless the Orifice of the Wound be made very wide; some of them fight with broad Swords and Pole-axes. Instead of a *Trumpet* they use a *Bag-pipe*. They are much given to *Musick*, but on Instruments of a peculiar kind, called *Clarsbacks*; of which some have Strings made

of Brass-Wire, others of Guts, which they strike either with their long Nails, or with a Quill. Their only Ambition is, to deck their *Fiddles* with very much Silver and Jewels. The meaner Sort, instead of Jewels, use *Crystal*. They sing Songs, not unelegant, containing commonly the Elogies of valiant Men; and their *Bards* usually treat of no other Argument. They use something, though but little, of the old *Gaulish* Language.

THESE Islands of *Scotland*, which use the antient Tongue, and are called the *Western* or *Æbudæ* Isles, are usually reckoned thus. The first of them is *Mana*, by some falsely called *Monna*, but by the Antients *Eubonia*; *Paulus Orosius* calls it *Mevania*, or rather *Menavia*; for in the old Language 'tis called *Manim*. The last Age called the Town *Sodora*, in which the Bishop had his See. It is a Province almost equally distant from *Ireland*, from *Galloway* in *Scotland*, and from *Cumberland* in *England*; it is twenty four Miles long, and eight broad.

THE next Isle arising in the *Firth* of *Clyde* is *Alsa*, or *Ailze*, an high and precipitous Rock, excepting only one plain Passage into it. It is uninhabited almost all the Year; but only at certain Seasons, a great Number of Skiffs and Busses flock thither to fish for Cod and Whiting. It abounds with Conies and Sea-Fowl, but especially with *Soland-Geese*. It is almost equally distant from *Carrick* on the *South-East*, from *Ireland* on the *South-West*, and from *Cantyre* on the *North-West*. The Isle of *Arran* is situate twenty four Miles from *Ailze*, inclining towards the *North*; it is twenty four Miles long, and sixteen broad; 'tis full of high craggy Mountains, so that only its Sea-coasts are inhabited; where it is lowest the Sea breaks into it, and makes a considerable Bay, the Entrance of which is covered by the Island *Molas*, i. e. *Lamlach* or *Lamlash*. So that by reason of the Height of the Mountains, which break the Force of the Wind, it is, within, a very safe Harbour for Shipping; and there such plentiful Fishing in those Waters, which are perpetually calm, that, if the Inhabitants catch more than what will serve them for one Day, they throw them again into the Sea, as into a safe Trunk or Fish-pond, to be thence taken out at their Pleasure.

NOT far from *Arran* lies a small Island called *Flada* or *Fladda*, which is full of Rabbits. *Boot* Isle, being eight Miles long, and four broad, is situate more within the *Firth* of *Clyde*, and is eight Miles distant from *Arran* aforesaid, on the *North-East*. On the *North-West* 'tis distant from *Argyle* about half a Mile; on the *East*, from *Cunningham*, six Miles. 'Tis all in a Manner Low-land, and so very convenient for
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Corn and Pasturage. It hath but one Town in it, bearing the Name of the Island; and in it an old Castle named *Rothsey*. It hath also another Castle at the Bay, called in the Country Language *Cames*, or *Keames* Castle. On the *South-West* of it is the low Island *Mernoch*. It is fruitful enough, and well cultivated for a Place of its Bigness; it is a Mile long, and half a Mile broad. Farther still within the *Firth* of *Clyde*, are the two *Cumbras*, the greater and the less, at a small Distance one from another; the greater abounding with Corn, the less with fallow Deer.

FROM the Promontory of *Cantyre*, a little more than a Mile, lies *Avona*, now *Sanda*, called *Portuosa*, *i. e.* fit for a Port; it got that Name from being a Road for Ships; for when the *Danes* possessed those Islands, their Fleets went thither for Shelter. From the same Promontory to the *South-West*, over against the *Irish* Shore, stands *Rahglin*; as also four Miles from *Cantyre*, is a small Island called *Cara*; and not far from thence *Gega*, six Miles long, and a Mile and a half broad.

THE Island of *Jura* is distant twelve Miles from *Gaga*, being in Length twenty four Miles: Its maritime Parts are inhabited well enough, but being woody in the inland Parts, it abounds with several sorts of Deer. Some think it was antiently called *Dera*, which in the *Gothic* Language signifies a Stag. Two Miles distant from *Jura* lies *Scarba*, in Length from *East* to *West* four Miles, in Breadth one; 'tis inhabited but in few Places. The Tide is so violent between it and *Jura*, that there is no Passage neither with Sails nor Oars, but at certain Seasons only.

AFTER this there are many Islands of less Note spread up and down, as *Bellach* or *Genistaria*, *Gewrasdil*, *Lunga*, both the *Fiola's* or *Fiolass's*; also the three *Garvillans*, distinguished by respective Surnames; then *Culbrenin*, *Dunconnel*, *Luparia*, *Belbac*, *Whoker*, *Gavin*, *Luing*, *Seil* and *Suin*; these three last named are fruitful enough in Corn and Cattle, and are under the Jurisdiction of the Earls of *Argyle*. The next to these is *Slata*, or *Sleach*; so called because Tiles, named *Slats*, are hewn out of a Rock, which it contains. Then follow *Nasg*, *Easdale*, *Scharni*, and the Isle called *Tyan*, from an Herb which is prejudicial to Fruits, not unlike *Guild* or *Loosestrife*, but that 'tis of a more dilute Colour; and *Uridich* and the *Rye* Island. Then *Dow*, *i. e.* the black Island; and the Island *Eglisb*, or of the Church, and *Triarach*; after these follow the Islands *Ard* or *High*, *Ishol*, *Green*, *Heath*, as also *Tree*, *Goat*, *Coney-Isles*, and that which is called the Island of the *Otiosi* and *Erisbach*; as also *Lismore*, in which was
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the formerly Bishop of *Argyle's* See ; it is eight Miles in Length, two in Breadth ; in it there are found Metals, besides the Commodities common to other Isles. Then succeed *Ovilia*, and *Siuna*, *Ilan na port*, and *Geirach* ; as also *Falda*, the Isle of *Cloich*, *Gramry* ; the Islands *More*, *Ardiescarr*, *Musadil*, and *Bernera* heretofore called the Holy Sanctuary, the Noble *Yew-Isle*, *Molochasgar* and *Drinacha*, which is all covered over with Thorns, Elder, and the Ruins of great Houses ; then another Isle *Drimach*, which is full of Wood ; also *Ramsay* and *Kerrera*.

THE greatest of the *Western* Islands next to *Jura*, is *Yla* ; which is twenty four Miles long, and sixteen broad ; it is extended from *South* to *North* ; and is very fruitful in Cattle, Corn, Deer, and Lead : There is a River of fresh Water in it, called *Avonlaggan*, as also a Bay of Salt Water, in which are several Islands ; besides, it hath a Lough of fresh Water, in which there is an Island called *Finlagan* ; which heretofore was the chief of all the Islands, in which the Prince of the Islanders, assuming the Name of *King*, was wont to dwell. Near to that, but less, is the Island called *Ilan na-Covibastop*, called also the Island of Council ; for there was a Court in it, where fourteen of the chief Men sat daily for the Administration of Justice, and determining Matters of Controversy ; whose great Equity and Moderation procured Peace, both foreign and domestick ; and as a Concomitant of Peace, the Affluence of all things. Between *Ila* and *Jur* there is seated a small Island called *Roch* Isle, taking its Name from an Heap of Stones there ; moreover on the *South* Side of *Ila* ly these Islands, *Chourna*, *Maalmori*, *Ofrim*, *Bridi*, *Corshera*, the Island *Ishol*, *Immersi*, *Bethick*, *Texa*, *Gearach*, *Naosg*, *Rinard*, *Cana*, *Tarskeir*, *Achnar*, the Isle *More*, the Island resembling the Figure of a Man, the Island *Jean*, and the *Stachabadda* ; at the *West* Corner of *Yla* stands *Overfa*, there also the Sea is very raging, not passable for Ships but at certain Hours. The Island *Channard*, and toward the *North-West* are situate *Usabrest*, and *Tanast*, *Naomph*, and the Island *Banni* ; eight Miles from *Yla*, more toward the *North*, lies *Overfa*, next to it *Porcaria*, and half a Mile from *Overfa* lies *Collonsa*.

BEYOND *Collonsa* to the *North* lies *Mull*, twelve Miles distant from *Yla*. This Island is twenty four Miles in Length, and as many in Breadth ; 'tis craggy, yet not wholly barren of Corn. It hath many Woods in it, and great Herds of Deer, and a Port safe enough for Ships ; over against *Icolumkill*, it hath two large Rivers full of Salmon, besides other less Rivers not without Fish ; it hath also two Loughs, in each of which are several Islands, and Castles in them

them all. The Sea, breaking into it in divers Places, makes four Bays, all abounding with Herrings. On the *South-West* is seated *Calaman*, or the Island of *Doves*; on the *North-East* stands *Erra*; both these Islands are commodious for Cattle, Corn, and Fishing.

THE Island of *Icolumkill* is distant from them two Miles; it is two Miles long, and above a Mile broad, fruitful in all Things which that Climate can produce; and famed for as many antient Monuments, as could be well expected in such a Country; but it was made yet more famous by the severe Discipline and Holiness of St. *Columbus*. It was beautified with two Monasteries, one of *Monks*, the other of *Nuns*; with one *Curia*, (or as they call it), a Parish-church, and with many Chapels, some of them built by the Magnificence of the *Kings of Scotland*; and others by the petty Kings of the Islands; in the old *Monastery* of St. *Columbus*, the Bishops of the Islanders placed their See; their antient Mansion-house, which was before in the Isle of *Man*, being taken by the *English*. There remains as yet, among the antient Ruins, a Church-yard, or Burying-place, common to all the Noble Families which dwelt in the *Western Islands*. There are three Tombs in it more eminent than the rest, at a small Distance one from another, having little Shrines looking towards the *East*, built over them. In the *West* Part of each of them there is a Stone with an Inscription, declaring whose Tombs they are; the middlemost of them hath this Inscription; *The Tomb of the Kings of Scotland*; for it is reported, That forty eight of the *Scottish Kings* were buried there: In that on the right Hand, there is this Title carved, *The Tombs of the Kings of Ireland*; for four Kings of *Ireland* are said to be interred there: That on the left Side is inscribed, *The Tombs of the Kings of Norway*; for Report says, That eight Kings of that Nation were intombed there. In the rest of the *Cœmety*, the eminent Families of the Islands have each their Tombs apart. There are six Islands adjacent to it, small indeed, yet not unfruitful, which have been given by antient *Kings*, and by the Princes of the Islanders, to the Nunnery of St. *Columbus*.

THE Island *Soa*, though it hath convenient Pasturage for Sheep, yet its greatest Revenue is from the sitting and hatching of Sea-fowl, and especially from their Eggs. The next to that is *Nuns-Island*: Then *Rudana*; after that *Reringa*; after which follows *Skanny*, distant half a Mile from *Mull*; it hath one Parish in it, but the Parishoners live mostly in *Mull*: The Shore abounds with Conies. A Mile from *Skanny*, stands *Eorfa*. All these are under the Jurisdiction of the *Monks of St. Columbus* his Monastery.

Two Miles from *Eorsa* stands *Ulva*, which is five Miles long, and for its Bigness, fruitful in Corn and Pasturage. It hath an Haven very commodious for Gallies, Long-boats, or Berlins. On its *South-side* lies *Colvanfa*, the Soil thereof is fruitful, and it hath a Wood of Hasel in it. Almost three hundred Paces from it, is situate *Gomedra*, two Miles long, and a Mile broad, running out from *South* to *North*. Four Miles from *Gomedra*, on the *South*, stands *Stafa*, both of these two last named Isles having many good Havens in them. Four Miles from hence, toward the *North-West*, are the two *Carniburghs*, the greater and the less, so fortified round about with the Precipices of Rocks, and a most rapid Current besides, that, their natural Strength being assisted by Art, they are impregnable. A Mile from these, is an Island whose Soil is almost all black, as being cemented out of old rotten Wood and Moss mixt together. They dry the Turff of it for Fuel, and therefore it is called *Turff-Island*; for so they there call that Sort of Earth, which the *English* call *Moss*. Then succeeds *Lunga*, two Miles in Length, and *Baca* half less than it.

FROM thence toward the *West*, about six Miles Distance, stands *Tirrif*, in Length eight Miles, in Breadth three; of all these Islands, most abounding with all Things necessary to maintain Life; for there is plenty of Cattle and Corn; they also get much by Fishing, and the Breed of Sea-Fowl. There is in it a Lake or Lough of fresh Water and an old Castle, as also an Haven, not unsafe for Gallies and Long-boats. Two Miles from hence stands *Gunn* Isle, and at an equal Distance from *Gunn*, *Coll*, twelve Miles long, two broad, a very fruitful Isle. Not far from thence is *Calfa*, which is almost all covered with Wood. After that, two Islands follow, surnamed *Green*, the greater and the less. And as many ly, of the same Surnames, over-against the Promontory of *Mull*. Not far from this ly two Islands, surnamed *Glassæ*, i. e. Sky-blue, then *Ardan Rider*, i. e. the high Island of the Horseman: Next *Luparia*, or the Island of Wolves; after this is the Island *More*; from the Island *Coll*, toward the *North*, there is extended from *East* to *West*, *Rum*, sixteen Miles long, six broad; and because it is inhabited but in few Places, the Sea-Fowl almost every where lay their Eggs up and down in the Fields; so that in the Spring one may take up as many of them as one pleases. In the high Rocks of *Rum*, the Soland Geese, spoken of before, are taken in great Abundance. Four Miles from thence to the *South-East* is the Island *Naich*, or of Horses, and half a Mile from thence is *Muick*, for its Bigness, abounding with all Necessaries. Falcons build their Nests there; and it hath also a Port convenient enough for Shipping. Not far from it
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are *Canna*, and *Egg Isle*, small, yet fruitful Islands; the later abounding with Soland Geese.

THEN there is *Soavretail*, fitter for Hunting than any other Commodities of Life. Thence from *North* to *South* is extended *Sky*, the greatest of all the Islands about *Scotland*, as being in Length forty two Miles, in Breadth sometimes eight, sometimes twelve; in many Places it is full of Mountains, which abound with Woods, and those Woods are full of Pastures. The Champaign is also fruitful of Corn and Cattle; and, besides other Cattle, it is so famous for a large Breed of Mares. It hath five great Rivers in it, all very full of Salmon; besides many less ones, not without Salmon neither. The Sea penetrating on every Side into the Land, makes many Bays of salt Water there; of which three are most eminent, besides thirteen others, all full of Herrings. It hath also a Loch of fresh Water in it, and five Castles. This Island, in the old *Scottish* Dialect, was called *Skianacha*, i. e. *winged*, because the Promontories, between which the Sea made its Influx, stretched out themselves, as so many Wings; but it is now by Use come to be called *Sky*, i. e. *a Wing*.

ABOUT *Sky* there ly scattered some smaller Islands, as *Oransa*, full of Corn and Cattle; and *Na gunner* having Plenty of Woods and Conies; as also *Paba*, infamous for Robberies, where Thieves, lurking in the Woods, way-lay Travellers as they pass. Then comes *Scalpa*, situated eight Miles from it to the *North-West*; besides other Commodities, it hath great Herds of Deer in its Woods. Between the Mouth of *Loch-Carron* and *Raarsa*, lies *Crouling*, a Port safe for Ships. And from *Scalpa*, two Miles towards the *North*, lies *Raarsa*, seven Miles long, and two broad; it hath Woods of Beech-Trees in it, and many Deer in them. Half a Mile from it is *Rona*, which is quite covered over with Woods, and Heath. It hath a Port in its inmost Bay, noted for Piracy, as being very commodious to surprize Sea-passengers. And in the Mouth of the Bay, (which, from its Shallowness, is called *Gerloch*), there is an Island of the same Name. From *Rona*, six Miles towards the *North* lies *Fladda*. Two Miles from *Fladda* is *Tronta*, and on the *South* Side of *Sky*, *Oransa*: A Mile from thence ly little *Buiia*, then great *Buiia*; and after them five small Islands of no Note; after them follows *Ishol*, fruitful in Corn; and near it is *Ovia*, then *Askerma*, and *Linadel*; and eighty Miles from *Sky* to the *North-West* ly *Linga*, *Gigamina*, *Bernera*, *Megala*, *Paba*, *Flada*, *Scarpa Vervecum*, i. e. of *Wedders*, *Sandrera*, and *Watersa*, which, besides other great Conveniencies, hath a Haven capable of holding many, and those very great, Ships; whither at certain Seasons of the Year, a great Company of
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Fisher-men flock together, from the Countries round about. These nine last Islands are under the Government of the Bishop of the Islands. Two Miles distant from *Watersa*, lies *Barra*, seven Miles in Length, extending itself from the *South-West* to the *North-East*, not unfruitful in Corn, but most noted for Cod and Whiting Fishery: A Bay of the Sea makes an Influx into it, at a narrow Mouth; but within it is broader and also round. It hath one Island in it, and therein a strong Fort or Castle. In the *North* Part of *Barra*, there ariseth an Hill full of Grass from Top to Bottom; on the Top of it riseth a Spring of fresh Water, which flowing down in a Rivulet, carries with it into the neighbouring Sea some small Animals, and yet shapeless; which in some Sort, though not very plainly, represent those Shell-fish we commonly call *Cockles*. This Part of the Shore, to which the Borderers retire, they call the great *Sanda*; because when the Sea ebbs, the Sand is uncovered for a Mile and more; there they dig up great Shell-fish, which the People thereabout believe to be bred out of the Seminary of those shapeless Fish, which the forenamed Drill carries down from its Fountain; and that they are either produced there, or at least grow bigger in the Sea.

BETWEEN *Barra* and *Uyist* ly these small Islands following, *Orbanfa*, *Ovia* or *Eoy*, *Hakerset*, *Garulinga*, *Flada*, *Buiia* the greater, and *Buiia* the less, *Haia*, *Heldisay*, *Gega*, *Linga*, *Fara*, *Fuda*, *Heath Island*. From these towards the *North*, lies *Uyist*, thirty Miles long, and six broad. The Tide flowing into this Island in two Places, represents the Appearance of three Islands, but when it ebbs, it again grows into one: There are many Lakes of fresh Water in it, the biggest of which is three Miles long. The Sea, wearing away the Land, hath made itself a Passage into this Loch; neither can it be excluded by the Inhabitants, no not by a Jitty or Bank of sixty Foot high, but that it insinuates itself between the Stones, not well compacted together, and there often leaves some small Sea-fish behind. There is a Fish taken in it, in other Respects like a Salmon, save that his Belly is white, and his Back black, and he is without Scales like to Salmon. Moreover, there are in it Abundance of Lochs of fresh Water. It hath Caves in it covered with Heath, which are lurking Places for Robbers. There are five Parish-churches in it for the Performance of holy Duties.

EIGHT Miles from thence, towards the *East*, lies *Helscher Vetularum*, so called, as I suppose, because it belongs to the Nuns of the Island of *Icolumkill*. A little farther towards the *North* appears *Havelschyer*, to which at certain Seasons of the Year

Year many *Sea-Calves* [or *Seals*] do resort, and are there taken. About sixty Miles beyond that, to the *North-West*, stands *Hirta*, very fruitful in Corn, Cattle, and especially in Sheep, which are here fatter than in any other of the Islands. The Inhabitants are ignorant of all Arts, and especially of Religion. After the Summer Solstice, the *Lord* of the Island sends thither his *Proctor* or *Steward*, to gather his Rent or Tribute; and, with him, he sends a *Priest* to baptize all the Children, which were born the Year before; but if the *Priest* come not, then every Man baptizeth his own Children; they pay to their Lord a certain Number of *Sea-Calves*, and of *Muttons*, dried in the Sun, and also of Sea-fowl. The whole Island doth not exceed a Mile in Length, and it is almost of equal Breadth; neither can any Part of it be seen from any neighbouring Island, besides three Mountains which are on the Shore, and these cannot be discerned neither, but from the highest Places of other Islands. In those Mountains there are Sheep exceeding beautiful, but by reason of the Violence and Rapidity of the Sea Current and Tide, they can scarce be come at by any body.

BUT to return to *Uyist*; on the *North* Promontory thereof there is situate the Isle *Valey*, a Mile broad and two Miles long. Between that Promontory and the Isle *Harrick*, these Islands are interjacent, small indeed, but not unfruitful, viz. *Soa*, *Stromoy*, *Pabaia*, *Bernera*, *Erisay*, *Keligera*, *Saga* the less, *Saga* the greater, *Hermodra*, *Scarvay*, *Gria*, *Linga*, *Gillan*, *Hea*, *Hoia*, *Ferelaia*, *Soa* the less, *Soa* the great, *Isa*, *Senna* the less, *Senna* the great, *Tarransa*, *Slegana*, *Tuema*, and, above *Harrick*, *Scarpa*; and due *West* there are seven Islands, at fifty Miles Distance above *Lewis*, which some call *Flavanae*, others the *Sacred*, or Sanctuary Islands; they arise up into grassy Mountains, but are quite uncultivated; neither are there in them any four-footed Beasts, but only wild Sheep, which the Hunters catch, but eat them not when they have done. They make Tallow of their Fat, which is the most that they yield: That little Flesh which they have is so unpleasant, that no Man will eat it, unless he is forced to it by Extremity of Hunger.

FURTHERMORE, almost in the same Tract, nearer to the *North*, ly *Garvellan*, i. e. the craggy Island, *Lamba*, *Flada*, and *Kellasa*, the two *Berneraes*, the great and the small, *Kirta*, *Buiia* the little, *Buiia* the great, *Vexa*, *Pabaia*, and *Sigrama* the great, or *Cunicularia*, so called from its Plenty of Conies, *Sigrama* the less, and the Island of *Pigmies*; in this last there is a Chapel, where the bordering People do believe that *Pigmies* were heretofore buried; for many Strangers, digging deep

into the Earth, have found, and yet do find, little and round Heads, and the small Bones of other Parts of human Bodies, that don't in the least differ from the antient Reports concerning *Pigmies*.

IN that Shore of the Island *Lewis*, which looks toward the *South-East*, two Bays of the Sea break into the Land, one of which they call the *South*, the other the *North Loch*; both of them yield Abundance of Fish, to those who take Pains to catch them, and that during the whole Year. From the same Shore of *Lewis*, more to the *South*, stands *Fable Isle*, then *Adam's Isle*, then the Isle of *Lambs*; as also, *Huilin*, *Viccoil*, *Havera*, *Laxa*, *Erin*, the Isle of *Icolumkill*, *Toray*, *Iffert*, *Scalpa*, *Flada*, and *Shevy*. At the *East Side* of this Island there is a subterraneous Passage, arched at Top, above a Bow-shot in Length: Under which Vault, small Ships use to shelter themselves, making to it by Sails or Oars, to avoid the Violence of the Tide, which rages at the neighbouring Promontory, with a huge Noise, to the extreme Terror and Danger of the Mariners. More to the *East* lies an Island which they call *Scham Castle*, a Place naturally fortified, abounding with Corn and Fish, and also affording sufficient Provision to the Inhabitants by Eggs of Sea-fowl, which there make their Nests.

AT the Shore, where *Loch-Brien*, or *Broom*, opens to the Land, lies the Isle *Eu*, which is almost all covered with Woods, and good for nothing but to harbour Thieves in, to rob Passengers. More to the *North* is the Island *Gruinorta*, being also full of Woods, possessed by Robbers and Pyrates. And looking towards the same Coast, is an Island, named the Island of *Cleirach*, which, beside Pasturage, abounds with the Eggs of Sea-fowl. Next to that is *Afulla*, and then *Harary* the greater, then *Harary* the less; and nigh it the *Island of Horses*, or *Nastich*; and near that again, the Isle *Mertaika*. These eight Islands are situate before the Mouth of the Bay, which is vulgarly called *Loch-Broom*, or *Brian*. At some Distance from these Islands, which ly before *Loch-Broom*, *Harrick* and *Lewis* run toward the *North*. They are sixty Miles in Length, and sixteen in Breadth: These make but one Island, for they are not distinguished by the Arms of the Sea, that flow into it, but by the Meers of the Land, and the Possessions of their several Lairds: But that Part, which is exposed to the South, is wont to be called *Harry*. There was a Monastery in it, called *Roadilla*, built by *Maccloyd* of *Harry*. The Soil is fruitful of Corn, but it yields its Increase rather by digging, than ploughing: Its Pastures are very fit for Sheep, especially one very high Mountain, which is green with Grass, even to the very Top. *Donald*

nald Monro, a learned and pious Man, relates, that when he was there, he saw Sheep very old, (for that kind of Cattle), wandering up and down without any certain Owner: And the Number of them is increased from hence, that neither Fox, Wolf, or Serpent was ever seen there; though great Woods ly betwixt this Part and *Lewis*, which breed many Stags, but low ones, and their Bodies are of no large Size. In this Part of the Island is a River very full of Salmon. In the *North* Part lies *Lewis* inhabited enough towards the Shore. It hath four Parish-churches in it, one Fort, seven great Brooks, and twelve smaller, all of them, according to their Bigness, full of Salmon; in many Places the Sea penetrates into the Land, and there diffuses itself into Bays, all abounding with Plenty of Herrings. There is also great Plenty of Sheep, which wander freely amongst the Thickets, and Heath-bushes: The Inhabitants drive them into a narrow Place, like a Sheep-fold, and there every Year they shear them, after the antient Custom. The Champaign Part of the Country abounds with Heath-bushes, among which the Surface of the Earth is black, occasioned by Moss, that is matted as it were with rotten Wood, gathered together for many Ages, even a Foot thick. This upper Crust, being cut into long and slender Turfs, and dried in the Sun, serves for Firing, instead of Wood: The next Year after, the naked Ground, being dunged with Sea-weed, is sown with Barley. In this Island there is commonly so great a Quantity of Whales taken, that sometimes (as the old *Inhabitants* relate) twenty seven, some very great, some smaller, fall to the Share of the Priests for their Tithes. There is also a great Cave in this Island, in which, when the Tide is out, the Water is yet two Fathom deep; but when the Tide is in, 'tis above four Fathom. There Multitudes of People, of both Sexes, and of all Ages, sitting on the Rocks, with Hooks and Lines, do promiscuously catch all sorts of Fish, in great Abundance.

THERE is a small Island, about sixty Miles from *Lewis*, to the *North-East*, of a low and plain Soil, and well inhabited; its Name is *Rona*; the Inhabitants thereof are rude Persons, and without almost any Religion at all. The Laird of it assigns a certain Number of Families to inhabit and till it, and he allows them a Sufficiency of great and small Cattle, whereby they may live well, and pay their Tribute too; that which is above their own Provision, they send every Year to *Lewis*, to their Landlord, who lives there; they commonly pay him, in the Name of a Tribute or Rent, a great Quantity of Barley-meal, sewed up in the Skins of Sheep, (for that Kind of Grain grows plentifully amongst them), Muttons and Sea-fowl dried
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in the Sun, as much as remains, as a Surplusage of their yearly Provision; and if the Multitude of their People doth superabound, they send also the supernumerary Persons to their Landlords. So that these, in my Judgment, are the only Persons in the whole World, who want nothing, but have all Things to Satiety. And besides, being ignorant of Luxury and Covetousness, they enjoy that Innocency and Tranquillity of Mind, which others take great Pains to obtain, from the Precepts and Institutions of wise Men. And this they have from their Ignorance of Vices; neither doth any Thing seem to be wanting to their great Happiness, but that they do not understand the Excellency of their Condition. There is in this Island a Chapel dedicated to St. *Ronanus*, where (as old Men say) there is a Spade always left, with which, if any one die, there is always found a Place marked out, and prepared for his Grave; moreover in this Island, besides other Fishery, many *Whales* are also taken.

SIXTEEN Miles from thence, towards the *West*, lies the Island *Suilkyr*; a Mile long, which brings forth no Grass, no, not so much as Heath, only it hath black Rocks, some of which are covered with black Moss. Sea-fowl do commodiously lay their Eggs, and hatch them there. Before the Young are fleg'd enough to fly away, the Neighbour Islanders sail thither from *Lewis*, and they allow themselves eight Days Time, more or less, to cull or gather them up, until they load their Skiffs with their Flesh dried in the Wind, and also with their Feathers. In this *Island* also, there is a rare Kind of Bird unknown in other Parts, called *Colca*; it is little less than a Goose; she comes every Year thither in the Spring, and there hatches and feeds her Young, till they can shift for themselves. About that Time, her Feathers fall off of their own accord, and so leave her naked; then she betakes herself to the Sea again, and is never seen more, till the next Spring. This also is singular in them, their Feathers have no Quills, or Stalks, but cover their Bodies with a gentle Down, which has no hard Nibs belonging to it.

NEXT follow the *Orcades*, lying scattered in the *North* of *Scotland*, partly in the *Deucaledonian*, and partly in the *German Seas*. Concerning the Name of them, Writers, both antient and modern, do well enough agree; but the Reason of the Name, no man (that I know) hath explained. Neither doth it appear, who first possessed them: All say, that they were of a *German Original*, but from what Nation of *Germany*, they say not: If we may form a Conjecture from their Speech, both heretofore and now, they use the *Gothick Language*. Some think they were *Picts*, induced by this Argument, that the Sea, dividing

viding them from *Caithness*, is called the *Pentland* (or *Pictland*) Sea, or Firth. They judge also that the *Picts* themselves were of the Race of the *Saxons*, grounding their Opinion chiefly on the Verses of *Claudian*, in his seventh *Panegyrick*, which run thus :

—*Maduerunt Saxone fuso*
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule;
Scotorum Tumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

The Orcades were moist with Saxon Gore;
Warm with the Blood of Picts flow'd Thule's Shore:
And whilst its Head, each Scotchman's Tomb appears,
Icy Juverna all dissolves in Tears.

BUT their Error may easily be refuted, partly out of *Bede* the *Anglo-Saxon*, who affirming, that the *Britons* sung the Praises of *God* in five several Languages, reckons the *Pictish* to be one; but if the *Picts* had then spoke the *Saxon* Language, he would not have distinguished it from the *Saxon*; (which then the *English* used, without Corruption); and partly also, out of those very Verses of *Claudian*, where he expressly declares; That the *Picts* were a different People from the *Saxons*; for, he says, that the *Orcades* were the Country of the *Saxons*; and *Thule*, of the *Picts*; but whatsoever their Original was, in this our Age, they use a Language different both from *Scotch* and *English*, but very near the *Gothick*. In their daily Fare, the common People do as yet retain much of their antient Parsimony, and therefore they are very sound in Mind, and healthy in Body. Few of them die of Diseases, but almost all of them of old Age; and their Ignorance of Delights and Pleasures contributes more to the maintaining of their Health, than the Skill and Diligence of *Physicians* doth to others. The same Parsimony conduceth much, both to the Elegancy of their Beauty, and the Tallness of their Stature. They have but a small Increase of Corn, except only of Oats and Barley; out of which they extract both Bread and Drink. Of Animals which herd together, they have Sheep, Kine, and divers Goats, so that they have Abundance of Milk, Butter, and Cheese among them: They have also an innumerable Company of Sea-fowl, of which, and of Fishes, their Diet doth, for the most part, consist. There is no venomous Creature there, no, nor any of a deformed and odious Appearance. They have little Horses, in Shew contemptible, but strong enough for all Uses, even beyond Belief. They have never a Tree growing, no, nor Shrub neither, besides Heath, which happens, not so much from the Fault of the Soil, or Air, as the

the Laziness of the Inhabitants, as doth easily appear by the Roots of Trees, which, in many Places, are there digged out of the Earth. As often as Foreigners import any Wine thither, they drink it greedily, even to Excess. They have an antient Cup, or Goblet among them, (which to procure the greater Authority to their Carousings) they say, did belong to St. *Magnus*, who first instructed them in the Principles of the Christian Religion. It so far exceeds the Bigness of other Drinking-bowls, that it may seem to have been a Relick of the Feast of the *Lapithæ*. They try an Experiment with it upon their Bishops, at their first coming to them; he that can drink up a whole one, at one Draught, (which seldom happens) they count him a very *Nonfuch* of a Man; and do look upon it as an happy Omen and Presage, that the Crop of the following Years will be superabundant. From which Practice of theirs, a Man may easily conjecture, that their Parsimony which I spoke of, proceeds not so much from Reason and Choice, as from Penury and Want; and the same Necessity which produced it at first, perpetuated and transmitted it to their Posterity; till the Neighbour Nations being corrupted by prevailing Luxury, their antient Discipline was, by degrees, weakened and impaired, and they also gave up themselves to charming Pleasures and Delights; and being thus inclined to Luxury, they were hurried on to it, by their Commerce with Pyrates; who, not daring to land on the Continent, because it was full of Inhabitants, took in fresh Water at these Islands; and there, either changed their Wine, and other Merchandize, for the Provisions of the Country; or else sold them to the Islanders at a low Price: And the Islanders being few in Number, and unarmed too, and dispersed also in the tempestuous Sea, that they could not convene to assist one another, being conscious of their own Weakness, either did receive, or at least, did not reject Security, brought home to their Doors, especially, it being mixed with Gain and Pleasure to Boot, which are its usual Companions. But this Pollution of Manners did mostly infect the great ones, and the *Priests*. Among the *Vulgar*, many Tokens of their former Moderation do yet remain. The Sea is there very raging and tempestuous, which is caused, not only by the Violence of Winds, and the Position of the heavenly Constellations, but also by the Meetings of contrary Tides, raised up, and flowing in from the *Western Ocean*, and making such a Conflict between the Streights of the Land, that the Surges, occasioned thereby, sometimes meeting, opposite one to another, and being all impetuously whirled together, cannot be passed, neither by Oars nor Sails: If any Mariners dare come too near, one of these three Mischiefs befalls them.

them. They are either driven back, with a forcible Violence, into the Sea; or else by the Rapidity of the foaming Waves, they are dashed upon Shelves and Rocks: Or lastly, are swallowed up by the rolling *Vortices* of the ingulphing Waters. There are only two Seasons, wherein these *Streights* are passable; either when upon the falling back of the Tides, the Conflict of the Waters ceasing, the Sea is thereby calmed; or else when it comes, in a full Channel, to the Height of its Increase at Spring-tides, that Force languishing on both Sides, which raised and made the Waters tempestuous and stormy; the Ocean, as it were, sounding a Retreat to its Storms, and thereupon the mountainous Surges do retire into their own proper Caverns and Recesses.

MOREOVER, *Authors* do not agree concerning the Number of the *Orcades*; *Pliny* reckons them to be forty; others about thirty; but *Paulus Orosius* comes nearest the Truth; he makes them thirty three, of which thirteen are inhabited; the rest not, but left to feed Cattle. For many of them are low, and so narrow in Compass, that if they should be tilled, they would scarce maintain above one Farmer or two. Some of them shew either bare Rocks, or else such as are covered but with a rotten kind of black Moss.

THE biggest Isle of the *Orcades* is called by many of the Antients *Pomona*; at this Day they call it the *Moin-land*, because it exceeds the rest so much in Bigness, for it is thirty Miles long; it is well inhabited, for it hath twelve Parish-churches, and one Town besides; which the *Danes*, who were long Masters of the *Orcades*, called *Cracoviaca*; we *Scotsmen* call it by a corrupt Name, *Kirkwall*. In this Town there are two Castles of a reasonable Bigness, standing near together, one belonging to the *King*, the other to the *Bishop*. And between them is a *Church*, magnificent enough for those Places; between the *Church* and the Castles there are frequent Buildings on both Sides, which the Inhabitants call two Cities, one the *King's*, the other the *Bishop's*. The whole Isle runs out into Promontories, between which the Bays of the Sea making an Influx, do afford safe Anchoring for Ships, and here and there a good Port. In six several Places of this Island there are Metals, *i. e.* white and black Lead, so good that there are not better in all *Britain*. This Island is about twenty four Miles distant from *Caithness*; the *Pictish* Sea, called *Pentland Firth*, running between them; of whose Nature we have spoken before.

IN that narrow Sea there are many scattered Islands, of which *Strom-oy*, not unfruitful for the Bigness of it, is distant from *Caithness* but a Mile, but they do not reckon that amongst the

the *Orcades*, because of its Propinquity to the *British Shore*; and because the *Earls of Caithness* have always been *Lords* of it. Sailing from hence towards the *North*, we meet with *South Ronalds*, or *Ronalds-Oy*, the first of the *Orcades*, which is sixteen Miles from *Dungsby-head*; Skiffs and small Ships pass over in two Hours from it to this Island, the Tide being with them, though there be no Wind, such is the Violence of the Current. This Island is five Miles in Length, and it hath a convenient Port, surnamed *St. Margaret's Hope*. A little *Eastward* of it are two small Islands, uninhabited, and left for Cattle to pasture in. They call them in their Country Speech, the *Holmes*, that is, grassy Plains situate by Water. To the *North* is the Island *Burra*, and two *Holmes* between *that* and *Mainland*. From *Burra* towards the *West*, there ly three Islands in order, *Souna*, *Flata* and *Fara*; and beyond them, *Hoia*, and *Valis* or *Waes-Isle*, which some make two, others but one Island, because about both the Equinoxes (at which Times the Sea doth most tempestuously fume and rage) the Tide falling back, and the Lands being bared, they stick together, and are joined by a narrow Neck of Land, and so make one Island; but upon the Return of the Tide, and the Sea coming afresh between them, they again represent the Form of two. In this Island are the highest Mountains of all the *Orcades*. *Hoia* and *Waes-Isle* are extended ten Miles in Length, and from *Ranalsa* they are distant eight Miles; from *Duncansby* or *Dungisby*, in *Caithness*, above twenty Miles. On the *North* is the Island *Granisa*, situate in a very narrow Arm of the Sea: For *Hoia* is distant from the nearest Promontory, which is that of *Pomona*, or *Mainland*, only two Miles. These are the Islands situate in the very *Streights*, between *Mainland* and *Caithness*. The *West* Side of *Mainland* looks to the open Sea, no Islands or Rocks appearing there: From its *East* Promontory it runs a little out into the Sea; *Coupins-Oy* almost covers it on the *North*. Nearer the Shore is *Siapins-Oy*, somewhat inclining to the *East*, situate over-against *Kirkwall*, two Miles distant, itself being six Miles long. On the *West* Part of *Mainland* lies *Rows-Oy*, six Miles in Length. From thence towards the *East* stands *Eglisa*, or *Eglis-Oy*, where Fame reports, that *St. Magnus* was buried. From hence to the *Southward* ly *Wyer-Oy* and *Gress-Oy*, and not far from thence *Wester-Oy*, which is eighty Miles distant from *Schetland*. *Papa*, and *Stronza*, are also eighty Miles distant from *Schetland*. Almost in the Middle of the Passage between them lies *Fara*, or *Fair Isle*, which is conspicuous and visible both from the *Orcades*, and from *Schetland* too; for it rises into three very high Promontories, surrounded with lofty Rocks,

Rocks, every way inaccessible, save that towards the *North-East*, it being a little lower, affords an Harbour safe enough for small Ships. The Inhabitants thereof are very poor; for the Fisher-men, which sail that way every Year, coming to fish from *England*, *Holland*, and other Countries near the Sea, do plunder and carry away what they please.

THE next after this is the greatest of the *Schetlandish* Islands, and therefore the Inhabitants call it the *Continent* or *Mainland*; it is sixty Miles in Length, and in some Places sixteen in Breadth; it spreads itself into many small Promontories: Two of them I shall name, the one long, but narrow, running to the *North*; the other broader, running to the *South-East*. The maritime Parts of it are, for the most part, inhabited; but to the inward Parts no Animal comes but Fowl. Some few Years since, the Inhabitants endavoured to form Plantations, farther than their Ancestors had done, but the Success did not answer. Their Wealth is from the Sea, for it lies convenient for Fishing on every Side.

TEN Miles farther, towards the *North*, is the Isle *Zeal*, or *Yell*, above twenty Miles long, and eight broad; so uncouth a Place, that no Creature can live therein, except such as are born there. A Merchant of *Breme* is reported to dwell in this Island, who doth import all Sorts of foreign Wares (which the Inhabitants have need of) in great Abundance. Between this *Island* and *Mainland* ly these small Islands, *Lingga*, *Orna*, *Bigga*, *Sanctferry*. About nine Miles beyond it, to the *North*, stands *Vuist*, extended above twenty Miles in Length, and six in Breadth. It is of a plain and level Soil, neither is it any otherwise unsightly to the Eye, but that it is surrounded with a very raging Sea. Between this and *Yell* lies *Via*, *Vra*, *Linga*; beyond it, towards the *West*, are the two *Skerrys* and *Burra*; on the *East* is *Balta*, *Honnega*, *Fotlara*, or *Pheodor-oy*, seven Miles long, distant seven Miles from *Vuist*, and eight from *Yell*; 'tis over-against the *Streights* which divide *Vuist* from *Yell*. Then many petty Islands ly on the *East Side* of the *Mainland*, as *Mecla*, the three *Eastern Skirrys*, *Chualsa*, or *Whals-Oy*, *Nostvada*, *Brasa*, and *Musa*; the *West Side* is surrounded by the *Western Skirrys*, *Rotti*, *Papa the less*, *Vemendru*, *Papa the greater*, *Vallu*, *Trons Isle*, *Burra*, *Hara the greater*, *Hara the less*, and amongst them ly intermingled almost as many *Holmes*, or *Plain Islands*, for Pasturage only.

THE *Schetlanders* live after the same manner as the *Islanders* of the *Orcades* do, save that, as to their Household Provision they are a little more hardy. Their Apparel is after the *German Fashion*, which, according to their Abilities,

is not uncomely. Their Incomes arise from a Sort of coarse Cloth, which they sell to the *Norwegians*; as also from Oil, pressed out of the Inwards of Fishes, from their Butter, and from their Fisheries: They fish in small Vessels of two Oars, which they buy of the *Norwegians*. Part of the Fish which they catch they salt, and Part they dry in the Wind. Out of these being sold they raise a Sum of Money to pay their *Tribute*, and to provide Dwelling-houses, and Household Stuff, and a great Part of their Food arises from thence also. They who study Neatness in their domestick Utensils, are accustomed to have some Plate in their Houses. They use Measures, Numbers and Weights after the *German* Fashion. Their Language is also *German*, or almost the anti-ent *Gothick*. They know not what it is to be drunk, only every Month they invite one another, and on those Days they are innocently merry and jocund, without those Brawls and other Vices, which are occasioned by Drunkenness; for they persuade themselves that this Custom contributes much for the maintaining of mutual Friendship. The Firmness of their Health appeared in one named *Laurence* in our Age, who, after he was an hundred Years old, married a Wife. And when he was an hundred and forty, he used to fish with his *Skiff*, even in a very rough and raging Sea; he died but lately, not by the Shock of any grievous Disease, but only by the Infirmities and Languishings of old Age.

THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.

BOOK II.

Containing the antient NAMES, MANNERS, LAWS,
and CUSTOMS of the Country, and what People
inhabited the ISLAND from the very Beginning.

WHEN I endeavoured to retrieve the Memory of *British* Affairs, for above two thousand Years past, many Impediments offered in Bar to my Design; amongst which this was the chief, that there were for a long time no Monuments of *Learning* in those Countries, from which the Knowledge of our *Original* was to be derived; and when Letters came, though but late, into Use, they were nipped almost in the very Bud; for I may safely affirm, that all the Nations, which hitherto have seated themselves in *Britain*, came thither from *Gaul*, *Spain* and *Germany*. The *Gauls* first of all received the Characters of Letters from the *Marsellian Greeks*, by which they used to make up their Accounts, and to send Letters one to another. Alphabets, or the Figures which every Letter bore, were *Greek*; but the Language was *Gallick*. But they did not commit their Laws, and the Rites of their Religion, to Writing, no not in *Julius Cæsar's* Time; and much less did they record their Exploits, which yet, 'tis probable, were very great: Those Things which they either did or suffered in *Italy*, *Germany*, *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Greece*, and *Asia*, had been buried likewise in the same Oblivion,

vion, (so that Posterity would never have come to the Knowledge of them), if *foreign Writers* had not recorded and transmitted them down to us. I confess, in *Spain* the *Greeks* had the Use of Letters; and before them, the *Phœnicians* who inhabited the Shores of the *Mediterranean Sea*: But of the *Barbarians* only the *Turdetani* (as *Strabo* writes) had any Knowledge of them. But as for any antient Writer, there was yet none that I know of. For *Varro*, *Pliny*, and any other *Latin Authors*, who touched any Thing, by the by, concerning the first Inhabitants of *Spain*, confirm their Opinions therein, rather by bare Conjectures, than the Testimony of Writers. In that Part of *Britain* which *Cæsar* visited, there were no antient Records at all; and among the farther inland Inhabitants, which were still more barbarous, they were much less to be expected. So that when he asked them concerning the *Origin* of their *Nation*, and its most antient Inhabitants, as he writes, they returned him no certain Answer at all.

AFTER *Cæsar*, *Cornelius Tacitus*, an Author both faithful and diligent, though the *Roman Navy* had then coasted about *Britain*, and had discovered all its inmost Roads and Recesses, could however find out nothing of Certainty, nothing that he would venture to transmit to Posterity. Moreover *Gildas*, who lived above four hundred Years after *Tacitus*, doth affirm, that what he writes was not from any Monuments of Antiquity, of which he could find none at all, but from Reports abroad, that he gathered beyond Sea. As for *Germany*, that Country was furnished with Learning last of all; but seeing she had nothing to produce out of old Records, which could be avouched for Truth, according to her wonted Ingenuity in other Cases, she coined no Fictions of her own, to obtrude upon the World. So then, they who affirm, that they deduce the Original of the *Britons* from old *Annals*, must first tell us, who was the Author or Discoverer of those *Annals*: As also, where they have been concealed so long: And how they came down uncorrupted to us, after so many Ages. In this Case, some fly to the *Bards* and *Sanachies*, as the Preservers of antient Records, but very ridiculously; which will be more clearly understood, if I explain what Kind of Men those were, to whom they would have Credit to be given, in Matters of so great Moment, and those so obscure too, and so remote from our Memory. First *Strabo* and *Ammianus* describe to us very plainly what the *Bards* were, both before, and also in their Times. But *Lucan* doth it clearly and distinctly enough for our present Purpose, in these Verses,

Vos quoque qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas,

Laudibus

*Laudibus in longum, Vates, diffunditis ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina, Bardi.*

*Ye Bards, such valiant Souls, as fall in War,
Perpetuate with Rhimes, and Praises rare.*

BUT the very oldest of them were altogether ignorant of Letters, neither did they leave any Records of antient Matters behind them.

THE other were *Bardlings* or *Sanachies*, (as they call them) which were maintained by the chief of the antient Clans, and by some wealthy Men besides, one a-piece, on Purpose to commemorate their Ancestors and first of their Families in Genealogies which they got by Heart. But these too, having no Learning at all, let any Man judge what Credit is to be given to them, whose Hopes and Subsistence did totally depend upon soothing and flattering others. Besides, though all that they delivered were most true, yet small would be the Advantage to the *Writer* of an *History*. Lastly, let us consider, how often the *Writers* of such famous Deeds as are past, are found in manifest Mistakes; how often they themselves waver, doubt, fluctuate, and are at a Loss; how vastly some of them differ not only from others, but even from themselves. If such Errors are incident even to those who seek after Truth with great Labour and Study, what can we hope for, from such other Persons, who being without Learning (by which they who casually mistake, may be better informed, and those who mistake on Purpose, may be confronted), depend wholly upon their Memory? I might alledge, that the Memory is oftentimes impaired by Disuse; it is weakened by Age; or wholly lost by some Diseases. Besides, if they study chiefly to please their Patrons, (which is commonly the Case) or, on the contrary, if they have a Mind to cross them; or, if the Passions of Anger, Hatred, or Envy intervene, (which pervert the Judgment) who can affirm any Thing for Truth upon such Mens Authorities? Or, who would take the Pains to refute it, though false? Or, who would deliver down for certain, what he received from such *uncertain* Authors? Wherefore, where the old Writers are so generally silent (concerning Matters of Antiquity) who were often so egregiously ignorant, even of Things acted in their own Times, that nothing can certainly be grounded upon them, I count it more modest to be silent in what one knows not, than by devising Falshoods to betray one's own Confidence, in Prejudice of other Mens Judgment.

It follows then, that there was so great a Scarcity of *Writers* amongst all the Nations of the *Britons*, that, before the Coming in of the *Romans*, all Things were buried in the profound Darkness of an universal Silence; insomuch that we can get no Information of what was acted, even by the *Romans* themselves, otherwise than from *Greek* and *Latin* Monuments; and as for those Things which preceeded their Coming, we may rather believe their Conjectures, than our own Fictions. For what our *Writers* have delivered, every one concerning the Original of his own Sept or Nation, is so absurd, that I should have counted my Time lost to go about to refel it, were there not some who delighted in such Fables, as if they were as true as Gospel, and took a Pride to deck themselves with borrowed Feathers.

MOREOVER, the Disagreement of later *Writers* makes a great Accession to the Difficulty of this Task; for they deliver such Repugnancies, that a Man cannot well tell whom to follow; nay, there is so much Absurdity amongst them, that all of them seem to deserve no other Notice but that of Contempt. Neither do I so much wonder at the Silence of the *Antients* in a Matter so obscure, or the Disagreements among later *Writers* in feigning Falshoods, as I do at the agreeing Impudence of some few: For they write of those Times in which all Things were dubious and uncertain, with so much Positiveness and Confidence, as if their Design was rather to tickle the Reader's Ear, than to shew the least Regard to Truth in their Narratives.

FOR in those early Times, when the Use of Tillage was not common, neither among the *Britons*, nor many other Nations; but all their Wealth consisted in their Cattle, Men had no Regard to other Substance, which was very small, but often changed their Habitations, being either expelled by such as were more powerful than themselves; or, they themselves drove out the weaker; or else they sought out better Pasture for their Cattle in wild and desert Places: Upon one or other of these Grounds they easily changed their Dwellings; and the Places they removed to, soon got new Names with their new Masters. Besides, the Ambition of the wealthier Sort helped much to perplex the Accounts of Things, who, to perpetuate their Memory to Posterity, called Countries, Provinces, and Towns by their own Names. Almost all the cities in *Spain* had two Names; the Names of the Inhabitants, and also of the Cities and Countries therein received frequent Alterations. Not to speak of *Egypt*, *Greece*, and other remote *Countries*.

Sæpius

Sæpius & nomen posuit Saturnia tellus.

*Fair Italy (says Fame),
Full oft hath chang'd her Name.*

ADD hereunto, that those Nations, who live in the same Country, have not always the same Names. That which the *Latins* call *Hispania*; the *Greeks*, *Iberia*; the Poets *Hesperia*; St. Paul in his Epistles, *Theodoret* and *Sozomen* in their History call *Spania* i. e. *Spain*. The Name of the *Greeks*, so celebrated by the *Latins*, and all Nations of *Europe*, is more obscure than the *Greeks* themselves. The *Hebrews* and *Arabians* keep their old Appellations of almost all Nations, which were never so much as heard of by other People. *Scotch* and *English* are the common Names of the *British* Nations, which, at this Day, are almost unknown to the antient *Scots* and *Britons*; for they call the one *Albines*, the other *Saxons*. And therefore 'tis no Wonder, if, in so great an Uncertainty of human Affairs, *Writers*, who were born at several Times, far distant one from another, and having different Languages, and Manners too, do not always agree amongst themselves in the Names of Persons and Places. Though these Things have occasioned Difficulties great enough to the Searchers after the first Originals of Nations; yet some of the Moderns too, being acted by a Principle of Ambition, have involved all Things in most thick and palpable Darkeness. For, whilst every one would fetch the Original of his Nation, as high as he could; and so endeavour to ennoble it by devised Fables, by this immoderate Licence of coining Fictions, what do they but obscure that, which they ought to illustrate? And, if at any time they speak Truth; yet, by their frequent and ridiculous Untruths, at other times, they detract from their own Credit; and are so far from obtaining that Esteem, which they hoped for, that, by reason of their Falshoods, they are laughed at even by those, whom they endeavoured to cajole into an Assent.

To make this plain, I will begin, as with the antientest Nation, so from the most notorious and impudent Falshood. The Compilers of a new History of the antient *Britons*, having interpolated the Fable of the *Danaides*, feign, that one *Diocletian*, King of *Syria*, begat thirty three Daughters on his Wife *Labana*; who killing their Husbands on their Wedding Night, their Father crowded them altogether into one Ship, without any Master or Sailors; who, arriving in *Britain*, then but a Desert, did not only live solitarily in that cold
H Country,

Country, of a few wild Fruits; but also by the Compression of *Cacodæmons*, forsooth, they brought forth *Giants*, whose Race continued till the Arrival of *Brutus*. They say the Island was called *Albion* from *Albine*, and that *Brutus* was the great Grandson of *Æneas* the *Trojan*, and the Son of *Æneas Sylvius*. This *Brutus* having accidentally killed his Father with a Dart, it was looked upon as a lamentable and piteous Fact by all Men; yet, because it was not done on Purpose, the Punishment of Death was remitted, and Banishment either enjoined, or voluntarily chosen by him. This Parricide having consulted the Oracle of *Diana*, and having run various Hazards through so many Lands and Seas, after ten Years arrived in *Britain*, with a great Number of Followers; and by many Combats having conquered the terrible *Giants* in *Albion*, he gained the Empire of the whole Island. He had three Sons, (as they proceed to fable) *Locrinus*, *Albanaetus*, and *Camber*, between whom the Island was divided; *Albanaetus* ruled over the *Albans*, afterwards called *Scots*; *Camber* over the *Cambrians*, i. e. the *Welsh*: They both governed their respective Kingdoms so, as that *Locrinus* had the supreme Dominion; who, being Ruler of the rest of the *Britons*, gave the Name of * *Loegria* to his Part. Later Writers, that they might also propagate this fabulous Empire as much as they could, add, that *Vendelina* succeeded her Father *Locrinus*; *Madanus*, *Vendelina*; *Menpricius*, *Madanus*; and *Ebrancus*, *Menpricius*; which latter, of twenty Wives begat as many Sons, of which nineteen went over into *Germany*, and by Force of Arms conquered that Country, being assisted by the Forces of their Kinsman, *Alba Sylvius*; and from those Brothers the Country was called *Germany*. These are the Things which the old *Britons*, and after them, some of the *English*, have delivered concerning the first Inhabitants of *Britain*.

HERE I cannot but stand amazed at their Design, who might easily, and without any Reflexion at all have imitated the *Athenians*, *Arcadians*, and other famous Nations, and have called themselves *Indigenæ*, seeing it would have been no Disgrace to them to own that Origin, which the noblest and wisest City in the whole World counted her Glory; especially, since that Opinion could not be refuted out of antient Writers, and had no mean Assertors; yet, that they had rather forge Ancestors to themselves, from the Refuse of all Nations, whom the very Series of the Narration itself did make suspected, even to the unskilful Vulgar: And which none of the Antients, no, not by the least Suspicion, did confirm. Besides, if that had not pleased them, seeing it was free for them,

* An old Name for England.

to have assumed honourable Ancestors to themselves, out of any old Book which some of the Poets have writ: I wonder in my Heart what was in their Minds, to make choice of such, of whom all their Posterity might justly be ashamed. For what great Folly is it, to think nothing illustrious or magnificent but what is profligate and flagitious? yet some there are, that pride themselves, among the ignorant, upon the Score of such Fables. As for *John Annizus*, a Man, I grant, not unlearned, I think he may be pardoned, seeing Poets claim a Liberty to celebrate the Original of Families and Nations, with the Mixture of Figments; but I cannot think it reasonable to allow the same Privilege to those who undertake, professedly to write an History.

To return then to what I was saying: What is more abhorrent from all Belief, than that a few *Girls*, without the Help of Men to manage their Vessel, should come from *Syria*, through so many Seas, which Voyage, even now a-days (when Men have attained, by Use and Custom, more Skill in Navigation, is yet hazardous, though with a brave and well-furnished Navy) to the End, as it were, of the World, and into a desolate Island too; and there to live without Corn or Fruits of Trees? Nay, that such Ladies of a Royal Stock should not only barely maintain their Lives, in so cold a Climate, destitute of all Things, but also should bring forth Giants; and that their Copulations, or Marriages, might not seem unsuitable to their State, that they were got with Child (would you think it?) by *Cacodæmons*? As for that *Diocletian*, pray, at what Time, and in what Part of *Syria* did he reign? How comes it to pass, that *Authors* make no mention of him, especially since the Affairs of no Nation are more diligently transmitted to Posterity, than those of the *Syrians*? How came he to be called *Diocletian*? By a Name which took its Rise a thousand Years after him, amongst the *Barbarians*, originally *Greek*, but declined after the *Latin* Form?

THE next Accession of Nobility, forsooth, is *Brutus*, the Parricide, that he might not, in that Respect, be inferior to *Romulus*. This *Brutus*, whatsoever he were, whom the *Britons* make the Author of their Name and Nation, with what Forces, with what correspondent Language, could he penetrate so far into *Britain*? Especially in those Times, when the *Roman* Arms, even in the most flourishing State of their Commonwealth, having conquered almost all the World besides, could scarce succeed: For it is needless to mention, how, before *Rome* was built, the Affairs of *Italy* were at a

very low Ebb; and how the Inhabitants thereof were averſe from all Peregrination and Travel. Neither need I inquire, whether he came by Land, or Sea? The *Alps*, till that Time, were paſſable only to *Hercules*; and the *Gauls*, by reaſon of their natural Fierceneſs, were as yet unacquainted with the Converſe of Foreigners. As for Sea-voyages, the *Carthaginians* and the *Greeks* inhabiting *Marſeilles*, ſcarce dared to venture into the *Ocean*, but very late, and when Things were well ſettled at Home; and, even then, their Voyages were rather for Diſcovery, than Conqueſt; much leſs can we believe, that *Alban* Shepherds, a wildiſh Sort of People, would undertake ſo bold an Adventure. Beſides, all Men, who are not ignorant of *Latin*, do know, that the Name of *Brutus* began to be celebrated under *Tarquinius Superbus*, almoſt five hundred Years after that *Commentitious Brutus*; when *Lucius Junius*, a Nobleman, laying aſide his native Grandeur, condeſcended to do Things far below himſelf, on Purpoſe to avoid the Cruelty of their *Kings*; and, on Pretence of being *fooliſh*, he took that new Surname to himſelf, and tranſmitted it to his Poſterity. But the *Monk*, who was the Forger and Deviſer of this Fable of *Brutus*, ſeemed to ſee the Abſurdity of the Invention himſelf; yea he thought to ſtop all Mens Mouths with the Pretence of Religion, forſooth, in the Caſe, and would have every body think, that they obeyed the Oracle of *Diana*. Here I will not be nice in inquiring why this Oracle of *Diana* was ſo unknown to Poſterity, when the Oracles of *Faunus*, of *Sibylla*, and the *Præneſtine* Lots, were then in ſo great Credit.

I will only aſk, In what Language did *Diana* answer? If they ſay, in *Latin*; I demand, how *Brutus* could underſtand a Language, which began nine hundred Years after his Time? For, ſince *Horace*, a very learned Man, doth ingenuouſly confeſs, that he did not underſtand the *Salian* Rhymes, which were made in the Reign of *Numa Pompilius*, how could that *Brutus*, who died ſo many Years before the Priests called *Salii* were inſtituted, underſtand Verſes, made long after *Horace* his Time, as the Tenor of their Compoſure doth ſhew? Beſides, how could the Poſterity of *Brutus* ſo totally forget the *Latin* Tongue, that not the leaſt Footſteps of it ſhould remain amongſt them? And whence got they that Language which they now uſe? Or, if it be granted, that their (ſuppoſed) *Gods*, as well as their *Men*, then ſpoke *Britiſh* in *Italy*, yet ſurely it was not the Tongue the *Britans* now make uſe of; for that is ſo patched up of the Languages of the neighbour Nations, that ſeveral Countries may know
and

and own their own Words upon the first Hearing. But if they say, that those antient *Latins* spoke *British*, how could that *Monk* understand so old an Oracle, which was given out 2000 Years before? But why do I prosecute these Things so particularly, since it appears by many other Arguments also, that the same *Monk* forged this whole Story, and begat such a *Brutus* (in his own Brain) as never was in Nature; and also devised the Oracle of *Diana* too? I shall add the Verses themselves, that the Vanity of such cunning Sophisters may be set in the fullest Light.

Brutus's Address to the Oracle.

Diva, potens nemorum, terror sylvestribus apris,

Cui licet anfractus ire per æthereos,

Infernasque domos: terrestria jura resolve,

Et dic, quas terras nos habitare velis.

Dic certam sedem, qua te veneremur in ævum,

Qua tibi virgineis templa dicabo choris.

Goddess of Groves, and wild Boars Chase,

Who dost th' Etherial Mansions trace,

And Pluto's too; resolve this Doubt,

Tell me, what Country to find out,

Where I may fix, where Temples raise,

For Virgin-choirs to sing thy Praise.

The Oracle's Answer.

DIANA answers in Verses of the same kind, (so that they must needs be made by one and the same Poet), not perplexed and ambiguous ones; or, such as may be interpreted divers Ways, but clear and perspicuous ones, wherein she promiseth that which she could never give, viz. *The Empire of the whole World.*

Brute, sub occasum Solis trans Gallica regna,

Insula in Oceano est, undique cincta mari.

Insula in Oceano est, habitata Gigantibus olim,

Nunc deserta quidem, Gentibus apta tuis.

Hanc pete, namque tibi sedes erit illa perennis,

Hæc fiet natis altera Troja tuis;

Hic de prole tuâ Reges nascentur, & illis

Totius Terræ subditus Orbis erit.

Beyond proud Gallia's wide-extended Lines,

Where sets the Sun, but large its Glory shines;

An Isle do's in the circling Ocean stand,

And Giants once inhabited the Land;

Now

*Now desolate it wants a regal Guest,
 And courts thy People to a Seat of Rest.
 Go, Brutus, go, and make that Realm thy own,
 Where endless Empire greets thee to the Throne;
 There thy long Offspring shall behold with Joy
 A rising Nation, and a second Troy;
 And to that Height promote their sceptred Sway,
 The vanquish'd World shall willingly obey.*

I suppose, by these *Verses*, compared with their *Histories*, the whole Forgery will be discovered, and that plainly enough. For, besides the vain Promises on both Sides, the Rhymes say, that the *Island* was not *then* inhabited but desolate, but that it had been inhabited *before*: But where, I pray then, were those portentous Figments of *Gogmagog* and *Tentagol*, and other frightful Names of Men, invented for *Terror*, (shall I say), or for *Laughter*, rather? What will become of those doughty Combats of *Corinæus*, and others, the Companions of *Brutus*, against not the *Earth-born*, but *Hell-born*, *Giants*? Thus far concerning *Brutus*, and his Oracle.

THOUGH these be so great Fictions, yet Posterity is so little ashamed of them, that, but a few Years ago, no mean *Writer* amongst them impudently feigned, That the *Trojans* spoke the *British* Language. *Homer* and *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, very easily refute the Vanity of this shameless Opinion: For the one gives *Greek* Names to all the *Trojans*; the other in a long and serious Disputation, maintains, that the *Trojans* were originally *Greeks*. I pass by this Consideration, how *Brutus* when he arrived in *England* with no great Train, could within the Space of twenty Years establish three Kingdoms; and how they, who, all of them put together at first, could scarce make up the Number of one mean Colony, should in so short a Time people an Island the biggest in the whole World, and furnish it not only with Villages and Cities, but with all that belongs to three large Kingdoms also; nay, who a while after, it seems, grew so numerous, that *Britain* could not contain them, but they were forced to transport themselves into the large Country of *Germany*; where, overcoming the Inhabitants, they compelled them to assume their own Name, which was not a *British*, but a *Latin* one; and so from those nineteen Brothers, forsooth, (which indeed were not properly *own Brothers*, as we say, for almost every one of them had a several Mother), that the Country should be called *Germany*. I have related this Fable, as absurd as it is, not to take the Pains to refute it, but to leave it to the *Germans* themselves for Sport and Ridicule.

THIS

THIS in general concerning the Fables of the *Britons*. But the Intent of those who devised them, seems not very obscure to me; for that monstrous Fiction of *Devils* lying with Virgins, seems to have this Tendency, viz. That they might either prove an Alliance between their *Brutus*, and two of the greatest neighbouring Nations; or else, that they might vie with them in the Nobility of their Original. For the *Gauls* affirmed, (as *Cæsar* hath it), that they were descended from Father *Pluto*; and so did the *Germans*, according to *Tacitus*. The Cause of devising this Figment, concerning *Brutus*, seems to be alike. For seeing the *Buthrotii* in *Epirus*, several People in *Sicily*; the *Romans*, *Campanians*, and *Sulmonenses* in *Italy*; the *Arverni*, *Hedui*, *Sequani*, and last of all the *Franks* in *Gaul*, celebrated, I know not what, *Trojans* as their Founders; the Writers of *British* Affairs thought it likewise very conducive to the Advancement of the Nobility of their Nation, if they derived its Original too, from the very Archives of *Antiquity*, and especially from the *Trojans*; either because of the Renown of that City, which was praised by almost all Nations; or else, by reason of its Alliance with so many Nations, which are said to have started up, as it were, out of the same common Shipwreck of that one Town. Neither did they think themselves guilty of any Effrontery in the Falshood, if they partook a little of the (feigned) Nobility, which grew, by the same Artifice, common to so many Nations, besides themselves. Hence arose, as I judge, the Fiction of *Brutus*, and other Fables of an older Date, which were as impudently devised, as they were foolishly received; of all which it will, perhaps, be enough to shew the Vanity, to put the *Reader* in mind, that they were unknown to *antient Writers*; that when Learning flourished, they dared not peep abroad; that they were coined in its Decay, recorded by unlearned *Flatterers*, and entertained by ignorant, and too credulous Persons, who did not understand the Frauds of such deluding Authors. For such is the Disposition of those *Impostors*, who do not seek the publick Good by a true History, but some private Advantage by Flattery, that when they seem highly to praise, then they most of all deride and jeer. For what do they else, who, pretending to advance the Nobility of a People, for its greater Splendor, fetch it from the Scum and Riffraff of Nature? And yet credulous, (shall I say?) or rather sottish Persons, pride themselves in a pretended Eminency of an Original, for which none of their Neighbours will envy them.

THOSE who have written the *Scottish* Affairs, have delivered down to us a more creditable and noble Origin, as they think, but no less fabulous than that of the *Britons*. For they have adopted

adopted Ancestors to us, not from the *Trojan Fugitives*, but from those *Greek Heroes*, whose Posterity conquered *Troy*. For seeing in those antient Times, two Nations of the *Greeks* were most of all celebrated, the *Dores* and the *Iones*, and the Princes of the *Dores* were the *Argivi*; and of the *Iones*, the *Athenians*; the *Scots* make one *Gathelus* to be the chief Founder of their Nation, but whether he were the Son of *Argus*, or of *Cecrops*, that they leave in doubt: And that they may not be inferior on this Account, to the Eminency of the *Romans*, they have added to him a strong Band of *Robbers*, with which he going into *Egypt*, performed gallant Exploits, and after the Departure (would you think it?) of *Moses*, was made *General* of the King's Forces in that Land. And that afterwards, with his Wife *Scota*, the Daughter of the King of *Egypt*, he sailed about the whole Coast of *Europe*, adjacent to the *Mediterranean Sea*; and having passed through so many Countries, which were desolate in that Age, or else inhabited but by few, and in few Places, as *Greece*, *Italy*, *France*, and the whole Coast of *Africa*, (not to mention the numerous *Ilands* of the *Mediterranean Sea*), some will have him to land at the Mouth of the River *Iberus*; but leaving that Country which he could not keep, they draw him on farther to *Galæcia* a Country much more barren. Some land him at the Mouth of the River *Durius*, being the first of all Men, as I suppose, who adventured into the Ocean with a Navy of Ships; and that there he built a brave Town, which is now called from his Name *Portus Gatheli*, or *Port a Port*; whence the whole Country, which from *Lusus* and *Lusa*, the Children of *Bacchus*, was a long time called *Lusitania*, began to be called *Portugal*; and afterwards being forced to pass into *Galæcia*, he there built *Brigantia*, now called *Compostella*; also that *Braga* in *Portugal* was built by him, at the Mouth of the River *Munda*.

THESE are the Things which the *Scots* have fabulously written concerning the Original of their Nation. In feigning of which, how uncircumspect they were, we may gather from hence, that they did not give so much as a *Greek* Name to that *Grecian Gathelus*, who was indeed unknown to the *Greek Writers*; that they allotted a *Latin* Name, from the Word *Portus*, to the City built by him, rather than a *Greek* one, especially in those Times, when *Italy* itself was known to very few of the *Greeks*; that they doubt whether he were the Son of *Argus*, or of *Cecrops*; seeing *Argus* lived almost an hundred Years before *Cecrops*. That he, who had arrived at such a Figure by his Prudence, even amongst the most ingenious Persons in the World, as to enjoy the next Place to the King, and to be put

in the Room of *Moses* after his Departure; and besides being a Stranger, to be honoured with the Marriage of the King's Daughter; that he, I say, leaving the fruitfulest Region in the World, and passing by the Lands of both *Continents*, both to the right and left, and also so many *Islands* all fruitful in Corn, and some of them also famous for the Temperature of the Air, as *Crete*, *Sicily*, *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, (which, at that Time, were rather possessed than cultivated, by a wild Sort of People), should launch out into the main Ocean, the very Name whereof was formidable, especially since Men had then but small Skill in marine Affairs; or, that he built the City of *Port-Gathelus*, or *Port a P-t*, at the River *Duero*, the Name of which City was never heard of till the *Sarazens* obtained the Dominion of *Portugal*; also, that he built *Braga*, at the Mouth of the River *Munda*, seeing there is so many Miles Distance between *Braga* and *Munda*; two famous Rivers also lying betwixt them, viz. *Duero*, and *Vouga*, or *Vaca*; and *Braga* itself being not altogether a maritime Place. Moreover, I may well ask, how *Gathelus* a *Grecian*, born of a Noble Family, and besides, eminent for famous Deeds, seeing he was of a most ambitious Nation, to commend his Name to Posterity, after he had been conveyed with a great Train into the extreme Parts of the World, and as Matters then stood, almost rude and barbarous, having built *Towns*, did not give them his own, no, not so much as one *Greek* Name? For the Name of *Portugal*, or (as some will have it), the *Port of Gathel*, being unknown to so many antient Writers, who have professedly undertook to describe the Names of Countries, and Places, began to be celebrated but about four hundred Years ago. And the Silence of all the *Greeks* and *Latins*, concerning the Coming of *Gathelus* into *Spain*, makes it much suspected, especially since the *Antients* make notable and frequent mention of the *Phœnicians*, *Persians*, *Carthaginians*, *Iberians*, *Gauls*, and of the Companions of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, who came into that Country. But our Fblers (as I judge) never read the Monuments of the Antients; for if they had, seeing it was free for them to assume an Author and Founder of their Nation and Nobility, out of any of the famous *Grecians*, they would never have picked up an ignobler Person for their Founder; passing by *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, who were famous amongst all Nations, and whom they might have culled out, as well as any other, for the Original of their Race.

THESE are the Things which our *Writers* have generally delivered, concerning the Rise of our Nation; which, if I have prosecuted more largely than was necessary, it is to be imputed

puted to those, who pertinaciously defend them, as a * *Palladium* dropt down from Heaven. He that considers that, will no doubt, by reason of the *Obstinacy* of my Adversaries, be more favourable to me. Concerning the other Nations, which came later into these *Islands*, and fixed their Habitations there, *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, *Normans*, because their *History* doth not contain any monstrous Absurdity, I shall speak of them hereafter, in a more proper Place.

BUT these two Nations which I have mentioned, seem to me to have deduced their Original from the *Gauls*, and I will give you the Reasons of this my Judgment, when I have first premised a few Things, concerning the antient Customs of the *Gauls*. All *Gaul*, though it be fruitful in Corn, yet it is said to be, and indeed is, more fruitful in Men; so that, as *Strabo* relates, there were three hundred thousand of the *Celtæ* only, who were able to bear Arms, though they inhabited but a third Part of *France*: Therefore though they lived in a fruitful Country, yet being over-burdened by their own Multitudes, 'tis probable that for the lessening of them, they were permitted to use masculine Venery. Yet when by this Expedient, there seemed not Provision enough made against the Penury of their Soil, their Children being still too numerous and burdensome, sometimes by publick Edicts, and sometimes by private Resolutions, they sent out many Colonies into all the neighbouring Countries, that their Multitudes at Home might be exhausted.

To begin with *Spain*: They sent their Colonies so thick thither, that *Ephorus*, as *Strabo* relates, extends the Length of *Gaul* even to the *Gades* or *Cadiz*; and indeed all that Side of *Spain* toward the *North*, by the Names of the People and Nations inhabiting them, hath long witnessed a *French* Original. The first we meet with, are the *Celtiberi*.

—Profugique à gente vetusta

Gallorum, Celtæ, miscentes nomen Iberis.

The wandering Celts in Spain their Dwellings fix'd,
And with Iberians there their Names they mix'd.

THESE propagated their Bounds so far, that, though they inhabited a craggy Country, and besides not over-fruitful, yet *Marcus Marcellus* exacted from them six hundred Talents, as a Tribute. Moreover, from the *Celtæ*, or *Celtiberi*, the *Celtici* derive their Original, dwelling by the River *Anas*, by

* *Palladium*, properly the Image of *Pallas* in *Troy*, which as long as they kept in her Temple, *Troy* could not be taken, (as the *Trojans* thought), but when *Ulysses* stole it away, then they were soon destroyed by the *Greeks*.

Ptolemy surnamed *Betici*; and also other *Celts* in *Portugal*, near to the River *Anas*; and if we may believe *Pomponius Mela*, a *Spaniard*, the *Celts* do inhabit from the Mouth of the River *Duero*, as far as the Promontory, which they call *Celticum* or *Nerium*, i. e. *Capo Finis Terræ*, but distinguished by their Surnames, viz. the *Gronii*, *Præamarci*, *Tamarici*, *Nerii*, and the rest of the *Gallæci*, which Name shews their Original to be *Gauls*.

ON the other Side, there passed out of *France* into *Italy*, the *Ligurians*, the *Libui*, the *Salassii*, the *Insubres*, the *Cenomani*, the *Boii*, and the *Senones*; and if we may believe some antient Writers, the *Veneti*. I need not relate how large Dominions these Nations had in *Italy*, because every body who is but the least versed in History, cannot be ignorant in that Point; neither will I be too scrupulous in inquiring what Troops of *Gauls* made their Seats in *Thrace*; or, leaving it, having subdued *Macedonia* and *Greece*, passed into *Bithynia*, where they erected the Kingdom of *Gallo-Græcia* in *Asia*; since that Matter doth not much concern our present Purpose.

My Discourse then hastens to *Germany*, and concerning the *Gaulish* Colonies therein, we have most authentick Evidences, *C. Julius Cæsar*, and *C. Cornelius Tacitus*; the first of them in his Commentaries of the *Gallick* War, writes, that at one certain Period of Time the *Gauls* were esteemed more valiant than the *Germans*. And therefore that the *Tectosages* possessed the most fruitful Part of *Germany* about the *Hercynian* Forest; and the *Bohemians*, as the other affirms, shew plainly by their Names, that their Founders were the *Boii*. And sometimes the *Helvetians* possessed the nearer Places between the Rivers *Main* and *Rhine*, also the *Decumates* beyond the *Rhine*, were of *Gallick* Original, and the *Gothini* near the *Danow*, whom *Claudian* calls *Gothunni*; *Arrianus* in the Life of *Alexander* calls them *Getini*; and *Flavius Vopiscus*, in the Life of *Probus*, *Gautunni*. But *Claudian* reckons even the *Gothunni* amongst the *Getæ*; and *Stephanus* is of Opinion, that the *Getes* are called *Getini*, by *Ammianus*; so that perhaps the *Getes* themselves may acknowledge a *Gallick* Original; it being certain, that many *Gallick* Nations passed over into *Thrace*, and resided there in that Circuit which the *Getes* are said to have possessed: *Tacitus* also writes, that in his Time, the *Gothini* used the *Gallick* Language; besides, the *Cimbri*, as *Philemon* says, and (if we believe *Tacitus*) the *Æstiones*, dwelling by the *Swedish* Sea, where they gather *Amber*, did speak *British*, which Language was then the same with the *Gallick*, or not much different from it. Many are the Signs and Marks of *Gallick* Colonies, through all *Germany*; which I would willingly

recite, but that what I have already alledged is enough for my Purpose, viz. to shew how widely *France* extended her Colonies round about *Britain*.

WHAT then shall we say of *Britain* itself; which did not equal those Nations in Greatness, nor Strength, nor Skill in military Affairs? What did she, that was so near to the valiantest of the *Gauls*, and not inferior to the neighbour Nations, either in the Mildness of the Air, or the Fruitfulness of the Soil? Did she, I say, entertain no foreign Colonies? Yes, many, as *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* affirm; and, as I hold, all her antient Inhabitants were such. For 'tis manifest, that three Sorts of People did in Times of old possess the whole Island, the *Britons*, *Picts*, and *Scots*; of which I will discourse in their proper Order.

To begin then with the *Britons*, whose Dominion was of largest Extent in *Albion*: The first, that I know, who hath discovered any Certainty concerning them, was *C. Julius Cæsar*. He thinks, that the inmost Inhabitants were *Indigenæ*, because, after diligent Inquiry, he could find nothing of their first Coming thither; neither had they any Monuments of Learning, whence he could receive any Information. He says, that the maritime Parts of the *Island* were possessed by the *Belgæ*, whom Hopes of Prey had allured thither, and the Fruitfulness of the Soil, and Mildness of the Air, had detained there. He thinks this a sufficient Argument to confirm his Opinion, that many did retain the Names of the Cities whence they came, and that their Buildings were like those of the *Gauls*.

CORNELIUS TACITUS, an Author of great Credit, adds; that their Manners are not unlike, and that they are equally bold in running into Dangers, and equally in a Dread, and quite at a Loss how to get out of them; that there were great Factions and Sidings among them both. And lastly, that *Britain*, in his Time, was in the same State as *Gaul* was, before the Coming of the *Romans*. *Pomponius Mela* adds farther, That the *Britons* used to fight on Horseback, in Chariots and Coaches, in *French* Armour. Add to this, that *Bede*, who lived before all those, who have written such fabulous Things of the Origin of the *Britons*, and is of greater Authority than all of them together, affirms, That the first Inhabitants of the Island came out of the Tract of *Armorica*. Some Grammatists of the *Greeks* differ much from the abovementioned Authors; for they say, that the *Britons* received their Names from *Britannus*, the Son of *Celto*. They assuredly agree in this, that they would be thought to derive their Original from the *Gauls*. Of the later Authors, *Robertus Cænalis*, and *Pomponius Lætus*, in the Life of *Diocletian*, (an Author not to be despised), subscribe to this Opinion; both of them, as I suppose, being convinced by the Power

Power of Truth. Yet, both seem to me to mistake in this Point, that they deduce them from the *Peninsula* of the *Britons*, which is now called *Britany* on the River *Loir*, especially since the maritime Colonies of *Britain*, as *Cæsar* observes, testify by their very Names from what Place they were transplanted.

It follows, that we speak of the *Gallick* Colonies, sent into *Ireland*. I shewed before, that all the *North* Side of *Spain* was possessed by *Gallick* Colonies. And there are many Reasons to be assigned, why they might pass out of *Spain* into *Ireland*: For, either the Nearness of the Country, and Easiness of the Passage, might be a great Inducement; or else, the *Spaniards* might be expelled out of their Habitations by the excessive Power and Domination of the *Persians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Grecians*; who, having overcome the *Spaniards*, rendered them weak and obnoxious to their Oppression and Violence. Moreover there might be Causes amongst the *Spaniards* themselves; for they being a People pack'd together, and made up of many Nations, and not well agreeing among themselves; the Desire of Liberty, and of avoiding Servitude, in the Midst of civil Wars and new Tumults, arising amongst a People that was greedy of War, might make them willing to separate: He that weighs these Causes of their Departure, will not wonder, if many of them did prefer a mean Condition abroad, joined with Liberty, before a domestick and bitter Slavery; and when they were once arrived there, the State of *Spain* growing daily more and more turbulent, made them willing to continue where they were; for sometimes the *Carthaginians*, and sometimes the *Romans* made the conquered *Spaniards* taste all the Miseries of a servile Life, and so compelled them to avoid those Evils by a Flight into *Ireland*; there being no other neighbour Nation into which, either in their Prosperity they might so well transport their Crowds of People; or else, where, in Adversity, they could find Shelter against their Calamities. Besides, the Clemency of the Air was one Occasion of their Stay; for, as *Cæsar* says, the Air of *Britain* is more temperate than that of *France*. And *Ireland* exceeds both in Goodness of Soil, and also in an equal Temperature of the Air and Climate. And what is still more, when Men born and educated in a barren Soil, and given to Laziness besides, as all *Spaniards* are, had the Happiness of being transplanted into almost the richest Pastures of all *Europe*, no Wonder they willingly withdrew themselves from home-bred Tumults, into the Bosom of a Peace beyond Sea. Notwithstanding all that I have said, yet I would not refuse the Opinion of any Nation concerning their Ancestors, provided it was supported by probable Conjectures, and antient Testimony.

FOR *Tacitus*, upon sure Conjectures, as he thinks, doth affirm, that the *West Side* of *Britain* or *Albium*, was inhabited by the Posterity of the *Spaniards*. But it is not probable, that the *Spaniards* should leave *Ireland* behind them, being a Country nearer, and of a milder Air and Soil, and first land in *Albium*; but rather that they first arrived in *Ireland*, and from thence transplanted their Colonies into *Britain*. And that the same Thing happened to the *Scots*, all their *Annals* do testify, and *Bede*, *Lib. i.* doth affirm. For all the Inhabitants of *Ireland* were first called *Scots*, as *Orosius* shews; and our *Annals* relate, that the *Scots* passed more than once out of *Ireland* into *Albium*: First of all, under *Fergusius*, the Son of *Ferchard*, being their Captain; and after some Ages, being expelled from thence, they returned into *Ireland*; and again, under their General *Reutharus*, they returned into *Britain*. And afterwards in the Reign of *Fergusius II.* great Aids of *Irish-Scots* were sent hither, who had their Quarters assigned them in *Galloway*. And *Claudian* in his Time shews, that Auxiliaries were carried over from thence in Transports against the *Romans*; for he says,

—*Totam cum Scotus Iernam
Movit, & infesto spumavit sanguine Tethys.*

*The Scot all Ireland did excite,
To cross the Seas, 'gainst Rome to fight.*

And in another Place,

Scotorum tumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

Whole Heaps of Scots cold Ireland did lament.

BUT in the Beginning, when both People, *i. e.* the Inhabitants of *Ireland*, and their Colonies sent into *Albium*, were called *Scots*, that there might be some Distinction betwixt them, some *Scots* were called *Irish-Scots*, others *Albin-Scots*; and by degrees, their Surnames came to be their only Names; so that the antient Name of *Scots* was almost forgotten, and not to be retrieved from common Speech, but only from Books and *Annals*. As for the Name of *Picts*, I judge it not their antient and Country Name, but occasionally given them by the *Romans*, because their Bodies were printed and painted with artful Incisions, which the Verses of *Claudian* do shew.

*Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos,
Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone secutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.*

*He nimble Moors, and painted Picts did tame,
With far-stretch'd Sword the Scots he overcame,
Did with bold Oars the Northern Waves divide.*

And elsewhere,

*Venit & extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exanimæ, Picto moriente, figuras.*

*The Legion came the utmost Britains Guard,
Which the fierce Scot did curb with Bridle hard;
And read the Marks i' th' Skins of dying Picts,
Insculp'd with Iron.*

HERODIAN also makes mention of the same Nation, but conceals their Name, and says plainly, That they did paint their Bodies; but he doth not affirm, that they did it with Iron; Neither (says he) are they acquainted with the Use of Apparel, but they wear Iron round their Belly and their Neck, thinking that Metal to be an Ornament and Sign of Riches; as the other Barbarians do Gold. Farther, they have likewise a Way of marking their Bodies with Variety of Pictures, and with Animals of all Shapes, and therefore they will put on no Garments lest they should hide their Pictures. What Name they called themselves by, in a Thing so antient, it is hard to determine. 'Tis certain, the neighbouring Nations do not agree concerning their Name; for the Britons call them *Pictiades*; the English, *Pichti*; the old Scots, *Peacht*. And besides, the Names of some Places, which were heretofore under the Jurisdiction of the Picts, but are now possessed by the Scots, seem to infer a different Appellation from them all. For the Hills called *Pentland-Hills*, and the *Pentland-Bay*, or *Firth*, seem to be derived from *Penthus*, not from *Pictus*. But, I verily believe, those Names were imposed, in After-times, either by the English, or else by the Scots, who used the English Tongue; for the antient Scots did neither understand nor use them. As for the Name of Picts, whether the Romans translated a barbarous Word into a Latin one of a near Sound; or, whether the Barbarians applied a Latin Word, every one to his own Country Tone and Declension, 'tis all a Case to me. Well then, being agreed of the Name, and it being confest by all Writers, that they came from the Eastern Parts into Britain; from *Scythia*, say some; from *Germany*, say others; it remains, that tracing their Footsteps by Conjectures, we come as near the Truth as we can. Neither do I perceive any surer Foundation of my Disquisition, than that which is grounded on the Paint-
ing

ing of Bodies. Now this Painting was used by the *Britains*, the *Arii* in *Germany*, and the *Agathyrsi*: But that they might appear more terrible to the Enemy in War, they painted only with the Juice of Herbs. But seeing the *Picts* marked their Skins with Iron, and stigmatized them with the Pictures of divers Animals, the best Way will be to inquire, what Nations, either in *Scythia*, *Germany*, or the neighbouring Countries, did use that Custom of painting their Bodies, not for Terror but Ornament. And, first, we meet in *Thracia* with the *Geloni*, according to *Virgil*, of whom *Claudian* speaks in his first Book against *Rufinus*;

Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse, Gelonus.

The Geloni love to print

Their Limbs with Iron Instrument.

We meet also with the *Getæ* in *Thrace*, mentioned by the same Poet;

Crinigeri sedere Patres, pellita Getarum

Curia, quos plagis decorat numerosa cicatrix.

*Skin-wearing Getes consult, with Hair unshorn,
Whose marked Bodies num'rous Scars adorn.*

THEREFORE, seeing the *Geloni*, as *Virgil* writes, are Neighbours to the *Getes*, and either the *Gothunni*, or *Getini*, according to *Arrianus*, are numbered amongst the *Getes*; and seeing the *Gothunni*, as *Tacitus* says, speak the *Gallick* Language; what hinders but that we may believe the *Picts* had their Original from thence?

BUT, from whatsoever Province of *Germany* they came, I think it very probable, that they were of the antient Colonies of the *Gauls*, who seated themselves either on the *Swedish* Sea, or on the *Danow*. For the Men of a *Gallick* Descent, being counted Foreigners by the *Germans*, (as indeed they were) I judge their Name was used in a way of Reproach, so that one Word, *i. e.* *Walsch* (with them) signifies a *Gaul*, a Stranger, and a Barbarian too. So that it is very credible, That the Ancestors of the *Picts*, either being expelled by their Neighbours, or driven up and down by Tempests, were easily reconciled to the *Scots*; nay, were befriended and aided (as 'tis reported) by them, as a People allied to them, almost of the same Language with them, and their religious Customs not unlike. So that it might easily come to pass, that thereupon they might mix their Blood, and, by Marriages, make a Coalition, as it were, into one Nation. For otherwise, I do not see

see, how the *Scots*, which then possessed *Ireland*, being a fierce and rough-hewn People, should so easily enter into an Affinity and compleat Friendship with Strangers, who were necessitous and destitute of all Things, whom they never saw before, and with whom they had no Commerce, in point of Laws, Religion, or Language.

BUT here the Authority of *Bede*, the *Anglo-Saxon*, stands a little in my Way, who is the only Writer I know of, that affirms, the *Picts* used a different Language from the *Scots*; for, speaking of *Britain*, he says, that it did search after, and profess the Knowledge of the highest Truth, and the sublimest Science in five Languages, the *English*, *British*, *Scottish Pictish*, and *Latin*. But, I suppose, *Bede* calls five Dialects of one and the same Tongue, five Tongues, as we see the *Greeks* did, in the like Case: And as *Cæsar* doth, in the Beginning of his Commentaries of the *Gallick War*. For he says, that three Parts of *Gaul* used different Languages and Customs. But *Strabo*, though he grants that the *Aquitains* used a different Language from the other *Gauls*; yet he affirms, that all the rest of the *Gauls* used the same Language, but with a little Variation. The *Scots* also do not differ from the *Britons* in their whole Language, but in Dialect rather, as I shall shew hereafter; their Speech, at present, doth so far agree, that it seems of old to have been the same; for they differ less than some *French* Provinces do, which yet are all said to speak *French*. And therefore other Writers give not the least Suspicion of a different Language; and they, as long as both Kingdoms were in Being, as if they had been People of one Nation, did always contract Marriages one with another; and as they were mixed in the Beginning, so afterwards they carried themselves as Neighbours, and oftentimes as Friends, until the Destruction of the *Picts*.

NEITHER did the Remainder of them, (who, when their military Race was extinct, yet must needs be many), in any Degree, corrupt the *Scottish* Tongue: Nor indeed are there any Footsteps of a foreign Language in the Places and Habitations, which they left. For all the Countries of the *Picts*, and particular Places too, do yet retain *Scottish* Appellations, except a very few; which, upon the *Saxon* Tongue's prevailing over our Country-language, had *German* Names imposed upon them.

NEITHER is this to be omitted, that, before the Coming of the *Saxons* into *Britain*, we never read that the *British* Nations used Interpreters to understand one another. Wherefore, seeing the *Scottish*, *English* and *German* Writers do unanimously accord, that the Original of the *Picts* was from *Germany*; and

since it is also manifest, that the *Gothunni*, or *Getini*, were Colonies of the *Gauls*, whose Language they spoke; and that the *Æstii* living near the *Swedish*, or *Baltick* Sea, spoke *British*; whence may we the most rationally fetch the Descent of the *Picts*? Or, whither should they, being expelled from their native Habitations, go, but to their own Kindred? Or where were they likely to obtain Marriage-unions, but amongst a People of Affinity with them in Blood, Language and Manners?

BUT if any one deny, that the *Picts* were descended from the *Gothunni*, or *Æstii*, or *Getæ*, being induced to that Persuasion by the great Distance of those Countries from *Britain*; let him but consider, how many, and how great Migrations of People were made, even in all Parts of the World, in those Times when the Coming of the *Picts* into *Britain* is recorded to have happened, and also for many Ages after; and then he may easily grant, that such Things might not only be done, but be done with very great Ease. The *Gauls* did then possess great Part of *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Britain*, by their Colonies; they proceeded as far as *Palus Mæotis*, and the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, with their Depredations; and after they had wasted *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and *Greece*, they fixed their Seats of Residence in *Asia*.

THE *Cimbri*, *Ambrones*, and *Teutones*, having wasted *Gaul*, penetrated into *Italy*: The *Geloni*, whom *Virgil* places in *Thrace*, are, by other Writers, said to dwell near to the *Agathyrsi*, in *Scythia*.

THE *Goths*, for a great while an obscure Nation, yet in a short Time over-ran *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, like a Flood. And therefore, inasmuch as for many Ages after, those who were Grandees, and more powerful than others, challenged to themselves the Seats of their Inferiors; the weak being obnoxious to the Injuries of the strong, left their Country, which they could not keep; so that it is no great Wonder among the wise, if Men, having long combated with adverse Fortune, and being tossed up and down by many Peregrinations, having, besides, no certain Habitation, did at length betake themselves to remote, or far distant Countries.

BESIDES, we see that the *Roman* Writers place two antient Nations within those Limits, which bounded the Kingdoms of the *Scots* and *Picts*, the *Mayatæ* and *Attacottæ*. Of these, I suppose, the *Mayatæ*, whom *Dion* alone, of all the Authors that I know, doth mention, were of the *Picts* Race, seeing he places them in the Countries nearest to the *Caledonian* Sea; and it is certain that the *Picts* did inhabit those Provinces. As for the *Attacottæ*, it appears out of *Marcellinus*, that they were the

the Progeny of those, who, having been formerly excluded by *Adrian's Wall*, but afterwards enlarging their Dominions unto the Wall of *Severus*, were comprehended within the *Roman Province*; because I find in a Book of the *Romans* concerning Camp-discipline through their Provinces, that, among the foreign Auxiliaries, there were some Troops of the *Attacottæ*, as well as of the *Britons*: Which puts me at a Stand, whether of the two I should most admire in *Lud*, his Boldness, or his Stupidity; his Boldness, who affirms, that the *Attacottæ* were *Scots*, but without any certain Author, or probable Conjecture; his Stupidity, that, in the very Place of *Marcellinus*, cited by him, he sees not, that the *Scots* are plainly distinguished from the *Attacottæ*. For *Marcellinus* says, the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacottæ*, vexed the *Britons* with perpetual Miseries. Of the same Stupidity is he guilty, when he affirms, that the *Caledonii* were of the Nation of the *Britons*; whereas, 'tis plain, they were *Picts*, which *Lud* himself doth clearly demonstrate by a Testimony out of a *Panegyrick*, spoken to *Constantine*, which he produces against himself. For, says the Author of that Oration, *The Woods of the Caledones and of other Picts*: That Testimony (such was his Folly) he produces for himself, not observing, (such was his Stupidity), that it makes against him. If we look to the Word itself, 'tis *Scottish*; for *Calden* in *Scotch* is that Tree called the *Hasel*, whence, I judge, came the Name of the *Caledonian Woods*, and the Town of the *Caledonians*, situate by the River *Tay*, which is yet called *Duncalden*, i. e. the *Hasel-hill Town*. And if I dared to indulge myself so much Liberty, as to disagree from all the Books of *Ptolemy*, for the *Deucaledonian*, I would write the *Duncaledonian Sea*; and for the *Dicaledones* in *Marcellinus*, *Duncaledones*: Both the Sea and the Nation being furnamed from the Town, *Duncalden*. What I have written may satisfy any favourable Reader, yet I shall add other Testimonies, which *C. Plinius* thinks to be manifest Signs of the Originals of Nations, viz. The Religion, Language, and Names of Towns.

FIRST of all, it is manifest that the Bond of Religion, and the Identity of Sentiment as to the (supposed) Gods, hath been always held the strictest Tie of Obligation, and Alliance, amongst Nations. Now the *Britons* and the *Gauls* maintained the same divine Worship, they had the same Priests, the *Druides*, generally, who were in no Nation else; whose Superstition had so prevailed in both Nations, that many have doubted, which of the two first learned that Sort of Philosophy, one from the other. *Tacitus* also says, that they had the same sacred Rites and superstitious Observances. And that Tomb erected near *New Carthage*, called *Mercurius Teutates*,

as *Livy* writes, doth shew, that the *Spaniards*, the greatest Part of whom drew their Original from the *Gauls*, were not free from those Rites. Also, the same kind of *Priests* or *Sacrists*, called by both of them *Bards*, were in great Honour, both amongst the *Gauls* and *Britons*. Their Function and Name doth yet remain amongst all those Nations which use the old *British* Tongue: And so much Honour is given to them, in many Places, that their Persons are accounted sacred, and their Houses, Sanctuaries: Nay, in the Height of their Enmities, when they manage the cruellest Wars one against another, and use their Victories as severely; yet these *Bards* and their Retinue have free Liberty to pass and repass, at their Pleasure. The Nobles, when they come to them, receive them honourably, and dismiss them with Gifts. They make *Canto's*, and those not unelegant; which the *Rhapsodists* recite, either to the better Sort, or else to the Vulgar, who are very desirous to hear them; and sometimes they sing them to musical Instruments. Many of their antient Customs yet remain; nay there is almost nothing changed of them in *Ireland*, but only in Ceremonies and Rites of Religion. This for the present concerning their Religion. It remains now, that we speak concerning their antient Language, and the Names of their Towns, and of their People. But these Parts, though oftentimes distinct in themselves, shall yet be promiscuously handled by me; because many times one depends upon another, as its Foundation; especially, since a proper Name, either by its Origin or Declination, proves, or at least gives some Indication of the Country from whence it comes: Yet, though these Things are interwoven, and do mutually confirm one another, I will, for the Reader's Instruction, take Occasion sometimes to treat of them severally, as much as I can.

FIRST of all, *Tacitus* in the Life of his Father-in-law, *Agri-
cola*, affirms, that the *Gallick* Tongue did not much differ from the *British*; whence I gather, that they were formerly the same; but, by little and little, either by Commerce with foreign Nations, or by the Importation of new Commodities, unknown before to the Natives; or by the Invention of new Arts; or by the frequent Change of the Form of Garments, Arms, and other Furniture, a Speech, or Language, that was very flexible of itself, might be much altered, sometimes augmented, sometimes adulterated, many new Words being found out, and many old ones corrupted. Let a Man but think with himself, how much the Inconstancy and Caprice of the Vulgar doth assume to itself, in this particular; and how ready Men are and always were, to lothe present Things, and to study Innovations;

novations; he will find the Judgment of the best of Poets, and the only Censor, in these Cases, to be most true,

** Ut Sylvæ foliis prona mutantur in annos,
Prima cadunt, ita verborum vetus interit ætas,
Et, juvenum ritu, florent modo nata vigentque.*

*As from the Trees old Leaves drop off, and die
While others sprout, and a fresh Shade supply,
So fare our Words—thro' Time worn out and dead,
A fresher Language rises in their Stead.*

And a little after,

*Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
Quem penes arbitrium est, & jus & norma loquendi.*

*Many Words shall fall,
Which now we highly prize:
And Words, which now have fallen,
Shall hereafter rise;
Use, or Custom, rules this Thing,
And governs Language, as a King.*

'Tis true, he spoke this of the *Latin* Tongue, which by the great Care of the *Romans*, was kept uncorrupted, and which all the Nations, contained within the large Bounds of their Empire, did diligently learn. And therefore it is no Wonder, if a Language, (even before Colonies were sent into all Parts, out of *Gaul*), which already had different Dialects at Home; and also, was afterwards corrupted by the Mixture of divers Nations, being in itself somewhat barbarous at first, and neglected by those that used it; and after it had again re-entred, from a foreign Soil, into *Britain*, which was then divided into Kingdoms, for the most part obnoxious to Strangers; it is no Wonder, I say, if, under all these Prejudices, it did not always prove consistent with itself. For at first, the *Celtæ* and the *Belgæ* used a different Dialect, as *Strabo* thinks. Afterwards, when the *Celtæ* sent abroad great Colonies into *Spain*, as the Names of *Celtiberi* and *Celtici* declare, and the *Belgæ* made their Descent into the maritime Parts of *Britain*, as may be collected from the Names of *Venta Belgarum*, of the *Atre-bates*, and *Iceni*; it must needs follow, that on one Side the *Spaniards*, and on the other the *Romans*, the *English*, the *Danes*, and the *Normans*, must bring many strange Words with them, and so corrupt the Country Speech. Nay, I rather

* *Hor. de Arte Poetica.*

judge it a Matter of much more Wonder, that the Languages of neighbouring Nations, having been adulterated by the Coming in of so many strange People, and in great Part changed by the Speech of neighbouring Countries, that yet, even so long a Time after, the *Britons* should not differ in their whole Language, but in certain Idioms and Dialects only: For, if any one of them hears a Man of another Nation speak *British*; he may observe the sound of his own Language, and may understand many Words though he does not comprehend his whole Discourse. Neither ought it to seem strange to us, that the same Words do not signify the same Things in all Nations, when we consider, what Alterations Commerce with neighbouring Countries daily makes in the Speech of all Nations; and, how great a Change of Phrases must needs be owing to a daily Conversation with Foreigners; how many new Words are coined to express Things newly invented; how many are imported with Wares and Traffick, even from the farthest Parts of the World; how many old obsolete Words are disused; how many are lengthened by the Addition of Letters and Syllables; and how many are shortened by contrary Decurtations; and some also new vamped and refined, as it were, by Mutation or Transposition of Letters. I will not inquire, in how short a Time, and how much the *Ionick* Speech did degenerate from the *Attick*, and how much the other *Greeks* differed from them both. Let us but observe the Speech of the noblest Nations in *Europe*; how soon did the *French*, *Italick*, and *Spanish* Tongues, all derived from the same Root, degenerate from the Purity of the *Latin*? Yet in the mean time, they differ no less amongst themselves, than the old *Scottish* and the *British* Tongues do. Nay, if we look over all the Provinces of *France*, (I mean those that are judged to speak true *Gallick* or *French*) what a great Difference shall we find between the Inhabitants of *Gallia Narbonensis*, and the *Gascoigns*? And how vastly the *Limosins*, the *Perigordins*, and the *Auvergnians*, though Neighbours to both, yet differ from both in their Speech? And how much the rest of the Provinces of *France* differ even from all of them? And, to come nearer Home, the *English* Laws of *William* the *Norman*, established five hundred Years ago, were written in *French*; yet now no *French* Man can understand them, without an Interpreter. Nay, if those old Men, who have lived long in the World, will but recollect how many Words are grown obsolete, which were in use when they were Children; and what Words unheard of by our Ancestors, have succeeded in their Places; they will not at all wonder, that the same original Language, in Length of Time, should be changed, and seem wholly different from itself; especially

cially amongst Nations far remote, and also often warring one against another. On the other side, when I see that Concord (lasting so many Ages rather than Years) in the *British* Language, and that even amongst Nations, either very distant one from another, or else maintaining mutual Animosities against one another; as is hardly to be found amongst the many Tribes and People of *France*, who yet have long lived under the same Kings and Laws: I say, when I recollect within myself, such an Agreement in Speech, which as yet preserves its antient Affinity of Words, and no obscure Marks of its Original; I am easily induced to believe, that, before the Coming of the *Saxons*, all the *Britons* used a Language, not much different from each other; and it is probable, that the People on the *Gallick* Shore, used the *Belgick* Tongue, from whose Limits a good Part of the *Britons*, bordering on *France*, had transplanted themselves, as *Cæsar* informs us. But the *Irish*, and the Colonies sent from them, being derived from the *Celtæ*, Inhabitants of *Spain*, 'tis probable, they spoke the *Celtick* Tongue. I suppose, that these Nations returning, as it were, from a long Pilgrimage, and possessing themselves of the Neighbourseats, and almost uniting into one People, did confound the Idioms of their several Tongues into a Medley that was neither wholly *Belgick*, nor wholly *Celtick*, nor yet wholly unlike to either of them: Such a Mixture we may observe in those Nations, which are thought to speak the *German* Tongue, and yet have much declined from the antient Phrase thereof: I mean the *Danes*, the maritime *Saxons*, those of *Friesland*, those of *Flanders*, and the *English*; amongst all which it is easy to find some Letters, Sounds, and Inflections, which are proper to the *Germans* only, and not common to any other Nation. Besides, I suppose, that a surer Symptom of the Affinity of Languages may be gathered from the Sound of Letters, from the familiar Way of each Nation in pronouncing certain Letters, and from the Judgment of the Ear thereupon; and also, from the Composition and Declension of Words, than from the Signification of single or particular Words. We find Examples of this in the *German* Letter *W*, in the Composition of the Words *Moremarusa* and *Armoricus*, of which I have spoken before: and in the Declension of those Words, which amongst the *French*, end in *Ac*, of which there is a vast Number; which Form among the *Scots* is *Hypocoristical*, i. e. *Diminutive*; and so it was amongst the antient *Gauls*. From *Drix*, which among the *Scots* signifies a *Briar*, is derived *Driffack*, i. e. a *Briarling*, or little *Briar* Bush. And from *Brix*, which signifies a Rupture or Cleft, *Brixac*, which now the *French* pronounce *Brissac*. For what the *Scots* pronounce *Brix*, that the *French*

French call *Bresche*, even to this very Day, there being no Difference at all in the Signification of the Words: The Cause of the different Writing, is, that the antient *Scots*, and all the *Spaniards* to this very Day, do use the Letter *X* for double *SS*. And therefore the old *Gauls*, from *Brix*, called a Town of the *Cænomani*, *Brixia*; and again, from *Brixia*, *Brixiacum*, now commonly *Brisac*. After the like Form, *Aureliacum*, i. e. *Orilbach*, is derived from *Aurelia*, i. e. *Orleance*; and, from *Ebor*, which is called *Cerealis*, or *Ebor*, named by the *Spaniards*, *Fœlicitas Julia*, *Eboracum*, i. e. *York*, is derived; as the *Brigantes* have declined it, (who had their Origin from the *Spaniards*) retaining, in the Declension thereof, the Propriety of the *French* Tongue. Furthermore, besides those Things which I have mentioned, all that Coast of *Britain*, which is extended to the *South-West*, retains the sure and manifest Tokens of a *Gallick* Speech and Original, according to the clear Testimony even of *Foreigners* themselves. First, in that Coast, there is *Cornuwallia*, i. e. *Cornwal*, as many call it, but by the Antients it was called *Cornavia*, and by the Vulgar, *Kernico*; even as in *Scotland*, the *Cornavii*, placed by *Ptolemy* in the most Northern District of that Country, are commonly called *Kernicks*; so that *Cornuwallia* is derived from *Kernick* and *Valli*, as if you should say *Kernico-Galli*, i. e. *Cornish Gauls*. Moreover, *Vallia* i. e. *Wales*, another Peninsula on the same Side, doth avouch its Ancestors both in Name and Speech. They who come near in Language to the Sound of the *German* Tongue, pronounce it by *W*, a Letter proper to the *Germans* only; which the rest of their Neighbours, who use the old Tone, can by no means pronounce: Nay, if you should put them to the Torture to make them pronounce it aright, yet, the *Cornish*, the *Irish*, or *Highland Scots* could never do it. But the *French*, when they speak of *Vallia*, do always prefix *G* before it, *Guallia*; and not in that Word alone, but they have many others also, which begin with *G*. For they who, by reason of the Propinquity of the Countries do *Germanize*, do call the *French* Tongue *Walla*: and besides, in a Multitude of other Words, they use this Change of Letters: On the other side, that Country which the *English* call *Wales* and *North-Wales*; the *French* call *Gales* and *Norgales*, still closely adhering to the primitive Sounds of their antient Tongue.

BUT *Polydore Virgil* pleaseth himself with a new Fancy, which he thinks he was the first Inventor of; whereas no Man, though but meanly skilled in the *German* Tongue, is ignorant, that the Word *Walsch* signifies a Stranger or Foreigner; and that therefore the *Valli* were called Foreigners by them; but he reckons, as we say, without his Host: For, if that Name
were

were derived from one's *being foreign*, I think it would agree better to the *Angles*, or *English*, as an adventitious People, than to those, whom, by reason of their Antiquity, many of the Antients have thought to be the first Inhabitants: Or, if that Name were imposed upon them by the *English*, they might with better Reason have given it to the *Scots* and *Picts*, than to the *Britons*, because with the former they had less Acquaintance and very rare Commerce: And if the *English* called them *Valli* in Reproach, would the *Britons*, think we, who, for so many Ages, were the deadly Enemies of the *English*, and now made more obnoxious to them by this Affront, own that Name? Which they do not unwillingly, calling themselves in their own Tongue *Cumbri*. Besides, the Word *Walsch* among the *Germans*, doth not primarily signify a *Stranger* or *Barbarian*; but, in its first and proper Acceptation, a *Gaul*. And therefore, in my Judgment, the Word *Vallia* is changed by the *English* from *Gallia*; they agreeing with other Neighbour Nations in the Name, but observing the Propriety of the *German* Tongue in pronouncing the first Letter by *W*, viz. *Wallia*. The antient Inhabitants of that *Peninsula* were called *Silures*, as appears out of *Pliny*; which Name in some Part of *Wales* was long retained, in succeeding Ages. But *Leland*, a *Briton* by Birth, and a Man very diligent in discovering the *Monuments* of his own Country, doth affirm, That some Part of *Wales* was formerly called *Ross*. Which Word in *Scotland* signifies a *Peninsula*: But the neighbouring Nations seem, in speaking, to have used a Name or Word, which shewed the Original of the *Nation*, rather than one that demonstrated the Site and Form of the Country. The same hath happened in the Name *Scots*; for whereas they call themselves *Albini*, a Name derived from *Albium*; yet their Neighbours call them *Scoti*, by which Name their Original is declared to be from the *Irish*, or *Hibernians*.

ON the same Side and *Western* Shore, follows *Gallovidia*, i. e. *Galway*; which Word, 'tis evident, both with *Scots* and *Welch*, signifieth a *Gaul*, as being *Gallus* with the one, and *Wallus* with the other; for the *Valli* or *Welch* call it *Wallowithia*. This Country yet useth for the most part its antient Language. These three Nations comprehend all that *Traſt* and Side of *Britany*, which bends toward *Ireland*; and they as yet retain no mean Indications, but rather strong and convincing Marks of their *Gallick* Speech and Affinity; of which the chief is, that the antient *Scots* divided all Nations inhabiting *Britain*, into two Sorts, the one they call *Gael*, the other *Galle* or *Gald*, i. e. according to my Interpretation, *Galæci* and *Galli*. Moreover the *Galæcians* please themselves with that Title, *Gael*, and they

call their Language, as I said before, *Galæcian*, and do glory in it, as the more refined and elegant, undervaluing the *Galli* as *Barbarians*, in respect of themselves. And though originally the *Scots* called the *Britons*, *i. e.* the most antient Inhabitants of the Island, *Galli*; yet the Custom of speaking by degrees obtained, that they called all the *Nations*, which afterwards fixed their Seats in *Britain*, by that Name; which they used rather as a contumelious, than a national Appellation: For the Word *Galle* or *Gald* signifies the same amongst them, which *Barbarian* doth amongst the *Greeks* and *Latins*, and *Walsch* among the *Germans*.

Now at last we are come to this Point, That we are to demonstrate the Community of Speech, and thereupon an antient Affinity between the *Gauls* and the *Britons*, from the Names of *Towns*, *Rivers*, *Countries*, and such other Evidences. A ticklish Subject, and to be warily handled; for I have formerly proved, that a publick Speech or Language may be altered for many Causes; for though it be not changed altogether, and at once, yet it is in a perpetual Flux, and doth easily follow the Inconstancy of the Alterers, by reason of a certain Flexibility, which it hath in its own Nature. The Truth whereof doth appear chiefly in those Ranks of Things, which are subject not only to the Alterations of Time, but also to every Man's Pleasure or Caprice; such as are all particular Things invented for the daily Use of Man's Life, whose Names either grow obsolete, or are made new and refitted, for very light and trivial Causes. But the Case is far different in those Things, which are Time-proof, and so, after a Sort, are perpetual or eternal. As the Heavens, the Sea, the Earth, Fire, Mountains, Countries, Rivers; and also in those, which, by their Durableness, as far as the Infirmary of Nature will permit, do in some Sort imitate those perpetual and uncorrupted Bodies; such are Towns, which are built as if they were to last for ever. So that a Man cannot easily give new Names to, or change the old Names of, *Nations* or *Cities*; for they were not rashly imposed at the Beginning, but in a Manner by the general wise Advice and Consent of their *Founders*, whom Antiquity did greatly reverence, ascribing divine Honours to them; and did as much as lay in their Power to render them *immortal*. And therefore, these *Names* are deservedly continued, and can receive no Alteration without making a mighty Disturbance in the whole OEconomy of Things; so that if the rest of a *Language* be changed, yet these are religiously retained, and are never supplanted by other Names, but as it were, with Unwillingness and Regret. And the Cause of their imposing at first, contributes much to their Continuance. For those, who, in
their

their *Peregrinations*, either were forced from their *old* Seats; or, of their own accord, sought *new*; when they had lost their own Country, yet retained the *Name* of it, and were willing to enjoy a Sound most pleasing to their Ears; and by this Umbrage of a *Name*, such as it was, the Want of their native Soil was somewhat alleviated and softened unto them; so that by this means they judged themselves not altogether *Exiles* or *Travellers*, far from Home. And besides, there were not wanting some Persons, who, being religiously inclined, conceived an holier and more august Representation in their Minds, than could be seen in Walls and Houses, and did sweetly hug, as it were, that Image and delightful Pledge of their *own* former Country, with a Love more than *native*. And therefore, a surer Argument of Affinity may be taken from this Sort of Words, than from *those*, which, on trivial Causes, and oft on none at all, are given to, or taken away from, ordinary and changeable Things. For though it may casually happen, that the same Word may be used in several *Countries*, yet it is not credible, that so many *Nations*, living so far asunder, should agree by mere Chance in the frequent imposing of the same Name.

In the next place, those Names succeed, which are derived from, or compounded of, the former Primitives. For, oftentimes, the Similitude of Declination and Composition doth more certainly declare the Affinity of a Language, than the very *primitive* Words themselves; for these are, many times, casually given: But the *other*, being declined after *one* certain Mode and Form, are directed by one fixed Example, which the *Greeks* call *Ἀναλογία*. And therefore this certain and perpetual Manner of *nominal* Affinity, as *Varro* speaks, doth, after a Sort, lead us to an Affinity of *Stock*, and old Communion of *Language*. Moreover, there is a certain Observation to be made in all *primogenial* Words, from whence we may know, which are introduced from abroad, and which are native. For, as the Words *Philosophia*, *Geometria*, and *Dialectica*, though often used by *Latin* Writers, yet have scarce any *Latin* Word of kin to them, or derived from them, from whence they may seem to take their Original; so, on the other side, the Words *Paradisus* and *Gaza*, are used by the *Greeks*; and yet it appears by this, that they are perfectly *foreign*, because they can't shew any Words they were originally derived from, nor any Words that were afterwards derived from them, in the *genuine Greek* Tongue.

THE same Observation may also be made in other *Tongues*, which will help us to judge, what Words are *domestick*, and what are *adventitious*, or *foreign*. Let it suffice to have spoken
L 2 thus

thus much in general; let us now propound Examples, concerning every particular Part: Where, first, we meet with those Words, which end in *Bria*, *Briga* and *Brica*. *Strabo*, in his seventh Book, with whose Opinion *Stephanus* concurs, says, that *Bria* signifies a City; to confirm their Opinion, they produce these Names, derived from that one Word *Pultobria*, *Brutobria*, *Mesembria*, and *Selimbria*. But the Place by them called *Brutobria*, by others is named *Brutobrica*; and the Places which *Ptolemy* makes to end in *Briga*, *Pliny* closes with *Brica*; so that 'tis probable, that *Bria*, *Briga* and *Brica*, signify the same Thing. But that they all have their Original from *Gaul*, appears by this, that the *Gauls* are reported, antiently, to have sent forth Colonies into *Thrace* and *Spain*, and not they into *Gaul*; and therefore, amongst proper *Classick* Authors, we usually read the Words following.

Abobrica in *Pliny*, in the Circuit of *Braga*.

Amalo-brica in the Itinerary of the Emperor *Antoninus*.

Arabrica, *Pliny*, in the *Bracarense* Circuit also.

Arabrica another, *Ptolemy*, in *Lusitania*, or *Portugal*.

Arcobrica, *Ptolemy*, amongst the *Celtiberians*, i. e. *New-Castilians*.

Arcobrica another, *Ptolemy*, amongst the *Lusitanian-Celticks*.

Arcobrica a third, in the *Cæsar-Augustan*-Province.

Artobrica, *Ptolemy*, in the *Vindilici's* Country.

Augustobrica, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*, in *Portugal*.

Augustobrica another, *Ptolemy*, in the *Vecton's* Country.

Augustobrica a third, *Ptolemy*, in the *Pelendon's* Country.

Axabrica, *Pliny*, of the *Lusitanians*.

Badobrica, in the Itinerary of *Antoninus*, and in the Book of the Knowledge of the Roman Empire, in *High-Germany*.

Brige, in the Itinerary of *Antoninus*, in *Britany*.

Brige, in *Strabo*, a Town by the *Cottian Alps*.

Bruto-brica, in *Strabo*, between the *Turduli* and the River *Bætis*.

Cæliobrica, *Ptolemy*, of the *Celerini*, i. e. People in *Portugal*.

Cæsarobrica, *Pliny*, in *Portugal*, also.

Catobrica, of the *Turduli*, in the Itinerary of the Emperor *Antoninus*.

Corimbrica, *Pliny*, in *Portugal*: But if I mistake not, corruptly for *Conimbrica*, of which Mention is made in the Itinerary of *Antoninus*, which City, as yet, keeps its antient Name, by the River *Munda*, in *Portugal*.

Cotteobrica, *Ptolemy*, in the *Vecton's* Country.

Deobrica, *Ptolemy*, among the *Vecton's* also.

Deobrica, another, *Ptolemy*, of the *Autrigones*.

Deobricula, *Ptolemy*, of the *Morbogi*.

Dessobrica,

Dessobrica, not far distant from *Lacobrica*, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*.

Flavio-Brica, *Pliny*, at the *Port Amanus*. *Ptolemy*, in the *Autrigons*, calls it *Magnus*; but I know not whether *Magnus* ought to be writ in *Pliny*, or no.

Gerabrica in the *Scalabitan* Province, which *Pliny* writes *Jerabrica*.

Juliobrica, in *Pliny*, and in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus* of the *Cantabrians*, or *Biscainers*, heretofore called *Brigantia*.

Lacobrica, in the *Vaccæans* Country, in *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *Festus Pompeius*.

Lacobrica, at the sacred Promontory, in *Mela*.

Lancobrica, of the *Lusitanick* *Celti*, *Ptolemy*.

Latobrigi, near to the *Switzers*, *Cæsar*.

Medubrica, surnamed *Plumbaria*, by *Pliny*, in *Portugal*; this, if I mistake not, is called *Mundobrica*, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*.

Merobrica, surnamed *Celtica*, in *Portugal*; *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*.

Mirobrica, in the Country of the *Oretani*.

Mirobrica another, in *Beturia*, or, in the Country of the *Turdetani Bætica*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*.

Nemetobrica, in the Country of the *Lusitanick* *Celts*, *Ptolemy*.

Nertobrica, in the *Turduli's* Country of *Bætica*, *Ptolemy*.

Nertobrica, another, in the *Celtiberians* Country, *Ptolemy*, which, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, is called *Nitobrica*.

Segobrica, in the *Celtiberian's* Country, *Pliny*, but *Ptolemy* counts it the Head City of *Celtiberia*.

Talabrica, in *Lusitania*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*.

Turobrica in the *Celts* Country of *Bætica*, *Pliny*.

Tuntobrica amongst the *Bracarean* *Galæci*, *Ptolemy*.

Vertobrica, surnamed *Concordia Julia*, *Pliny*, in the *Celt-Bætick's* Country.

Volobrica, of the *Nemetes*, *Ptolemy*.

VERY many Names of Towns, and Nations, seem to belong to this Class, in all the *Provinces*, into which the *Gauls* distributed *Colonies*; For, as *Burgundus* and *Burgundio* seem to be derived from *Burgo*; so doth *Brigantes* from *Briga*. The Nominative Case of this Word, in *Stephanus*, is *Brigas*, whence we decline *Brigantes*; as we do *Gigantes*, from *Gigas*. The *Brigantes*, according to *Strabo*, are situate by the *Cottian Alps*; and, in the same Tract, is the Village, or Town *Brige*. And the *Brigiani*, in the *Trophy of Augustus*, are reckoned amongst the *Alpin Nations*. *Brigantium*, is an *Alpine Town*; and the *Brigantii* are in the Country of the *Vindelici*, according to *Strabo*;

bo; and *Brigantia*, in the *Itinerary of Antoninus*; and the Mountain *Briga* (*Ptolemy*) is near the Fountains of the *Rhosne* and the *Danow*. Also *Brigantium* in *Rhætia*, (*Ptolemy*) is the same Town, I suppose, which in the Book of the *Knowledge of the Provinces* of the People of Rome, is called *Brecantin*, and the *Brigantine Lake*. And in Ireland are the *Brigantes*, *Ptolemy*: The *Brigantes* also are in *Albium*, *Ptolemy*, *Tacitus*, and *Seneca*. And the Town *Brige*, or *Brage*, and *Isobrigantium*, in the *Itinerary of Antoninus*. And the Town *Brigantium*, in *Orosius*, by the *Celtick Promontory*, and *Flaviobrigantium*, or *Besançon*, in *Ptolemy*, in the *Great Port*; and a later *Brigantia*, i. e. *Braganza*, now in the Kingdom of *Portugal*.

THERE is also another Class or Rank of Words, which do either begin in *Dunum*, or end therewith; which is a *Gallick Word*, as appears by those Heaps of Sand of the *Morini*, as yet called *Duni*, or the *Downs*; and those other Heaps of Sand in the Sea over against them in the *English Shore*, which retain the same Name of *Downs*. Yea, *Plutarch*, (I mean he who wrote the Book of Rivers), in declaring the Original of *Lugdunum*, i. e. *Lions*, acknowledges *Dunum* to be a *Gallick Word*. And indeed in expressing the Names of *Villages* and *Towns*, there is scarce any one *Word* or *Termination*, more frequent than that, amongst the Nations, who yet preserve the old *Gallick Tongue* almost entire; I mean the *Brittons* in *Gallia Celtica*; and the antient *Scots* in *Ireland* and *Albium*; and the *Valli* or *Welch*; the *Kernicovalli*, or *Cornish* in *England*; for there is none of those Nations, which do not challenge that *Word* or *Termination* for their own; only here is the Difference, that the old *Gauls* did end their compound Words with *Dunum*, but the *Scots* ordinarily place it in the Beginning of Words; of this Sort there are found,

IN FRANCE.

Augustodunum of the *Ædui* or *Burgundians*.

Castellodunum, of the *Carnotensian Province*, i. e. of *Chartres*.

Melodunum, by the River *Sequana*, or *Sein*.

Lugdunum, at the Confluence of the Rivers *Arar* and *Rhosne*.

Augustodunum, another *Autun*, of the *Arverni*, or *Auvergneois* and *Clermontians*, *Ptolemy*.

Lugdunum, of the *Conveni*, or *Comingeois*, near the River *Garon*, *Ptolemy*.

Novidunum, in the *Tribocci's Country*, *Ptolemy*.

Uxellodunum, in *Cæsar*.

Juliodunum in the *Picton's Country*, i. e. *Poictieres*.

Isodunum,

Ifodunum, and *Regiodunum*, of the *Bituriges*, i. e. Inhabitants of Berry.

Laudunum, or *Laudunum*, in the County of *Rheims*.

Cæsarodunum, *Ptolemy*, of the *Turones*, i. e. *Tourenois*.

Segodunum, of the *Ruthenians*, *Ptolemy*.

Velannodunum (or *St. Flour*) in *Cæsar*.

In SPAIN.

Caladunum, *Ptolemy*, of the *Bracari*, or *Braganzians*.

Sebendunum, *Ptolemy*.

In BRITAIN.

Camulodunum, of the *Brigantes* Country, *Ptolemy*.

Camulodunum, a Roman Colony, *Tacitus*.

Dunum, a Town of the *Durotriges*, or *Dorsetshire* Men, *Ptolemy*.

Maridunum *Demetarum*, i. e. *Caermarthen*, of the *Demetæ*, *Ptolemy*, and the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*.

Rigodunum, of the *Brigantes*, *Ptolemy*, i. e. *Ribchester* in *Lancashire*.

Cambodunum, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, i. e. Ruines near *Almonbury* in *Yorkshire*.

Margidunum, in the same *Itinerary*, i. e. *Margedovorton* in *Leicestershire*, near *Belvoir Castle*; or, as some, *Leicester* itself.

Sorviodunum, or *Sorbiodunum*, in the same *Itinerary*; i. e. *Old Sarum* in *Wiltshire*.

Segodunum, i. e. *Seton* in *Northumberland*; and *Axelodunum*, i. e. *Hexam*, in *Northumberland* also, in the Book of the *Notitia Romani Imperii*, or *Knowledge of the Roman Empire*, &c.

Later Towns in England.

Venantodunum, i. e. *Huntington*.

Dunelmum, i. e. *Durham*.

In Scotland.

Duncaledon, called also *Caledonia*, i. e. *Dunkelden*.

Deidunum, i. e. *Dundee*, or rather *Taodunum*, by the River *Tay*.

Edinodunum, which Word the antient Scots do yet retain, but they who germanize, had rather call it *Edinburgh*.

Dunum, a Town in *Ireland*, called *Down*.

Noviodunum, or *New Down*, i. e. *Dunmore Castle* in *Coval*.

Brittannodunum,

Brittannodunum, i. e. *Dumbrition* or *Dumbarton*, at the Confluence of the *Clyde* and *Levin*.

AND at this Day there are innumerable Names of Castles, Villages and Hills compounded with *Dunum*.

In Germany, these Names are read in Ptolemy.

Lugdunum, i. e. *Leyden*; *Segodunum*, i. e. *Nurinburgh*; *Tarodunum*, i. e. *Friburgh*; *Robodunum*, i. e. *Brin*; *Carrodunum*, i. e. *Crainburgh*.

In the Alps Country.

Ebrodunum and *Sedunum*.

In the Vindelici or Bavarians Country, in Rhætia, the Grisons Country, and Noricum.

Cambodunum, *Corrodunum*, *Gesodunum*, *Idunum* and *Noviodunum*; and in the Book of the Knowledge of the Roman Empire, *Parrodunum*, i. e. *Partenkirk*.

In Sarmatia and Dacia, according to Ptolemy.

Corrodunum, *Singindunum*, by the *Danow*; *Noviodunum* at the Mouth of the *Danow*; also another *Noviodunum*.

AND there are, in the same Provinces, not a few Words declined from *Dur*, which among the old *Gauls* and *Brittons* signifies *Water*, and as yet retains the same Signification amongst some, as there are

In France.

Durocotti in the *Rhemish Circuit*, *Ptolemy*; we read them also *Durocorti*; moreover, *Cæsar* makes mention of *Divodurum*, of the *Mediomatrices*. *Tacitus*, *Divodurum*, near *Paris*; in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, *Batavodurum* amongst the *Batavi*, *Ptolemy*, *Tacitus*. *Breviodorum* in the *Itinerary* of the Emperor *Antoninus*. *Ganodurum* in *Ptolemy* near the *Rhine*. *Gannodurum* in the *Helvetians Country*, *Ptolemy*, *Octodurum*, or *Octodorus*, amongst the *Veragri*, *Cæsar*.

In Rhætia, the Vindelici's Country, and Noricum.

Bragodurum, *Carrodurum*, *Ebodurum*, *Gannodurum*, and *Octodurum*, *Ptolemy*. *Venaxamodurum* and *Bododurum*, in the Book of the Knowledge of the Provinces.

In Spain.

Oëtodurum, and *Ocellodurum*, *Ptolemy*: The River *Durius* flowing into the *Ocean*, and *Duria* into the *Mediterranean Sea*, and in *Ireland* the River *Dur*; *Ptolemy*.

In Britain.

Durocibrivæ, *Duroprovæ*, *Durolenum*, *Durovernum*, *Duroli-pont*, *Durotriges*, *Durocornovium*, *Durolitum*, *Duronovaria*, *La-ëtodurum*.

PERHAPS the two *Alpine Rivers*, *Doria* the *Greater* and the *Less* (the one running into the *Po*, through the *Salassians* Country; the other, through the *Piemontois*) do belong to the same Original; and also *Iffiodorus*, and *Altissidorus*, Cities of *France*, so called (as I judge) from their Situation near Rivers. To which *Dureta* may be referred, which Word in *Spanish* signifies a *Wooden Throne*, as *Suetonius* writes in the Life of *Augustus*; the like may be said of *Domnacus*, the proper Name of a Man in *Cæsar*, which seems to be corrupted from *Dunacus*; for *Dunach* may signify *Dunan* and *Dunensis* both; as *Romach* doth *Romanus*. *Dunacus*, or rather *Dunachus*, is yet used for the proper Name of a Man, which, those who are ignorant of both Tongues, the *Latin* and the *British*, do render (but amiss) sometimes *Duncan*, sometimes *Donat*.

THE old Word *Magus* also in all the Provinces, in which the publick Use of the *Gallick* Tongue obtained, is very frequent in expressing the Names of Cities; which shews that it was of a *Gallick* Original. But of the Derivatives from it, we may rather guess, than affirm for certain, that they were wont to signify a House, City, or any Building. We read in the *Book of the Knowledge of the Empire of the People of Rome*, the Prefect of the *Pacensian* Levies, in Garrison at *Magi*; and also in the same *Book*, the Tribune of the second Cohort placed at *Magni*; we read also of *Magni* in the *Itinerary of Antoninus*, I dare not positively assert, whether it be one Town or many. But I incline, of the two, rather to think that they were sundry Towns.

TOWNS ending in *Magus* are these, *Noviomagus* in *Ptolemy*, amongst the *Santons*; *Noviomagus* of the *Lexovii*; *Noviomagus* of the *Vadecassii*; *Noviomagus* of the *Nemetes*; *Noviomagus* of the *Tricassini*; *Noviomagus* of the *Bituriges*; *Juliomagus* of the *Andegavi*; *Rotomagus* of the *Venclocassii*; *Cæsaromagus* of the *Bellovaci*; *Rotomagus* of the *Nervii*; *Borbetomagus* of the *Vangiones* in *High Germany*; *Vindomagus* of the *Volci Arecomici*. Also in the *Itinerary of Antoninus*, *Argentomagus*; and in *High Germany*,

Germany, *Noviomagus*. In the Book of the Knowledge of the Roman Empire; *Noviomagus* of *Belgica Secunda*; in *Rhætia*, *Drusomagus*, *Ptolemy*. In *Britain*, in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, *Cæsaromagus*; *Sitomagus*; *Noviomagus* of the *Regni*; *Vacomagi*; *Magiovinium*; *Vicomagi*, Part of the *Picts* Country. *Ptolemy*.

THERE are also other Names of Places, common to many of these Nations, but not so frequently used, nor so far extended as the former; such as are *Hibernia*, i. e. *Ireland*, amongst the Romans, the Name of an Island, called by *Pomponius Mela*, *Ptolemy* and *Juvenal*, *Juverna*; by *Strabo*, *Claudian*, and the Inhabitants thereof, *Jerna*. That which some call the *Nerian* Promontory, *Strabo* calls *Jerne*; *Jernus*, or *Jern*, a River of *Gallæcia*, *Mela* calls it *Jerna*; *Jernus* is also a River of *Ireland*: In *Ptolemy*, 'tis reckoned a River of *Scotland*, falling into *Tay*. Another of the same Name glides through *Murray*; the Country adjacent to both is called *Jerna*.

WE read of the City *Mediolanum*, in *Ptolemy*; as one *Insulbrum*, of the *Santones*; another of the *Aulerci Eburaici*; another by the *Loir*, i. e. *Menu*; a fourth by *Sequana*; or the *Sein*, (now as I think) named *Meulan*, or *Melun*; another in *High Germany*, called *Asciburgium*; another by the *Danow*; another in *Britain*, of which Mention is made in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*.

ALSO *Marcolica*, a Town in *Spain*; *Macolica*, in *Ireland*; *Vaga*, a River in *Portugal*; and another of *Wales* in *England*. *Avo*, in *Mela*, *Avus*, in *Ptolemy*, a River of *Gallæcia*, as yet retains its Name. In *Argyle* there is also a River of the same Name, flowing out of the *Loch Awe*. The *Promontorium Sacrum*, one is in *Spain*, another in *Ireland*. *Ocellum* is a Promontory in *Britain*; *Ocellum* is also in *Gallæcia*, in the *Lucensi* District; *Ocelli* are Mountains in *Scotland*; *Ocellum* is the last Town of *Gallia Togata*; *Cæsar* mentions *Uxellum*, a Town in *Britain*, perhaps for *Ocellum*; for *Martianus*, in explaining the antient Names of the Cities of *Gallia*, says, That the Word is variously writ, *Ocellum*, *Oscela*, and *Oscellum*; hence perhaps comes *Uxellodunum*, which is also sometimes writ *Uxellodurum*. So there is *Tamar*, a River of *Gallæcia*, *Ptolemy*; *Tamaris*, in *Mela*; *Tamarici*, a People of *Gallæcia*; the River *Tamarus*, *Pliny*: And *Tamara*, a Town in *Britain*.

SARS, a River of *Gallæcia*, *Ptolemy*; *Sarcus* in *Scotland*, *Mela*.

EBORA, a Town of *Portugal*, called *Liberalitas Julia*, in *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*; *Eburia*; that which is *Cerealis* in *Boetica*, in *Pliny* is *Ebora*; *Ptolemy* mentions *Aulerci Eburaici* in *Gallia Celtica*; and also *Eboracum*, i. e. *York*, of the *British Brigantes*.

DEVA,

DEVA, now *Dee*, a River of *England*; and three in *Scotland*, so called, one in *Galway*, another in *Angus*, the third divides *Merne* from *Marr*.

THE *Cornavii* in *England* are in the farthest Part of the *West*; in *Scotland*, they are the farthest *North*. Both of them are now called *Kernici*; there seems also to have been a third Sort of *Kernici* in *Scotland*, at the Mouth of the River *Avenus*, or *Even*, which is the Boundary between the Coasts of *Lothian* and *Sterling*. For *Bede* makes the *Monastery* of *Abercorn* to be at the End of *Severus* his Wall, where now the Ruins of the Castle of *Abercorn* do appear. *Aven* is often read, a River both of *England* and *Scotland*. *Aven* in *Scottish*, and *Evon* in *Welsh*, signifies a River.

OF the three Nations which first inhabited this Island, after the Coming of *Cæsar*, the *Britons* were subject to the Emperors of *Rome* successively, little less than five hundred Years; but the *Scots* and *Picts* were under their own Kings. At length, when all the neighbouring Nations did conspire for the Destruction of the *Romans*, they recalled their Armies from their most remote Provinces, to maintain their Empire at home. And by this means, the *Britons*, being destitute of foreign Aid, were miserably vexed by the *Scots* and *Picts*; insomuch, that they craved Aid of the *Saxons*, who then infested the Seas with a pyratival Navy. But that Project cost them dear. For the *Saxons* having repelled the *Picts* and *Scots*, being tempted by the Fertility of the Country, and the Weakness of the Inhabitants, aspired to make themselves *Masters* of the *Island*. But after various Successes in War, seeing they could not arrive at what they aimed at by Force, they resolved to attempt the *Britons* by Fraud. Their Stratagem was this. There being a Conference or Treaty, agreed upon at a set Day and Place, between the Nobles of both Parties; the *Saxons* having a Sign given them by *Hengist* their Captain, slew all the *British* Nobility, and drove the common People into rugged and mountainous Places; so that they themselves possessed all the *Champaign*, and divided the fruitfullest Part of the *Island* between them, into seven Kingdoms. This was the State of Affairs in *Britain*, about the Year of *Christ* 464. And whereas three *German* Nations did originally undertake Expeditions into *Britain*, the other two, by degrees, passed into the Name of *English* Men. But neither the Peace made with the *Britons*, nor with the *English* amongst themselves, was ever faithfully observed for 317 Years together; when the *Danes*, being powerful at Sea, did first molest *England* with pyratival Incursions; but being valiantly repulsed, about thirty six Years after they came with greater Forces, and made a Descent into the

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Country

Country with a Land Army. At the first Conflict they were *Victors*, but afterwards they contended with the *English* with various Successes, till in the Year 1012, *Swain*, having wholly subdued the *Britons*, by their publick Consent obtained the *Kingdom*, which yet remained but a few Years in his Family. For the *Saxons* having again created *Kings* of their own Nation, about twenty four Years after, were overcome by *William* the *Norman*, most of their Nobility being slain, and their Lands divided among the *Normans*, by which means the common People were kept in a miserable Slavery, till *Henry VII.*'s Time, who, easing Part of their Burden, made the Condition of the Commonalty a little more tolerable. But those which are in Favour with the King, or would seem to be truly illustrious and noble, do all derive themselves from the *Normans*.

THESE are the Discoveries which I have been able to make, out of antient Writings, and other no obscure Indications, concerning the *Original*, *Customs*, and *Language* of the three antientest Nations in *Britain*; all which induce me to believe, that the old *Britons*, and the other Inhabitants of *Britain*, were derived from the *Gauls*, and did originally use the *Gallick* Speech; of which many Signs very manifestly appear, both in *France* and *Britain*. Neither ought it to seem strange, if, in Language which admits of a Change each Moment of our Life, many Things receive different Names in divers Places, especially in such a Length of Time; nay, we may rather admire, that the same Foundations of Language, (if I may so speak), and the same Manner of Declension and Derivation, do yet continue amongst People, far remote one from another, and seldom agreeing together in Converse of Life; nay, being often at mortal Feuds one with another.

CONCERNING the other three Nations, the *Angles*, *Danes*, and *Normans*, we need make no solicitous Inquiry; seeing the Times and Causes of their Coming are known almost to all. But I have entered upon this Task, that I might restore us to our *Ancestors*, and our *Ancestors* to us; if I have performed this well, I have no Reason to repent of a little Labour, though spent in none of the greatest Concerns; if not, yet, they who concur not with me in Opinion, cannot (I believe) disallow or blame my Good-will. And I am so far from grudging or taking it ill, to have what I have written refuted, that if any Man can discover greater Certainty, and convince me of my Mistake, I shall return him great Thanks for his Pains.

I had resolved here to put an End to this Disquisition concerning the Original of the Nations of *Britain*, if *Ludd* had not called me back, even against my Will, who maintains, that the *Scots* and the *Picts* came but lately into *Albium*. Though
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I might, without any Offence, pass by the empty Vanity of the Man, joined with his Ignorance; yet, lest the Faction of the unlearned should too much pride themselves in such a *Patron*, I thought fit, in a few Words, to abate his Confidence, and that principally from those Arguments and Testimonies, which he himself produceth against us.

FIRST, I will speak concerning his Manner of Reasoning, and afterwards of the *Matter* itself.

Julius Cæsar (says he) and *Cornelius Tacitus*, Writers of so great Exactness; as also *Suetonius*, *Herodian*, and other *Romans*, who wrote of *British* Affairs, have, in no Part of their Works, made mention of *Scots* or *Picts*; and therefore doubtless they had no Seats in *Britain*, in that Age. Wilt thou accept of this Condition, *Ludd*, that what Nation no antient *Writer* hath mentioned, never any such Nation was in Being? If you embrace this Motion, see how many Nations you will exclude from their Beings in one or two Lines? How great a Table of Proscriptions will you make? Nay, what great Persons will you proscribe, *Brutus*, *Albanactus*, and *Camber*? What Nations will you wholly eradicate, the *Loegri*, the *Cambri*, the *Albani*, according to your *Postulatum*, who art a Tyrant in *History*, and Grammar both, as deriving *Albanus* from *Albanactus*. But if that Condition proffered, do not please,

— *Quia tu gallinæ filius albæ,
Nos viles pulli, nati infælicibus ovis.*

*Since you're the Brood of Pullen with white Legs,
Plebeian Chickens we hatch'd out of refuse Eggs.*

I will propound another to you, and such an one too, as you ought not, and (I think) dare not refuse. There is a certain kind of Proof to be drawn from Fragments, by which if you harden your Forehead a little, you may prove any thing. I am the more inclined to make use of this Way of Proof, because you seem to love it most of all, as proving (forsooth) out of a Fragment, known (I believe) to thyself alone, that an innumerable Multitude of the *Cimbri* issued forth to destroy the *Roman* Empire; I will therefore shew you out of a *Fragment*, that the *Scots* and *Picts* were in *Britain* before *Vespasian's* Reign, which you deny. In that Book, to which you have given the Title of *Fragmentum Britannicæ Descriptionis*, i. e. A Fragment of the Description of *Britain*; for this special Reason, I believe, because you thought yourself to have sufficiently proved, out of one of the two Fragments, that the
Island

Island was rather to be called *Pritania*, than *Britannia*; and out of the other, that you had disgorged such a Multitude of *Cimbri*, as your *Britain* could not contain: For this Cause, you thought that your Fragment would get Credit enough on that single Account. In that Book you write, that the Names of *Scots* and *Picts*, together with the *Franks* and *English*, or *Angles*, were well known to the *Roman World*; and as a Witness of this Opinion, (a meet one indeed), he produced *Mamertinus* in the *Panegyrick* spoken by him to *Maximianus*; which Witness, if I understand him aright, makes against *Ludd*. For *Mamertinus*, speaking of the first Coming of *Julius Cæsar* into *Britain*, hath these Words; *Moreover the Nation, as yet rude, and Soli Britanni, accustomed to none but the Arms of the Irish Picts, their half naked Enemies, did easily yield to the Arms and Ensigns of the Romans.* See, I pray, what *Ludd* would infer out of this Testimony: First, that the *Britons* alone did then inhabit the *Island*: Next, that the People there named *Hiberni* or *Irish*, were afterwards called *Scots*; but the Author of the *Panegyrick* doth assert neither of the two. For he affirms, that before the Coming in of *Cæsar*, the *Britons* waged War against the *Scots* and *Picts*, of the *British Soil*, i. e. Enemies dwelling in the *British Soil*, so that *Soli Britanni*, is the Genitive, not Nominative Case. The other he falsely assumes to himself; for I think I have sufficiently demonstrated out of *Paulus Orosius* a *Spaniard*, and *Bede* an *English Man*, that all the Inhabitants of *Ireland* were antiently called *Scots*, and then at length, when they sent Colonies into *Albium*, the Name of *Scots* was almost extinguished at home, and began to grow famous abroad. In another Place he contends, that the *Caledonii* were called *Britons*, grounding his Assertion on no other Argument, than that he finds they were called *Britons*, which is a Name common to all who inhabit the same *Island*. But I have shewed before, out of the Place of the *Panegyrick* quoted by him, that the *Caledonians* were *Picts*; *Marcellinus* affirms the same Thing, who says, that there are two Sorts of *Picts*, the *Dicaledones*, or, (as I think it ought to be writ), the *Duncaledones*, and the *Vecturiones*. But the *Caledonii* or *Caledones* dwelt in *Britain* before the Reign of *Vespasian*, neither were they unknown to the *Romans*, as *Lucan* plainly shews, who died in *Nero's Time*.

*Aut vaga, cum Tethys, Rutupinaque littora fervent,
Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos.*

*When raging Seas on Sandwich Shores do beat,
They never shake the Caledonian Seat.*

BUT

BUT why do I trouble myself to procure foreign Witnesses, seeing we have a clear and convincing one at home? I mean *Bede*, the Writer of the *Ecclesiastical History of England*; for he takes Notice of the Order, and almost of the very Moments of Time, wherein foreign Nations came over into *Britain*. These are his Words in his first Book. "First of all, the *Island* was inhabited by *Britons*, whence it hath its Name, who from the *Armorick* Tract, as it is reported, sailing over into *Britain*, possessed the *South* Parts of it, and having seized upon the greatest Part of the *Island*, beginning from the *South*, it happened that the Nation of the *Picts*, coming (as 'tis reported) out of *Scythia*, and entering into the Ocean, with long Ships, or Galleys, but not many, were by Strefs of Wind and Weather, driven beyond all the Bounds of *Britany* into *Ireland*." And a few Lines after, he says; "Wherefore the *Picts*, coming into *Britain*, begun to settle themselves in the *North* Parts of the *Island*: The *Southern* being possessed by the *Britons*." And at length, after a few Lines more, he adds, "In process of Time, *Britain*, besides the *Britons* and the *Picts*, took in a third Nation of *Scots*, as Part of the *Picts*." Then, after many Passages, he subjoins; "But the same *Britain* was inaccessible and unknown to the *Romans*, until the Time of *C. Julius Cæsar*." Whosoever thou art, who readest these Passages, observe, I pray, whence, at what Time, and in what Order this *Author*, much more antient and grave than *Ludd*, doth affirm that these Nations entered *Britain*, to wit, that the *Britons*, from the *Armorick* Tract entered first, but the Time not certain. That the *Picts*, out of *Scythia*, came next into those Parts of *Britain*, which were yet uninhabited, and that not long after the Entrance of the *Britons*, who were not as yet increased into such a Multitude, as to be able to inhabit the whole *Island*. What then becomes of the *Scots*? When came they into *Britain*? In process of Time, says he, viz. the *Picts* granting them the uninhabited Seats in their Districts, they came after the two former. So the *Britons*, as *Bede* affirms, came into this *Island* out of *Armorica* in *France*, and, not long after, the *Picts* out of *Scythia*; both of them seized on the vacant and uninhabited Places: At last, the *Island* being divided betwixt them, the *Scots* entered not by Force, but were admitted into the Portion and Lot of the *Picts*, and that long before *Britain* was known to the *Romans*. Here, how will you deal with *Ludd*? who produces *Gildas* and *Bede*, as Witnesses to his Fables, viz. that the *Scots* and the *Picts* did first of all fix their Habitations in *Britain*, in the Reign of the *Roman Emperor Honorius*, in the Year of *Christ* 420; of which two, *Gildas* makes

makes nothing for him; and *Bede* doth evidently convince him of Falshood. But let the *Reader* believe neither *Ludd* nor me, but his own Eyes; and let him diligently weigh the Places of each *Writer*. But (says he) *Dion* calls the *Caledonians*, *Britanni*; I grant he doth, so doth *Lucan*, as I noted before, and also *Martial*, in that Verse,

Quinte Caledonios Ovidi visure Britannos;

The Caledonians, which in Britain be,

Quintus Ovidius is about to see.

BUT none of them therefore deny them to be *Picts*; yet they have good Reason to call them *Britains*: For, as the whole Island is called *Britain*, so all its Inhabitants are deservedly called *Britains*. For all the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Sicily* are generally called by the *Romans*, *Sicilians*, without any Difference, though they themselves call one another, some *Sicilians*, others *Siceliotes*; so the Possessors of *Britain* are, by Foreigners, all called *Britains*; but they themselves often call the antient Inhabitants *Britons*, and the other People of different Nations living there, sometimes by the private Names of the Countries whence they came, and sometimes by the common Name of *Britains*. Wherefore the *Caledonians*, *Picts* and *Scots*, are sometimes called, each Nation by its own Name, yet all of them, not seldom, by the general Term, *Britain*. But *Brittons*, as far as I remember, no Man ever called them.

THERE is also another Difference amongst them, to be observed in the Word *Britannia*; as there is amongst the *Greeks* and *Latins* in the Word *Asia*. For *Asia* sometimes denotes the third Part of the habitable World, and sometimes it is taken for that Part of the *Greater Asia*, which is situate on this Side the Mountain *Taurus*, and is wont to be called *Asia the Less*. So *Britain* is sometimes used for the Name of the whole Island in general; and at other times only for that Part of it, which was subjected to the *Romans*, which Part was bounded sometimes by the River *Humber*, and sometimes by the Wall of *Adrian*, and sometimes by the Wall of *Severus*; and the Inhabitants of this Part are by *British* Writers more usually called *Brittons*, than *Britains*; but the other Persons living in the Island *i. e.* the *Scots* and the *Picts*, were called by *Bede* sometimes *Britains*, and sometimes *Strangers* and *Foreigners*. We may also find the same remarkable Difference in *Geoffry of Monmouth*, and *William of Malmesbury*. And therefore the *Caledonians* will be counted *Brittons* never a Jot the more, for being styled *Britains* by *Dion*, *Martian*, *Lucan*, or any other good Author, than the *Brutians* will be *Romans*, though both
of

of them are *Italians*. If *Ludd* had taken notice of these Things, he had never involved himself in such dark *Labyrinths*, nor had he so rashly and inconsiderately made a positive Determination in a Point so obscure, nor had denied the *Caledonians* to have been *Picts*, because they are termed by *Dion*, *Britains*. Neither hath *Ludd* any just Cause to wonder, that no Writer more antient than *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Claudian*, hath made mention of the *Scots* and *Picts*, though they lived so many, I will not say Years, but Ages in *Britain*. For, not to speak of the *Valli*, *Cambri*, *Loegri*, Names lately known to the World, I may ask him, why, since so many *Greek* and *Latin* Writers have written of the Affairs of *Greece*, yet no *Græcian* once names his Countrymen *Græci*; nor no *Latin* Author calls them *Hellenes*? Why did the Names of the Nations which I mentioned but now, creep so late into the History of *Britain*, which that *Cambro-Britain* makes to be so antient? If you ask any *Englishman*, of what Country he is, none will answer, that he is a *Saxon*; yet the *Scots*, *Picts*, *Irish*, both the *Britons*, i. e. these that inhabit *Britain*, and those who dwell in *France*, do still unanimously call them *Saxons*. Why do not the old *Scots*, even to this very Day, acknowledge and own the Name of *Scots*? It ought not then to seem absurd to any Man, if, when the *Romans* asked their Captives, of what Nation they were; one said a *Mæatian*, another an *Attacottian*, a third a *Caledonian*; and the Names which foreign Nations received from them they still retained, and used in their common publick Discourse; neither, as I judge, will it seem incredible, that some Names are more known to *Historians* and Strangers, and others to the Inhabitants of the Country. Though the Premises make it sufficiently appear, that the Coming of the *Scots* and *Picts* into *Britain*, is not only more antient than *Ludd* will grant it to be; nay, that it was but a little later than the *Britains* themselves Coming into it, yet I shall add other, and those no contemptible, Conjectures. The *Brigantes*, a great and powerful Nation, were seated beyond the River *Humber*, about *York*, and possessed the whole Breadth of the Island, between the two Seas; it is probable that they came not from the Tract of *France*, which was nearest; for no *Brigantes* are said to have inhabited there, but out of *Spain*, first into *Ireland*, and from *Ireland* into *Britain*, as being a neighbouring Island to it; neither doth this differ from the Conjecture of *Cornelius Tacitus*, which he makes concerning the antient Inhabitants of the Isle. If the *Brigantes* came from *Ireland*, then they must be of *Scottish* Race, as all the rest of the Inhabitants of *Ireland* were. *Seneca* also seems to confirm this Opinion,

nion, in that elegant *Satire* of his, concerning the Death of *Claudius*, in these Words;

*Ille Britannos ultra noti littora Ponti,
Et cæruleos Scutabrigantes dare Romuleis
Calla catenis jussit, & ipsum nova Romanæ
Jura securis tremere Oceanum.*

*He, Britains, which beyond known Seas did dwell,
And blue Scutabrigantes did compel
Rome's Yoke to bear. The Ocean widely spread,
His Government, and his new Laws, did dread.*

IN these Verses, *Joseph Scaliger*, the Son of *Julius*, is of Opinion, that for *Scutabrigantes*, we ought to read *Scotobrigantes*. Of how great Learning and Judgment that young Man is; of what Industry in comparing antient Writers; and of what Acuteness in finding out the Meaning of obscure Passages, the Works that he has published do declare. At present I shall only say, that having undertaken to illustrate the Affairs of *Britain*, I thought his Criticism was not to be omitted; and I will declare in few Words, why I think it to be true. For since we read in *Cæsar*, and other Authors, eminent both for Accuracy and Knowledge, that the *Britains* were wont to paint their Bodies with *Woad*; and in *Herodian*, that they used narrow Shields in War, (such as *Livy* ascribes to the *Asiatick Gauls*), and no great Ornament in their Arms; it seemed absurd, to make mention of the Shield, which was not painted, the Mention of the Body, which was painted, being omitted. Now the old *Britains* were painted, not for Comeliness, as several other Nations were; but that their bluish Colour might render them more terrible to their Enemies in Fight; but how that Colour could appear terrible in a narrow Shield, I do not understand. And therefore it is very probable, that that learned Man, and skilful in *British Affairs*, as who, according to *Dion*, kept the whole Island under the Oppression of Usury, wrote the Word *Scotobrigantes*, that he might distinguish them from the other *Brigantes*, both *Spanish* and *Gallick*. It makes also for the same Purpose, that in those Verses he separates the *Britains* and *Brigantes*, as two different Nations, which is also done by some *British* Writers, who make *Humber* to be the Boundary of *Britain*. This Matter not being well considered by *Hector Boëtius*, as I judge, led him into a Mistake; who having somewhere read, that the *Silures* and *Brigantes* were called *Scoti*, as having their Original from *Ireland*, placed them in Part of the Kingdom of the Scots, in *Albion*. His Mistake, though

though it might justly offend others, yet ought not to have been so severely censured by *Ludd*, who hath committed as great Mistakes in the same kind; for he makes the *Cumbri*, or (as they call themselves) *Cumri*, to issue out of a Corner of *Britain*, to plunder the whole World: For he infers from one or two Words, common to them both, that the *Cimbri* and *Britanni* were of one Nation. Those Words are *Moremarusa* and *Trimarchia*; where it is worth the while to take notice of the Man's Acuteness in disputing, and of his Subtlety (forsooth) in drawing Inferences and Conclusions. This Word *Moremarusa*, says he, is a *British* Word, but it was once a *Cimbrick* one, and no Nation's else, which dwelt near the *Baltick* Sea. But since our Countrymen use the same Word, and are called by the same Name with those other *Cimbri*; therefore (sure) both were of the same Stock and Nation.

IN this Matter, first he affirms Falshood for Truths, and also takes Uncertainties for Certainties. For it is a manifest Untruth, that both of them are called *Cimbri*, even if *Ludd* himself be a Witness, who affirms, That all the Inhabitants, his Countrymen of *Cambria*, were so called from their King, *Camber*, and he calls himself a *Cambrobritain*. I could also prove the Falshood of this Opinion, by the Testimony of all his Countrymen, who do not call themselves *Cimbri*, or *Cumri*. As that is false, so this is uncertain, whether other People living by the *Baltick* Sea, did not use that Word, which you attribute to the *Cimbri* alone; especially since it appears out of *Tacitus*, that many Nations, in that Tract of *Germany*, spoke the *Gallick* Tongue, and I shewed before, that Word to be *Gallick*. But suppose that both of your *Assumptions* were true, what then? Did you never read, That the Soldiers of *Cn. Pompeius*, when he waged War in *Asia*, were saluted by the Name of *Brethren*, by the *Albans*, that inhabited the Mountain *Caucasus*, by reason that both of them were called *Albans*? Neither do I doubt but that if a Man had observed both *Tongues*, he might have found one or two Words, signifying the same Thing in both: But they wanted such a Man as *Ludd* there, who because both People had certain Words common between them, would hereby prove, that both were of the same Nation, and yet the purblind Man seems to be sensible of the Weakness of his Conclusion, when he adds that the *Cimbri* were called *Æstiones*, by the *Germans*: That he might make that out, he should have shewn at what Time, and upon what Grounds, the *Cimbri* were transformed into *Æstiones*, and the *Æstiones* again, into *Cimbri*. He speaks not a Syllable of this, but only cites a *British* History, collected out of the

Milesian Fables of the *Gauls*, and also quotes a certain *Fragment*, whence he, being now degraded from an Antiquary, to be either a Botcher, or a Scraper together of old useless Relicks, or (if I may so speak) a *Fragmentary*, doth piece up new Kingdoms and new Nations, for us; this he doth with great Labour, and yet with no Colour of Probability, where yet it was very obvious to him, (unless perhaps it was above the poor Man's Reach) to find out the Causes, why the Name *Cimber* was communicated to the *Cimbri*, and the *Welsh* too: For *Plutarch* says, that it was not the Name of a Nation, but of an Occupation or Employment, and that Robbers were so called by the *Germans*. *Suidas*, no contemptible Grammarian amongst the *Greeks*, understands the Word in the same Sense; and *Festus Pompeius*, amongst the *Latins*, writes, that the *Cimbri* were called Robbers by the *Gauls*. If we follow these Mens Opinions, it will not be difficult to find out, why the *Cimbri*, whom *Ludd* places in *Britain*, came by that Name, especially since their Neighbours, the *Angli* or *English*, affirm, that even in this Age, their Manners shew them too much inclined to the same Practices of Thievery. Sure I am, that *Livy* calls that Slave who was sent to kill *Marius* in the Prison of the *Minturnæ*, a *Gaul*; *Lucan* calls him a *Cimber*, but no noted Writer styles him a *Britain*. If *Ludd* had considered these Things, or if after Consideration, he had chosen rather to remember them, than to frame new Monsters to himself; there was no Necessity for him, in one Moment of Time, or rather with one Falshood, to have left all *Britain* almost destitute and forsaken, all its military young Men exhausted, and six hundred thousand of them drawn out of it at one single Draught.

I will not here descend to a minute Inquiry, to what male Children the *Welsh* are wont to give the Names of the *Cimbrick* Kings; for this diligent Writer brings in this also as an Argument of their antient Pedigree.

If I mistake not, the *Latin*, *German*, and *Syriack* Names are the chief which he will find. But if a solid Argument may be fetched from the proper Names of Men, (which are oftentimes arbitrarily imposed by Parents, or vain-gloriously adopted out of some *History*), then *Ludd* might rather persuade us, that his Countrymen are *Jews*, *Romans*, or *Germans*, than *Cimbri*: Or, if he would advise his Compatriots to give baptismal Names, fetched out of *History*, to their Children, within a few Years he might transform his Countrymen into what Nation soever he pleased. But touching the Names of the *Cimbrick* Kings, which, he says, were accustomed to be given to Children; I would willingly ask the Man from what Oracle he

he received it? Unless I knew before-hand, that he never wants some *Fragment*, out of which he can prove what he pleases himself. But this I can't but admire, touching that *Cimbrick* Expedition, how all their Military Men being sent abroad, that within the Space of forty Years, (for it was about that Interval, between the *Cimbrick* War, and *Julius Cæsar's* Arrival in *Britain*), your Country of *Wales* should soon recover to be so populous; especially since *Maximus* having drawn forth a far lesser Number out of *Britain*, even when it was in its most flourishing Estate, the *Britains* could never after hold up their Heads, but were brought into bitter Servitude by the *Saxons*: Or why *Cæsar*, who lived high enough to remember the *Cimbrick* War, when he came into *Britain*, being a learned Man, and a great Favourer of the *Marian* Party, did find out nothing by Inquiry concerning this *Cimbrick* Expedition. Lastly, I desire to know, whether *Ludd* spoke in Jest or in Earnest, when he added, that the Affinity of both the *Cimbri* might be inferred from their equal Contempt of Gold and Silver? Here I would willingly ask of him, whether he spoke in Earnest, when he calls those *Cimbrians* very moderate and content with a little, who did not only vex and plunder *Gaul*, and a Part of *Spain* too, but in a Manner wholly wasted and destroyed them both? and yet afterward hastened to *Italy*, in Quest of a richer Booty? Whose Opulency got by Robberies, the *Helvetians* emulating, they also became Plunderers, as *Strabo* relates in his seventh Book. Dare you call such Men *frugal* and *temperate*? And that it may appear, that the *Cimbrick* Name is truly assigned to your Nation, you make *Welshmen* *emulous* of those Ways, to which the *Cimbrians* were addicted; and yourself in chief, who ravage all Nations to steal from them a little Glory. For, not content to have arrogated the Deeds of the *Cimbri* to your Countrymen, you add with as impudent and fictitious an Untruth, that the *Sicambri* were also of your Stock. And because in the Name of both Nations there is a certain Similitude of Letters, from that Affinity of Words you feign a Conjunction of Blood. At this Rate, by their Descent from the *Sicambrians*, the *Franks*, and their Childrens Children, to all Generations, will be allied to you; and so, by a packed Series of Lies, you raise a Bridge to bring back the fugitive *Brenni*; of which, one, who took *Rome*, lived about an hundred Years before the other, who besieged *Delphos*; but you jumble and compact them together into one Body, that so you might dress up a new Monster out of a dead and living Man, pieced together; as if it were difficult to prove, by other Arguments, that Monsters are born in that very Country, which brought such a Person as you forth. But, says *Ludd*, no Writer acknowledgeth, that
there

there were two *Brennus*'s, besides *Polydore Virgil*. Surely, *Ludd*, thy Reason hath forsaken thee, or else thou hast never read the fourth Book of *Strabo*, where he writes, That the *Brennus* who besieged *Delphos*, is by some thought to be *Prausus*. Nay, not *Strabo* alone, but every Man who believes that *Rome* was taken by a *Brennus*, and that above an hundred Years after *Delphos* was besieged by a *Brennus*, doth acknowledge, that there were two of that Name; since both those Enterprizes could not be performed by one and the same Man. But if we believe the *Monk*, the Compiler of the *British History*, *Brennus* the Brother of *Belinus*, preceeded these two *Brenni*, three hundred Years; who, if he had led his Army into *Italy* at that Time, must have fought with *Numa Pompilius*, or with *Tullus Hostilius*, and not with the free People of *Rome*. But to omit these Things, whence doth this new Logician gather that *Brennus* was a *Britain*? Forsooth, from one Word only, viz. *Trimarchia*, which Word yet is common to *Scots*, *Gauls*, and *Welsh*. *Pausanias*, whom you quote maimedly, and by piece-meal, that so he may make for your Purpose, calls *Brennus* and his Companions, *Gauls*, and acknowledgeth that Word to be *Gallick*: But you, Sir, you only, such is your Shamelessness, against the Credit of all *Greek* and *Latin* Historians, nay, and in Spight of *Minerva* and all the *Muses*, do strive to prove him a *Britain*. Perhaps I have prosecuted this Argument a little more prolixly, than either the Obscurity of the Matters themselves, or the Unskilfulness and Inconsistency of *Ludd*, deserved; but I have done it, not out of a Desire to carp at, or blame others, (which I am far from) but to abate the unfavoury Petulance of a Man that abounds in abusive Language, and that I might reduce him from a wild and extravagant Rage, that makes him speak evil of almost all Writers, and so to bring him, at last, to acknowledge his Error. To omit others at present, he falls with great Scurrility upon *Hector Boëtius*, a Man not only uncommonly skilled in the liberal Arts, for the Age he lived in, but also endued with singular Humanity and Courtesy, but he so falls upon him, as to blame nothing in him, of which he himself is not far more guilty. *Hector* places the *Brigantes* in *Galway*, in which he did amiss; for I have no Design to defend his Mistakes: But *Ludd* brings out great Forces of the *Cimbri*, from one Corner of *Britain*; how truly, let the Learned judge. *Hector* attributes Matters, acted by others against the *Romans* in *Britain*, to his Countrymen, the *Scots*. And *Ludd* doth shamelessly and falsely affirm, that *Rome* was taken, *Macedonia* vexed, *Greece* afflicted, the noblest Oracle of the World sacrilegiously violated, by his Countrymen, the *Britains*; nay, that *Asia* itself was compelled

to pay Tribute to a few Vagabonds. He blames *Hector*, but fallſly, for making *Gildo*, who raiſed great Commotions in *Africa*, a *Scot*; and yet he makes the ſame *Gildo*, who was indeed a *Moor*, to be a *Goth*; but *Gildus* and *Gildo* (forſooth) are Names almoſt alike. Let me aſk you, Are they more alike than *Luddus*, *Lydus*, and *Ludio*? This is certain, that *Gildus* is an old Name in *Scotland*, as the antient Clan of the *Macgilds*, or *Macgills*, doth ſhew; of whoſe Poſterity there are yet Families remaining of good Account, both in *Scotland* and *England*. But ſince *Ludd* hath ſuch an intemperate Tongue, that he cares not what he ſays, provided he may abuſe others, I ſhall leave him, and conclude this Book, only giving him this Caution, That

Loripedem reclus derideat, Æthiopem albus.

*Let the well-shap'd deride the crooked Back,
And the fair-featur'd Woman scorn the Black.*

to pay Tribute to a few Vagabonds. He blames History, for making Cæsar, who made the first Conquest in Britain, a God; and yet he makes the same Cæsar, who was indeed a Man, to be a God; but Cæsar and Cæsar (historically) are names almost alike. Let me say now, And they more alike than I have said. I have said, that the first Conquest in Britain was made by Cæsar, and yet he makes the same Cæsar, who was indeed a Man, to be a God; but Cæsar and Cæsar (historically) are names almost alike. Let me say now, And they more alike than I have said.

HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.

BOOK III.

THOUGH I have sufficiently demonstrated in the two former Books, how fabulous, yea, how like mere Prodigies, the Memoirs are, which the Writers of the *British* Affairs have delivered concerning their Ancestors; have also shewn, by plain and clear Evidences, that the antient *Britains* had their Original from the *Gauls*: Yet because, I perceive, I have to do with such Men, as may be rather said to contend obstinately for a manifest Falshood, than fallen into a Mistake by Rashness or Ignorance; I thought it worth my while to borrow Proofs from Writers that bear a great Authority amongst all learned Men, that I might take off the Edge from the Boldness of such Hair-brained Disputants; and, by that means, supply good Men and Lovers of Truth with sufficient Arms to strain and curb their daring and affronting Impudence. In the Rank of such Classick Authors, I judge, *C. Julius Cæsar* deserves the first Place, both for his Diligence in searching, his Certainty in knowing, and Sincerity in declaring Things to others. He, in the fifth Book of his Commentaries concerning the *Gallick* War, writing of *Britain*, says thus, “ The inner Part of *Britain* is inhabited by
“ such, as they themselves record to be born in the Island; and
“ the maritime Coasts, by such as came out of *Belgium*, to
“ pillage

“ pillage and make War upon the Island: Who continued
“ in the Possessions they had gained by their Arms, and were
“ generally called by the Names of the Cities, from whence
“ they came. The Country is infinitely populous, and well-
“ stored with Houses, much like those of the *Gauls*; they have
“ great Store of Cattle; they use Brass for Money, or Iron
“ Rings, weighed at a certain Rate. In its Midland Parts,
“ there is found great Quantity of Tin, and, near the Sea
“ Coasts, Iron, though but in a small Quantity; their Brass
“ is brought in by other Nations. They have all Sorts of
“ Trees that they have in *Gallia*, excepting the Beech and Fir.
“ Their Religion will not suffer them to eat either Hare, Hen,
“ or Goose, notwithstanding they have of them all for their Plea-
“ sure and Diversion. The Country is more temperate, and
“ not so cold, as *Gallia*: The Island lieth triangular, one
“ Side of which fronteth *Gallia*: On which Side, that Angle
“ that *Kent* stands in, points to the *East*, where almost all
“ Ships arrive from *France*: And the lower Angle, to the
“ *South*; this Side containeth about 500 Miles. The other
“ Angle lieth toward *Spain*, and the Western Quatter, in that
“ Sun, where also *Ireland* lieth, which is an Island half as big
“ as *England*, (as some think) and as far distant from it, as
“ *Gallia*; in the Mid-way between *England* and *Ireland*, lieth
“ an Island called *Man*; besides many other small Islands, of
“ which some write, that in Winter Time, for thirty Days
“ together, they have a continual Night, whereof we learned
“ nothing, by Inquiry; only we found by the Water-hour-
“ glass, that the Nights in *England* were shorter than in the
“ Continent. The Length of this Side, according to the O-
“ pinion of the Inhabitants, containeth 700 Miles. The third
“ Side lieth to the *North*, and open Sea, saving that this Angle
“ points a little toward *Germany*. This Side is thought to con-
“ tain 800 Miles. And so the whole Island containeth in Cir-
“ cuit 2000 Miles. Of all the Inhabitants, they of *Kent* are
“ most courteous and civil, all their Country bordering upon
“ the Sea, and little differing from the Fashion of *Gallia*.
“ Most of the inland People sow no Corn, but live upon Milk
“ and Flesh, and are clothed with Skins. All the *Britains*
“ have their Faces painted with *Woad*, which makes a blue
“ Colour, to the end they may seem more terrible in Fight.
“ They wear the Hair of their Heads long; having all other
“ Parts of their Body shaven, except their Head, and upper
“ Lip. Their Wives are common to ten or twelve, especial-
“ ly Brethren with Brethren, and Parents with Children; but
“ the Children that are born, are accounted his, unto whom
“ the Mother was first given in Marriage.

AND a little after, he says,

“ BY these he understood, that *Cassivellan's* Town was not
 “ far off, fortified with Woods and Bogs, and well-stored
 “ with Men and Cattle. The *Britons* call that a Town, when
 “ they fortify woody Fastnesses with a Ditch and Rampire, and
 “ so make it a Place of Retreat against the Incursions of their
 “ Enemies. Thither *Cæsar* marched with his Army, and
 “ found it well-fortified both by Art and Nature; and as he
 “ assaulted it in two several Places, the Enemy stood to it
 “ a while, but at last, were not able to bear the Brunt and
 “ Fury of the Assailants, but made their Escape a back Way
 “ out of the Town. Thus he took it, and found in it great
 “ Store of Cattle, and slew and took Prisoners many of the
 “ *Britons* in the Onset.

TACITUS in the Life of JULIUS AGRICOLA.

“ I Design here to give a clear Account of the Site of *Bri-*
 “ *tain*, and of its Inhabitants, though they have been al-
 “ ready described by several Writers: This I do, not to com-
 “ pare either my Care or Ingenuity with theirs, but as it was
 “ then first thoroughly subdued, so such Things as our Ance-
 “ stors, without perfect Discovery, have merely dressed up with
 “ their Pens, shall now be faithfully set down upon Knowledge.
 “ *Britain*, of all the Islands known to the *Romans*, the great-
 “ est, coasteth by *East* upon *Germany*, by *West* towards *Spain*,
 “ and it hath *France* on the *South*; *Northward*, no Land ly-
 “ ing against it, but only a vast and broad Sea beating about it.
 “ *Livy*, among the Antients, and *Fabius Rusticus*, among the
 “ Moderns, the two most eloquent Authors, have likened the
 “ Figure or Shape of all *Britain* to an oblong Scuttle, or two-
 “ edged Ax; and such indeed is the Form and Shape of that
 “ Part, on this Side *Caledonia*: From whence the Report of
 “ the whole being so made seems to take its Rise; but there is
 “ beside, a huge vast Tract of Ground, which runneth be-
 “ yond even to the farthest Point, growing narrow and
 “ sharp like a Wedge. The *Roman* Fleet then first of all
 “ winding about this utmost Point in the Sea, discovered *Bri-*
 “ *tain* to be an Island; and withal, found out and subdued the
 “ Isles of *Orkney*, never known before that Time. *Thyle* also was
 “ discovered all over white with Winter-snow. The Sea
 “ thereabout is, as they affirm, dull and heavy for the Oar,
 “ and not to be raised, as other Seas are, with Winds; pro-
 “ bably because of the Scarcity of Land and Mountains which
 “ com-

“ commonly gather and cause Tempests, and because a deep
“ Mass of continual Sea is slower stirred to Rage.

“ BUT examining into the Nature of the Ocean and its
“ Tides, is what does not properly belong to this Work, and
“ many have done it before. One Thing I will add, and I
“ may safely aver, that the Sea hath nowhere in the World a
“ more large and free Dominion, that it nowhere carries so
“ many River-waters to and fro, neither is it content to flow
“ and ebb so far as the Banks, but insinuates and winds itself
“ into the Land, shooting into the Mountains and Cliffs, as
“ to its own proper Channel. Now, what Manner of Men
“ the first Inhabitants of *Britain* were, whether produced in
“ the Country, or imported from far, there is no Coming
“ at any Certainty from them, as being a barbarous Peo-
“ ple. Their Complexions are different, and thence may
“ some Conjectures be taken; for the red Hair, and the
“ mighty Limbs of those who inhabit *Caledonia*, bespeak them
“ of *German* Descent. The coloured Countenance of the *Si-*
“ *lures*, and Hair most commonly crisped, and their having
“ their Situation against *Spain*, make it probable enough to be-
“ lieve, that the old *Iberians* passed the Sea, and possessed those
“ Places. The nearest to *France* likewise resemble the *French*,
“ either because they retain something of the Race from which
“ they descended; or, that in Countries which are near, and
“ ly exactly over-against one another, the same Aspects of the
“ Heavens may give the Bodies the same Cast of Complexion.
“ But generally speaking it is most likely, that the *French*, be-
“ ing nearest, did people the Land. In their Ceremonies and
“ superstitious Persuasions, there is to be seen an apparent
“ Conformity: There is no mighty Difference in the Lan-
“ guage. They are alike bold to challenge, and forward to
“ run themselves into Dangers; and when those Dangers come,
“ they are equally affrighted and concerned to be rid of them.
“ Indeed the *Britons* make more Shew of Courage, as being
“ not mollified yet by long Peace; for the *French* also were
“ once, as we read, redoubted in War, till such Time, as
“ giving themselves over to Peace and Idleness, Cowardice
“ crept in, and their Manhood and their Liberty went to
“ Wreck together: And so it also befel those *Britons*, who
“ were subdued of old; the rest remain such Sort of Men to
“ this Day as the *French* were before. Their Strength in the
“ Field consisteth in Foot; some of the Countries make War
“ in Waggon. The Person of the first Rank guides the
“ Waggon, and his Attendants maintain the Combat. They
“ were formerly governed by *Kings*, now they are divided by
“ petty *Princes*, into Parties and Factions: And that is the
“ greatest

“ greatest Help we have, against those puissant Nations, that
 “ they are disunited in their Counsels: It seldom happening
 “ that two or three Cities meet and concur to repulse a com-
 “ mon Danger: So, whilst they fight in small Parties, they
 “ are all subdued. The Sky is very cloudy, and much given to
 “ Rain without Extremity of Cold, Their Days are longer
 “ than in our Part of the World; the Nights light, and in
 “ the farthest Part of the Island, so short, that between the
 “ going out and coming in of the Day, the Space is hardly
 “ perceived; and when Clouds do not come in the Way to
 “ hinder it, they affirm that the Sun-shine is seen in the Night,
 “ and that it neither setteth nor riseth, but passeth along, the
 “ extreme and plain Parts of the Earth projecting a low Sha-
 “ dow, which riseth but a little Way up into the Sky, and
 “ obscures not the Atmosphere so far as to make dark Night.
 “ The Soil, setting aside the Olive, the Vine, and the rest which
 “ are proper to warmer Countries, very kindly receives all
 “ kind of Grain, and beareth it in Abundance; it shooteth
 “ up quickly, and ripeneth slowly; the Cause of them both
 “ is the same, the over-much Moisture of the Soil and the
 “ Air. *Britain* produceth Gold and Silver, and other Me-
 “ tals, which make it worth the conquering. The *Ocean*
 “ bringeth forth Pearl also, not orient, but dusky and wan,
 “ which proceeds, as some do suppose, from the Want of Skill
 “ in the *Gatherers*. For in the *Red-sea* they are pulled out
 “ panting, and alive from the Rocks; but in *Britain* they are
 “ cast out by the Sea, and so taken up. For my Part, I ra-
 “ ther believe the Nature of the Country to be such as not to
 “ yield it, than that our Covetousness could not find out the
 “ Way to gather it right.

“ THE *Britons* endure Levies of Men and Money, and all
 “ other Burdens imposed by the *Empire*, patiently and wil-
 “ lingly, if Insolencies be forborne: Indignities they cannot
 “ abide, being as yet subdued to be only Subjects, and not
 “ Slaves.

“ THE first of the *Romans* that entered *Britain* with an Ar-
 “ my, was *Julius Caesar*; who although he terrified the Inha-
 “ bitants with a Battle, which went on his Side, and gained
 “ the Shore, yet may seem rather to have shewed the Place to
 “ Posterity, than to have delivered to them the Possession of
 “ it.

“ THE civil Wars ensued; Men of the first Quality turn-
 “ ing their Arms against the Republick of *Rome*; then, and
 “ long after that, lay *Britain* forgotten, even in peaceable
 “ Times. *Augustus*, and especially *Tiberius*, termed it a Po-
 “ licy that it should ly so.

“ THAT

“THAT *Caius* had a Design to invade *Britain*, is certainly known; but his rash running Head, and changeable Humour, and chiefly his great Attempts against *Germany* turning to nothing, averted that Purpose.

“*CLAUDIUS* did first effectually prosecute the Matter, transporting *Legions* and Aids; and taking *Vespasian* into the Action, which was the first Foundation of that Grandeur to which he afterwards attained; some Countries were subdued, some Kings led captive, and *Vespasian* made known to the World.

“THE first Lieutenant General was *Aulus Plautius*, then *Ostorius Scapula*, both excellent Warriors: And so, by little and little, the nearest Part of the *Island* was reduced to the Form of a *Province*; and besides, a Colony of old Soldiers established there. Certain Cities were also bestowed, in pure Gift, upon King *Cogidunus*, (who remained most faithful even in our Days), according to an old Custom, anciently received among the *Romans*, to use even Kings themselves for Instruments of Bondage.

“THEN *Didius Gallus* succeeded; who kept that which his Predecessors had gotten, and built some few Castles farther in the Land, to win by that Means the Reputation of having made some Improvement.

“AFTER *Didius* succeeded *Veranius*, who died within the Space of one Year.

“THEN *Suetonius Paulinus*, for two Years Time, behaved himself fortunately, subduing the *Nations*, and establishing *Garrisons*. And in Confidence of his Successes, going to reduce the *Isle of Man*, which ministered Supplies to the Rebels, he disfurnished the Country behind, and laid it open to all Opportunities of the Enemy. For through the Absence of the Lieutenant, the *Britons*, freed from their Fears, began to talk about the Miseries of Slavery, to lay their Injuries together, and aggravate them by Constructions and Inferences, as that their Patience had done them no good, unless it was only to draw heavier Burdens upon them, as being Men that seemed willing to bear them. That whereas in former Times they had only one King, now two were imposed upon them, the *Lieutenant* to suck their Blood, the *Procurator* to sponge upon their Substance. If these two disagreed, their Disagreeing was the Torment of the Subjects; and if they agreed, that was their Undoing; the one harrassing them to Death with Soldiers and Officers; the other vexing them by Wrongs and Indignities. That now their Covetousness and Lust laid hold, without Exception, on all. And whereas in the Field, he

“ that

“ that spoileth is commonly the stronger: Now were they,
“ by Cowards and Weaklings for the most part, dispossessed
“ of their Houses, robbed of their Children, enjoined to yield
“ Soldiers for the Service of other Men, as if they were a
“ People that could die for any other, and were only ignorant
“ how to do it for their own Country. For otherwise,
“ what a small Handful of Soldiers were come over, if the
“ Britons would but come to counting Numbers. That Ger-
“ many had shook off the Yoke, though they had no main
“ Ocean, but only a River, for their Defence. That their
“ Cause of taking Arms was urgent and just; their Wives
“ and Children, their Parents and their Country were the
“ Cause; that the Romans had no other Cause, but that of
“ their own Covetousness and Lust: And that they would
“ doubtless depart, as *Julius Cæsar* had done, if the Britons
“ would imitate the Virtues of their Ancestors, and not be
“ dismayed with the doubtful Event of one or two Skirmishes.
“ That Men in Misery had more Courage and Vehemency
“ to attempt, and more Constancy to persevere in their Attempts:
“ And that now, even the Gods seem to pity the
“ poor Britons Condition, having sent the Roman Captain out
“ of the Way, and confined the Army, as it were, to another
“ Island. That now being assembled to advise and deliberate
“ together, they had attained the hardest Point in an Action
“ of that Nature, wherein without question it were more
“ dangerous to be taken in the Time of Consultation, than
“ in that of Action. With these and the like Speeches inciting
“ one another, by common Consent they resolve to take
“ Arms under the Conduct of *Voadicea*, a Lady of the Blood
“ of their Kings: For in Matter of governing in chief, they
“ make no Distinction of Sex. And first pursuing the Soldiers
“ which lay divided in Garrison, and taking the Forts,
“ they next invaded the Colony itself, as being the Fountain-
“ head of their Slavery. In sacking of it they omitted no kind
“ of Cruelty, which either Anger, or the Rage of Victory,
“ could induce a barbarous People to practise. And unless,
“ upon Information given him of the Revolt, *Paulinus* had
“ come speedily to succour his Men, Britain had then been lost;
“ which with one prosperous Battle he restored to her former
“ Obedience, and made her patient in bearing the Yoke; some
“ few keeping out and remaining in Arms, whom the Guilt
“ of the Rebellion excluded from all Hope of Pardon, and
“ some likewise who apprehended the Lieutenant's private
“ Displeasure. He, though otherwise an extraordinary Man,
“ yet seemed to shew too much haughty and hard Usage to
“ those who surrendered themselves, and to revenge in a
“ Manner

“ Manner his own private Injuries. It was upon this Account *Petronius Turpilianus* was sent in his Place, as a more clement and exorable Person, and a Stranger to their Faults, and therefore more ready to receive their Repentance ; who having composed the Troubles, and not caring to attempt any Thing farther, resigned his Post to *Trebellius Maximus*.

“ *TREBELLIVS*, a Man unfit for Action, and altogether unexperienced in Camps, but using a kind of courteous and mild Regimen, kept the Country quiet: For now the *Britons* also had learned the good Manners to put up with courtly Tyranny that indulged them in the Vices they liked ; and the Disturbances of civil Diffensions gave him a plausible Excuse for his doing nothing. But the Soldiery accustomed to Warfare, grew wanton with Ease, and began to be mutinous. *Trebellius* flying and absconding, escaped their first Fury ; and soon after resuming his Place, without Majesty, without Authority, he ruled precariously, and at his Soldiers Discretion: And so both coming as it were to a Capitulation, the Army for a Licence to do what they pleased, and the Captain for a Security of his own Life, the Mutiny ended without any Bloodshed.

“ *VECTIVS BOLANVS* succeeded him not only in his Place, but in the loose Irregularity of Discipline ; the civil Wars continued the same, the same Negligence with regard to the Enemy, the same Licence in the Camp ; only *Bolanus*, a good honest Man, not odious for any Crime, had made himself popular, and got their Good-will instead of their Obedience.

“ BUT when *Vespasian* with the rest of the World recovered *Britain* also, great Captains, good Soldiers, were sent, and the Hope of the Enemy was extremely abated. For immediately *Petilius Cerealis* struck a Terror into them, by invading, upon his first Entry, the *Brigantes*, the most populous State of the whole Province. Many Battles were fought, and some bloody, and the greatest Part of the *Brigantes* were either conquered or waited.

“ AND whereas *Cerealis* would doubtless have eclipsed the Diligence and Fame of another Successor, *Julius Frontinus*, a great Man, as he might well be called after that Predecessor, sustained the Charge with Reputation and Credit, subduing the puissant and warlike People of the *Silures* ; where, besides the Valour of the Enemy, he had the Straits and Difficulties of the Places themselves to struggle with.

CICERO to TREBATIUS, in the seventh Book of his Familiar Epistles.

“ I Hear that in *Britain*, there is neither Gold nor Silver; if
 “ that be so, yet I persuade you to catch what you can, and
 “ return speedily to us. But if we can attain our Desire,
 “ (without the Help of *Britain*), do you act so, that you may
 “ be reckoned amongst my Familiar Friends.

PAULUS OROSIUS, speaking of IRELAND, bath these Words.

“ THIS (*Ireland*) being the nearest Island to *Britain*, is nar-
 “ rower in Circuit, or Space of Ground than it, but more
 “ commodious for Temper of Soil and Air; it is inhabited by
 “ the Families of *Scots*. The Isle of *Anglesey*, or rather *Man*,
 “ is also near to it, an Island pretty large, of a good Soil, which
 “ is also inhabited by the *Scots*.

The same AUTHOR says,

“ THE Conqueror *Severus* was drawn into *Britain* by the
 “ Revolt of almost all his Allies there; after he had fought
 “ many great and notable Battles, he judged it best to separate
 “ and divide that Part of the *Island* which he had regained,
 “ from the other unconquered Nations, by a *Wall*: And for
 “ this End he made a great Trench, and a strong Wall, for-
 “ tified at the Top with many Towers, for the Space of 130
 “ Miles from Sea to Sea.

“ ADO, Archbishop of *Vienna*, gives the same Account, al-
 “ most Word for Word. The Mistake of both in the Num-
 “ ber of Miles to be corrected, by writing 32. for 132.

Out of the thirty fifth Chapter of SOLINUS.

“ IT (*i. e. Britain*) is surrounded by many Isles, and those
 “ not inconsiderable; of which *Ireland* comes the nearest
 “ to it in Bigness: It is an uncivil Country, by reason of the
 “ savage Manners of the Inhabitants, but otherwise so full of
 “ Pasturage and Cattle, that if their Herds in Summer Time
 “ be not now and then restrained from feeding, they would
 “ run a great Danger of over-eating themselves. There are
 “ no Snakes there, and but few Birds; the People are inho-
 “ spitable and warlike. When they have overcome their E-
 “ nemies, they first besmear their Faces with the Blood of
 “ the slain: Right and Wrong, Good and Evil, all is one
 “ to them. If a Woman be delivered of a Man-child, she
 “ lays

“ lays his first Meat upon her Husband’s Sword, and putting
 “ it softly into his Mouth, gives him the first Handsel of his
 “ Food, upon the very Point of the Weapon, praying (ac-
 “ cording to the Manner of the Country) that he may not
 “ otherwise come to his End than in Battle, and amongst
 “ Arms. They that love to be fine, trim the Hilts of their
 “ Swords with the Teeth of Sea-calves, which wear as white
 “ and as clear as Ivory. The Men chiefly glory in the Beau-
 “ ty of their Armour. There is not a Bee amongst them;
 “ and if a Man bring of the Dust, or the little Stones from
 “ thence, and strew them among Bee-hives, the Swarms for-
 “ sake their Combs. The Sea that is between *Ireland* and
 “ *Britain*, is stormy and rough most Part of the Year, so that
 “ it can hardly be sailed over, but a few Days in Summer
 “ Time. They sail in Keels of Wicker, done over with
 “ Neats Leather. How long soever their Passage continueth,
 “ the Passengers abstain from Meat all the while; such as
 “ have thoroughly examined it, have esteemed the Breadth of
 “ that *narrow Sea* to be 120 Miles. A tempestuous Firth also
 “ divides the Islands of *Silures* from the Coast that the *Bri-*
 “ *tons* inhabit; the Men of which *Island* keep their old Cu-
 “ stoms, even to this Day. They utterly refuse Buying and
 “ Selling for Money, but barter one Commodity for another,
 “ providing Things necessary rather by Exchange than ready
 “ Money. They worship the Gods very devoutly. As well
 “ the Women as the Men boast of their Knowledge of fore-
 “ telling Things to come. The *French Sea* beats upon the
 “ Isle of *Thanet*, which is divided from *Britain* with a nar-
 “ row Strait; it is happy in Corn-fields, and a fat Soil, and
 “ healthful not only to its Inhabitants, but to others also. As
 “ there is no Snake bred there, so, which is much more, the
 “ very Earth of that Island, to what Place soever it is car-
 “ ried from thence, killeth that Vermin.

Out of the third Book of HERODIAN, translated into Latin
 by POLITIAN.

“ BUT *Severus* contrived Delays on purpose, that he might
 “ not make his Entrance into *Rome* poorly; for being de-
 “ sirous of Victory, and fond of getting the Surname of *Bri-*
 “ *tannicus*, he sends the Ambassadors home before he had
 “ done his Business, whilst he himself in the mean time,
 “ with great Diligence, prepared all Things necessary for War.
 “ His first and chief Care was, to erect Bridges on the Ma-
 “ rish Grounds, that so his Soldiers might stand safe, and
 “ fight as well as upon firm Ground; for many Places in

“ *Britain* are marshy, because of the frequent Overflowings of
 “ the *Ocean*. The *Barbarians* themselves swim through these
 “ *Moors* and *Marishes*, and run up to the Bellies in them,
 “ (not regarding the Mud) with their naked Bodies: For
 “ they are ignorant of the Use of Garments to clothe them,
 “ but gird their Belly and their Neck with Iron, thinking that
 “ to be an Ornament and Sign of Riches, as other *Barbari-*
 “ *ans* do Gold. And besides, they mark their Bodies with
 “ various Pictures, and with the Shapes of all manner of A-
 “ nimals; and therefore they wear no Cloaths, lest they should
 “ hide the painted Outside of their Bodies. But they are a
 “ very warlike Nation, and greedy of Slaughter, and content
 “ themselves only with a narrow Shield, and a Launce. In-
 “ deed they wear a Sword too hanging down from their naked
 “ Bodies, but are wholly ignorant of the Use of Coats of Mail,
 “ or Helmets, as judging them to be an Hindrance and a Lug-
 “ gage to them, in passing over the *Marishes*, whose Vapours,
 “ being exhaled by the Heat, cause almost always a dark and
 “ a misty Air.

Out of the 20th Book of AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

“ **T**HIS was the State of Affairs throughout *Illyricum*, and
 “ the *Eastern* Parts; but in the 10th Consulship of *Con-*
 “ *stantius*, and third of *Julian*, when Matters were very often
 “ disturbed in *Britain*, by the Inroads of those barbarous Na-
 “ tions, the *Scots* and *Picts*, and thereby Peace was broken,
 “ and the Places near their Borders laid waste, which caused a
 “ general Pannick through the *Provinces*, already tired with
 “ their many past Slaughters, *Cæsar*, then being in his Win-
 “ ter-quarters at *Paris*, was distracted with divers Cares; for
 “ he feared to assist those transmarine People, as I related be-
 “ fore, though *Constantius* did, lest he should leave *Gaul*
 “ without a Governor, in the mean time when the *Almains*,
 “ or *Germans*, were very eager on Cruelty and War. And
 “ therefore he was pleased to send *Lupicinus* thither, to compose
 “ Matters, who was a Commissary-general of the Army at that
 “ time, a stout Man, and very skilful in military Affairs, and
 “ prided himself much in his Post, so that he was very su-
 “ percilious and haughty; he spoke in a lofty Tone, and strut-
 “ ted like a Tragedian in his Buskins; so that it was a great
 “ Doubt whether he was more covetous or more cruel; he,
 “ having caused the Vanguard to march, *viz.* the *Heruli*, the
 “ *Hollanders*, and many of the *Mæfici*, came to *Boulogne* in
 “ the Depth of Winter. And embarking all his Soldiers in
 “ those Ships which he had provided, taking Advantage of a
 “ favourable

“ favourable Wind, he sailed to *Sandwich*, and so went to
 “ *London*, that there he might advise, and be in Readiness to
 “ act according to all Emergencies.

Out of his twenty sixth Book.

“ THE *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacotti*, vexed the *Britons*
 “ with perpetual Miseries.

Out of his twenty seventh Book.

“ IT is sufficient for me to say, that at that time the *Picts*
 “ being divided into *two* Nations, the *Dicalidones*, and the
 “ *Vecturiones*; and also the *Attacotti*, a warlike People, and the
 “ *Scots* ranging several Ways, committed much Spoil. The
 “ *Franks* and *Saxons*, as they had Opportunity to make Inroads
 “ by Land or Sea, plundered the *Gallican* Tracts near to them,
 “ and carried from thence mighty Booties, firing all before
 “ them, and killing those whom they took Prisoners. To hin-
 “ der this, Fortune favouring him, our warlike Commander
 “ came into these extreme Parts, from *Boulogne*, which is
 “ divided from the Land he was to make by the Straits of
 “ the Sea; which is wont to be raised by high Tides, and a-
 “ gain levelled in a Calm, like a Plain, without any Prejudice
 “ to the *Mariners*; from thence he easily passed over to *Rich-*
 “ *burrow*, a safe Harbour over against it; whence being fol-
 “ lowed by the *Batavi*, *Heruli* and *Jovii*, trusting to their
 “ conquering Numbers, he came to the old Town of *London*,
 “ since called *Augusta*,—where, dividing his Troops, he set
 “ upon the predatory Bands of his Enemies, and they being
 “ loaden with Spoils, he quickly overcame them: And put-
 “ ting them to Flight, he rescued from them the Captives
 “ whom they drove bound before them, and their Cattle, and
 “ all the Prey which our poor Tributaries had lost. He re-
 “ stored all to the Losers, except a small Part bestowed on his
 “ wearied Soldiers. Thus he re-entered the City in Triumph,
 “ before forlorn, but now relieved by him. Big with this pro-
 “ sperous Success, he designed greater Matters, and intended
 “ to follow safe Counsels, for which he took Time: For he
 “ had learned both by Prisoners and Deserters, that such scat-
 “ tered Troops of fundry Nations, and those fierce ones too,
 “ could not be conquered but by Stratagem or Surprize. So
 “ that he made Edicts, and proposed Impunity, and by that
 “ means called in Stragglers and Deserters. Hereupon many
 “ returning, he being moved thereby, and anxiously careful,
 “ required *Civilis* to be sent to him to govern *Britain*, a Man

“ of a sharp Wit, and very just and honest; and also *Dulcitius*,
 “ a Commander very skilful in warlike Affairs.

Out of the 39th Book of DION.

“ *CÆSAR*, having first of all the *Romans* passed the
 “ *Rhine*, sailed afterwards over into *Britain*, in the Con-
 “ sulship of *Pompeius* and *Crassus*. The Island is extended
 “ 450 *Stadia* at least beyond the *Morini*. It fronts the rest
 “ of *Gaul*, and almost all *Spain*, reaching out into the Sea.
 “ It was unknown to the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*. And
 “ their Posterity doubted whether it was a *Continent* or an
 “ *Island*; and many Writers who were ignorant of the Truth,
 “ as having not seen it themselves, nor had any Information
 “ from the Inhabitants, (but spoke only by Conjecture) in their
 “ *Writings*, as their Leisure and Humours were, some count-
 “ ed it one, and some the other. But in process of Time,
 “ when *Agricola* was chief Commander, and afterwards in the
 “ Time of *Severus* the *Emperor*, it was clearly found out to be
 “ an *Island*. *Cæsar*, when he had settled Things in *France*,
 “ and subdued the *Morini*, desired to go over thither, and
 “ accordingly he transported his Foot, where it was most
 “ convenient, but he landed not where he ought to land. For
 “ the Fame of his Coming being noised abroad, all the *Brit-*
 “ *tons* had prepossessed the Passages of the *Continent*. But he,
 “ sailing beyond a prominent Rock, made his Descent else-
 “ where, and repulsing those who first hindered his Landing, he
 “ put his Men on Shore before many of the *Britons* could unite
 “ to oppose his Troops; and afterwards he repelled their Aids.
 “ Yet not many of the *Barbarians* were slain, for they fighting
 “ on Horseback, and out of Chariots, easily avoided the *Ro-*
 “ *mans*, who had then no Horse Forces. But being amazed at
 “ those Things which were related concerning the *Romans*
 “ from the *Continent*, and that they were so bold as to trans-
 “ port themselves, and make their Descent into this Island,
 “ they sent some of the Nation of the *Morini*, their Friends
 “ and Allies, in Embassy to *Cæsar*. First of all *Cæsar* de-
 “ manded Hostages, and they promised them; but afterward
 “ perceiving, that the naval Force of the *Romans*, both those
 “ that were arrived, and those that were coming, were shat-
 “ tered by Tempests, they changed their Minds, yet they did
 “ not openly set upon them, (for their Camp was well guard-
 “ ed) but having surprised some of them, who were sent in a
 “ peaceable Manner to provide Things necessary, they put
 “ them almost all to the Sword; excepting some whom *Cæsar*
 “ speedily relieved; and presently they made an Onset on his
 “ Camp,

“Camp, but were shamefully repulsed, without effecting any
 “Thing: Yet they came not to Terms with *Cæsar*, till
 “they had been often worsted by him. On the other Side,
 “*Cæsar* had no great Mind to make a League with them:
 “But the Winter being now at hand, and his Forces not then
 “sufficient to carry on the War, many of those he had brought
 “over being dead or slain; and besides, the *Gauls*, in his Ab-
 “sence, were attempting Alterations; he clapt up a Peace
 “with them, in a Manner, against his Will, demanding ma-
 “ny Hostages, but receiving a few only. Then he sailed back
 “again to the *Continent*, where he quelled the Mutineers, and
 “settled Affairs; neither reaped he any publick or private Ad-
 “vantage from *Britain*, worth his Labour; save only the Re-
 “putation of making a Descent upon it. For this very Rea-
 “son he was much pleased in himself, and his Friends did
 “mightily extol him at *Rome*. For when they saw that Pla-
 “ces before unknown, were now brought to Light; and
 “before never heard of, were now discovered, they embrace
 “their Hopes, as if they had been Enjoyments, antedating
 “their Success, they rejoiced as if they had already obtain-
 “ed their desired Conquest, and therefore they decreed Sup-
 “plications to the *Gods* for twenty Days.

Out of the first Chapter of the first Book of B E D E.

“THE Islanders profess one and the same Theology, and
 “that in five Tongues, *viz.* Of the *Angles*, *Britons*, *Scots*,
 “*Picts* and *Latins*; which, by the Study and Meditation of
 “the Scriptures, is made common to all the rest. But in the
 “first place, the *Britons* only inhabited the Island, from whom
 “it took its Name; who coming over into *Britain*, as it is re-
 “ported, from the *Armorick* Country, seized upon the Sou-
 “thern Parts of it. And they having possessed a great
 “Part of the Island, beginning from the *South*, it happened
 “that the Nation of the *Picts* venturing to Sea with a few
 “Galleys, as is reported, from *Scythia*, made their Descent in
 “*Ireland*, the Winds hurrying them beyond all the Coasts of
 “*Britain*, and penetrated even to the *Northern* Parts there;
 “where finding the Nation of the *Scots*, they desired Part of
 “their Allotment for their Habitation, but could not ob-
 “tain it.

Out of the fifth Chapter of the first Book of the same A U T H O R.

“SEVERUS an *African*, born at *Labeda* near *Tripoli*,
 “the seventeenth from *Augustus Cæsar*, obtained the Em-
 “pire, which he held seventeen Years. He being of a fierce
 “Dis-

“ Disposition, as always vexed with continual Wars, govern-
 “ ed the Commonwealth with great Valour indeed, but with
 “ equal Toil. And being a Conqueror in the civil Wars,
 “ which were very grievous in his Time, he was forced to go
 “ over into *Britain* upon the Revolt of almost all his Allies;
 “ where, after many great and cruel Battles, he gained Part of
 “ the Island, and divided it from the unconquered Part, not
 “ with a Wall (as some think) but with a Trench only. For
 “ a Wall is made of Stones; but a Trench, wherewith Camps
 “ are fortified to repel the Force of Enemies, is made of
 “ Turf cut out of the Earth; yet it is built like a Wall, high
 “ above the Ground, so that there is a Ditch before it, out of
 “ which the Turfs are digged and heaved up, before which
 “ Pallisadoes made of strong Wood are prefixed. Where-
 “ fore *Severus* drew a great Ditch, and a firm Trench, for-
 “ tified with many Towers above from Sea to Sea: And then
 “ he died at *York*.

Out of his twelfth Chapter of the same Book.

“ A F T E R W A R D S *Britain* being despoiled of all her
 “ armed Soldiery, and of the Flower of her valiant Youths,
 “ who were carried away Prisoners by the Severity of *Tyrants*,
 “ and never returned again, was laid open to be preyed upon
 “ and plundered, as being wholly ignorant of the Art of War.
 “ At last it was suddenly harassed by two *Transmarine* Nati-
 “ ons, the *Scots* from the *South*, and the *Picts* from the *North*;
 “ under whose Yoke she groined many Years: I call them
 “ *Transmarine* Nations, not because they had their Habitations
 “ out of *Britain*, but because they were remote from the Al-
 “ lotment of the *Britains*, two Creeks of the Sea running be-
 “ twixt them, one of them from the *East* Sea, and the other
 “ from the *West*, running far into Land, though they reach
 “ not one to the other. The *Eastern* one hath in the Midst of
 “ it the City *Guidi*. The *Western* one above, *i. e.* on the
 “ right Hand of it, hath the City *Alcluyth*, which in their
 “ Tongue signifieth a Rock; for *Cluyth* is situate by a River of
 “ the same Name. By reason of the Incurfions of these Na-
 “ tions, the *Britons* send Ambassadors to *Rome* wit^h complain-
 “ ing Letters, craving Aid of them with mournful Supplicati-
 “ ons, and promising perpetual Subjection to them, if they
 “ would drive away those Enemies that were at their very
 “ Doors; upon this an armed *Legion* was appointed for their
 “ Assistance, which being transported into the *Island*, and
 “ fighting with their Enemies slew many of them, and drove
 “ the rest beyond the Limits of their *Allies*. And thus, ha-
 “ ving

“ ving delivered them from their cruel Bondage, they advised
“ them to build a *Wall* within the Island between the two Seas,
“ which might be a Safeguard to them to repel their Enemies;
“ and then in great Triumph they returned home. They hear-
“ kening to their Advice, erect a *Wall*, as enjoined, not so
“ much with *Stones* as *Turfs*; but having no eminent *Artifi-*
“ *cers* fit for such an Undertaking, it was good for little. They
“ made it between the two Seas or Bays (of which I lately
“ spoke) for many Miles; that so where the Waters were not
“ a Defence, there, by the Advantage of the Wall, they might
“ secure their Borders from the Inroads of their Enemies. The
“ evident Marks and Footsteps of this high Wall and Work
“ do remain to this Day. It begins at almost a Mile distant
“ from the Monastery of *Kebercurnig*, toward the *West*, in a
“ Place called in the *Picts* Language, *Panuachel*, but in the
“ *English*, *Penueltima*, and bending against the *West* it is ter-
“ minated by the City *Alcluyth*. But their old Enemies, as
“ soon as they perceived that the *Roman* Soldiers were de-
“ parted, manned out a Fleet, and broke into their Borders,
“ killing and spoiling all before them; and, as if they were
“ Corn ready for the Sickle, they mowed, trampled upon, and
“ destroyed them. Now the *Britons* send a second Embassy to
“ *Rome*, with redoubled Complaints and Lamentations, de-
“ siring Aid, lest their miserable Country should be wholly de-
“ stroyed; and the Name of a *Roman* Province, wherewith
“ they had been honoured so long, should now grow cheap
“ and precarious by the Invasion of *Foreigners*. Accordingly
“ another Legion was sent, which, according to Command, ar-
“ riving in Autumn, made a great Slaughter of their Enemies,
“ and drove all that made their Escape beyond the Seas; who
“ before annually drove all their Preys beyond those Seas
“ without any Resistance. Then the *Romans* told the *Britons*,
“ that they could come no more on such chargeable and toil-
“ some Expeditions for their Defence, but they advised them
“ to take Arms themselves, and fight with their Enemies;
“ that, were it not for their Sluggishness, they might be an O-
“ vermatch for them. Moreover, they thought it advantage-
“ ous to their Allies, whom they must leave, that a Wall
“ should be drawn directly from Sea to Sea, between the Ci-
“ ties which were there built for Fear of Enemies, where also
“ *Severus* made a Trench. This Wall they built accordingly
“ with firm Stone, both with the publick and private Purse, (as
“ is yet to be seen), taking to their Assistance a Company of
“ the *Britons*. It was eight Foot broad and twelve high, in a
“ direct Line from *East* to *West*. Both this and that of *Severus*
“ are yet to be seen. After they had built it, they gave In-
“ structions

“structions to the Inhabitants for their Defence, and afforded
 “them Examples for their training up in Arms; but on the
 “*South* Shore, where their Ships rode at Anchor, because
 “from thence they feared the Irruptions of the *Barbarians*,
 “they erected Towers at proper Distances for the Prospect of
 “the Sea; and so they took their Leaves, as never intending to
 “return.

AND a little after,

“In short, they fly and are dispersed, leaving the Cities and
 “Wall; their Enemies follow, and make more cruel Slaugh-
 “ters than ever before. For as Lambs are devoured by
 “Wolves; so were the poor Inhabitants torn in Pieces by
 “their Enemies; so that being ejected out of their Habita-
 “tions, and in Danger to be starved, they exercised Robberies
 “and mutual Rapines, to keep themselves alive. Thus they
 “increased external Slaughters by domestick Broils, till all the
 “Country was quite despoiled of Food, but what was got by
 “hunting.

Out of the Epistle of GILDAS.

“WHOM he commanded to build a Wall between the
 “two Seas across the *Island*, that it might be a Terror
 “to Enemies, and a Defence to the Inhabitants.” And after,
 “The Remainders of them sent again lamentable Letters to
 “*Ætius*, a Man of great *Authority* in *Rome*, beginning thus:
 “To *Ætius*, thrice Consul, the Groans of the *Britons*,” and
 a little after they complain, “The *Barbarians* compel us to the
 “Sea, the Sea beats us back to the *Barbarians*. Between
 “these two kinds of Death, we are either killed on Land, or
 “drowned at Sea, neither have we any Fence or Relief against
 “either of them.

THE
HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.

BOOK IV.

Containing a Chronicle of all its KINGS; in an exact Series of Succession, from FERGUS, the first Founder of the SCOTTISH MONARCHY, to the Reign of King JAMES VI. of SCOTLAND, and I. of ENGLAND.

HAVING undertaken to write the History of our Nation, that the Series thereof might appear more plain to the Reader, I have in my former Books premised a few antient Memoirs, and especially those which are freest from fabulous Vanities, and are also most consonant to old Writers.

FIRST of all, it is constantly reported, and there are many Evidences to confirm the same, that a great Multitude of *Spaniards*, driven out of their own Country by their powerful *Dons*, or else voluntarily departing by reason of their superabounding Populoufness, transported themselves into *Ireland*, and seized upon those Places of that Island which were nearest to them: Afterwards the Healthiness of the Air, and the Fatness of the Pasturage, invited many others to follow them; especially seeing their Seditions at home, and the Injuries offered them by Foreigners, (to which *Spain* was always subject), drew many thither in hopes of a quieter Life, (which Voyage they

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were

were more easily persuaded to undertake), because they looked upon themselves as going into an Island already possessed by their own People, and by that means, as it were, their second Country. This Stock of *Spaniards* did so flourish and increase, in a Country fit for Propagation, that now they were not contented within the Bounds of *Ireland*, but frequently made Emigrations into the lesser Islands near adjacent.

IN the mean time the *Scots* (for that was the general Name of the whole Nation) propagating their Bounds through the Islands of *Æbudæ*, and dispersing themselves by Tribes and Kindreds, without either King or any fixed Government; a *German*, or as *Bede* writes, a *Scythian* Fleet came to the Coasts of *Ireland*, being driven thither, 'tis very probable, by Strefs of Weather; for they had not their Wives or Children aboard with them. They being very poor, having nothing left them by reason of so long a Voyage, but only their Arms, sent Ambassadors to the *Scots*, desiring them that they might inhabit amongst them. Answer was sent them, that they themselves were compelled to seek their Habitations in those small Islands, which, by reason of the Barrenness of the Soil, were also unfruitful; and if it were otherwise, yet all of them, if they should forsake them quite, would not be sufficient to entertain so great a Multitude. But in regard they pitied the common Miseries of Mankind, and were particularly affected with their Condition, whom divine Providence had so grievously afflicted; and who did not seem to be wholly Strangers to their Lineage, (as by their Language and Customs appeared), they would therefore give them their Advice, and as far as they were able, would assist them to execute it. Their Advice to them was, to sail to their neighbour Island, *Albium*, which was large and fruitful, and in many Places then uninhabited; and also, by reason of the Condition of those Inhabitants that were in it, who were under several Kings, at feud one with another, was consequently very weak. That amidst those Discords it would be easy for them, by supporting the weaker Side, to make themselves Masters of that large Country; and that, in this Matter, they would afford them their Assistance.

THE Narrowness of the *Æbudæ*, and the Lowness of their own Condition, for so it then was, made them give Ear to this Counsel. So that these *Germans* (who were afterwards, both by the *Romans*, and their neighbouring Nations, called *Picts*) landing upon the Coasts of the Island bordering on the *German* Sea; and having expelled the Inhabitants, which were but few, and those at mutual Discord amongst themselves, they brought a great Part of that District under their Subjection; and soon after, in prosecution of the Friendship

ship with the *Scots*, so happily begun, they intermarried with them, and so were, in a manner, compacted into one Nation with them. By this mutual Intercourse betwixt them, a great many *Scots*, being either detained by their Allies, who were yet but weak, or else driven by Want and Penury, or induced by the Love of their Relations, fixed their Habitations amongst the *Picts*. The *Picts* at first were glad of their Coming; but when they grew numerous, by degrees they began to fear, lest, if the *Scots* increased in Strength, they would become their Masters; so that first in their private Assemblies, and afterwards in their publick Councils, they gave out that mighty Cautions should be taken to hinder Foreigners from being admitted among them, and some Way found out to lessen the Number of those who were already admitted. A Rumour also was spread abroad, that it was revealed from Heaven to the *Picts*, *That their Nation should in Time be extirpated by the Scots*. These Suspicions caused the two Nations, which before were very amicable, to part Companies. The *Scots* betook themselves to the mountainous Places, which were less fit for Culture, in regard they were most addicted to Pasturage and Hunting; and the *Picts* possessed the low Lands, which were more fertile and fit for Tillage, situate near the *German Sea*. Thus their Friendship, before contracted by so many mutual Kindnesses, did soon break forth into a terrible civil War. For the Seeds of a deadly Hatred were sown between those two Nations, both of them being of fierce Dispositions; though the Occasion at first was but trivial, as some little Feuds and petty Animosities, or some few Injuries sustained.

THE *Britons*, being Enemies to both Nations, having got this Opportunity, fomented the Dissensions; and freely offered Aid to the *Picts*, even before they desired it, against the *Scots*. When the *Scots* perceived that these Things were in Agitation against them, they sent elsewhere for Aid, and procured a foreign King to assist them against so imminent a Danger. The Commanders of the Islanders, being almost all of equal Authority, and scorning to stoop one to the other; *Fergus*, the Son of *Ferchard*, was sent for with Forces out of *Ireland*, being counted the most eminent Person among the *Scots*, both for Advice and Action. He, by the publick Consent of the People, was chosen King, and charged to prepare his Army to undergo the Shock of a Battle, if Need required. Just about the same time a Rumour was dispersed abroad, which came to the Ears both of the *Scots* and *Picts*, that the *Britons* were playing the Double, and laying Plots and Counter-plots equally pernicious to both Nations; and that they would set upon the Conquered and Conquerors together, with their Arms; and destroying

stroying both, or else driving them out of the Island, they themselves would enjoy the whole. This Report made both Armies doubtful what Course to take; and for a Time kept them both within their Trenches. At length they came to a Treaty, and, perceiving the secret Fraud of the *Britons*, they inclined to make Peace one with another; which being confirmed, the three different Armies returned home. The *Britons* failing in their first Project, had Recourse to another Stratagem. They sent in Robbers underhand amongst the *Picts*, who drove away their Cattle; when the *Picts* demanded Restitution, they answered, that they should seek it from the *Scots*, who were accustomed to Thieving and Plundering, rather than from them. Thus they eluded the Embassy, and sent away their Ambassadors without their Errand; so that the Matter appeared to be a plain Mockery. Their fraudulent Counsels being thus more and more discovered, the late Reproach incensed the Hearts of both Nations against them, more than the remaining Grudges and Resentments for their former Injuries; and therefore levying as great an Army as they could, both Kings invaded, two several Ways, the Coasts of the *Britons*; and putting the Country to Fire and Sword, returned home with a great Booty. To revenge this Loss, the *Britons* entered *Scotland*, and came as far as the River *Don*; and having ravaged the Country thereabouts, with greater Terror than Loss to the Inhabitants, they pitched their Tents upon the Bank of the River. *Fergus* having sent their Wives and Children, and other portable Things, into the Mountains, and Places inaccessible to Armies, secured all the Avenues, till the *Picts* came up; with whom he at length joined his Forces, and, communicating Counsels one with another, they resolved to make a Diversion, and lengthen the War, by making an Incursion with vast Forces into their Enemies Country; and so to weary them out. But *Coilus* (that was the Name of the King of the *Britons*) understanding by his Spies the Cause of their Delay, sends five thousand Men before to ly in Ambush in the upper Grounds, and he determined to lead forth the rest of his Army directly against the Enemy. When the *Picts* knew this, they again consulted with the *Scots*, and, by way of Prevention, they agree to assault the Camp of the *Britons* by Night, and accordingly, drawing out their Forces, the *Scots* in the Front, the *Picts* in the Rear, attack their Enemies before Day; and, by this means, they made a great Slaughter of the *Britons*, being as it were half asleep, whom the former Delays of their Enemies had made secure and confident. In this Battle *Coilus* himself fell, with the greatest Part of his Army, and made the Place in which it was fought famous, from
his

his Name. *Fergus* returning home a Conqueror, the *Scots* settled the regal Government upon him and his Posterity, by the Solemnity of an Oath. Afterwards, having quieted Matters in *Scotland*, he returned back into *Ireland*, to quell Seditions there; where having composed all Things, as he was returning home, a Tempest arising suddenly, he was drowned, not far from the Port called from him *Fergus his Rock*, i. e. *Knock-Fergus*, or *Carrick-Fergus*, in the twenty fifth Year of his Reign. Historians say, That his Coming into *Albium* was at the Time when *Alexander the Great* took *Babylon*; about three hundred and thirty Years before the Birth of *Christ*.

FERITHARIS, *Second King of Scotland.*

FERGUS dying, left two Sons behind him, *Ferlegus* and *Mainus*; neither of them yet able to manage the Government; so that the Chiefs of the *Clans* meeting together to declare the succeeding King, there was great Contention amongst them; some urging the late Oath, whereby they had bound themselves to preserve the Scepter in the *Fergusian* Family; others alledging what great Hazards they might run under an infant King. At last, after a long Dispute, a *Medium* was found out; whereby neither the Infant, not yet fit to manage the Government, should actually reign, nor yet their Oath be violated; which was, that, whilst the Children of their Kings were Infants, one of their Kindred, who was judged most accomplished for the Government, should act as Regent; and if he died, then the Succession of the Kingdom should descend to the former King's Sons. This Law obtained for almost 1274 Years, even until the Days of *Kenneth III.* of whom I shall speak in his Place. By virtue of this Law, *Feritharis*, Brother to *Fergus*, obtained the Kingdom, and managed it fifteen Years, with such Equity and Moderation, that his Subjects found him a just King; and the Orphans or Pupils a good Guardian. Having, by this Carriage, procured Peace abroad, and got the Love of his Subjects at home; yet he could not allay the Ambition of his Kindred. For *Ferlegus*, being inflamed with a Desire to reign, and having first communicated his Design to the most turbulent of the Soldiers, such particularly as were most desirous of Innovation and Change, comes to his Uncle and demands the Kingdom of him, which he held (as he alledged) not as his own, but in Trust only for him. *Feritharis* was so far from being disturbed at this rash Undertaking of the young Man, that, calling an Assembly of the States together, he declared to them, that he

he was ready to lay down and resign the regal Scepter; adding also many Words in Commendation of the young Man; as for himself, he had rather freely and willingly resign up the Kingdom, with which he was but intrusted, which his Death, now near at hand, would deprive him of, that so his Fidelity towards his Nephews might appear to be more the Effects of Good-will, than of Necessity. But such was the Respect and Love that all bore to *Feritharis*, that they utterly disliked this over-hasty Desire of the Kingdom in *Ferlegus*, and they manifested it, not only by their Countenances and Frowns, but by the loud Acclamations of the whole Convention and Assembly. And having discovered by Spies the Conspiracy against the Uncle, though they judged the Author of so detestable a Design to be worthy of Death; yet the Memory of his Father *Fergus*, and the present Favour and Desires of his Uncle, prevailed so far, that they did not inflict it on him for his designed Wickedness; only they set Guards and Spies upon him, who were to watch over, and pry into, all his Words and Actions. But he, impatient presently to obtain what he hoped for in his Mind, though the Delay would have proved but short, deceiving his Keepers, with a few others privy to his Design, made his Escape; flying first to the *Picts*, and finding there no Encouragement for his desired Innovation, afterwards to the *Britons*, where he lived an obscure, and consequently an ignoble Life. But *Feritharis*, a few Months after, was taken off; 'tis doubtful whether by Decease or Treachery. The former Ambition of *Ferlegus*, the Detection of his Conspiracy, and his late Flight, raised such Suspicions of his being guilty of his Death, that he was unanimously condemned in his Absence, about the fifteenth Year after his Father's Death.

MAINUS, the third King.

FERLEGUS being condemned, *Mainus*, his Brother, was created third King of the *Scots*, a Man more like to his Father and Uncle, than his Brother *Ferlegus*: He confirmed and settled Peace with his Neighbours abroad, punished the Wicked and Profligate at home, and constantly performed religious Exercises; whereby he procured to himself such an Opinion of Justice and Piety, that as well Foreigners, as his own Subjects, thought it a nefarious Thing to hurt such a Person. He was better guarded by this Opinion of his Sanctity, than by his military Forces; after he had reigned twenty nine Years, he departed this Life, being much lamented by all good Men.

DORNADILLA, *the fourth King.*

HE left a Son behind him, called *Dornadilla*, the Successor of his Kingdom; in point of Equity, like his Father, but very unlike him in the other Parts of his Life. For he spent much of his Time in Hunting, as judging that Exercise to be proper enough in a Time of Peace, and healthful; and what was still more, very beneficial to harden the Body for War. And besides, it is by that Exercise, the Mind receives the purest Pleasures, and is mightily strengthened against Covetousness, Luxury, and other Vices, which spring from Idleness. Report says, That the Laws about Hunting, which the antient *Scots* observe to this Day, were made by him. He deceased in the twenty eighth Year of his Reign.

NOTHATUS, *the fifth King.*

AFTER his Death, the People placed *Nothatus*, his Brother, on the Throne, his own Son *Reutherus* being yet immature in point of Age for the Government. This *Nothatus* changed the Form of it, which till then had been moderate, and bounded with Laws, into an arbitrary Domination; and, as if his Subjects had been given him to prey upon, not to defend, he punished high and low, promiscuously, with Forfeiture of Goods, Banishment, Death, and all Sort of Miseries, so that scarce any Addition could be made to his Cruelty. By these Severities, most of the People were cowed out; only one *Devalus* of *Galway*, an ambitious Man, thinking it a seasonable Opportunity for him to advance himself, by reason of the Peoples Hatred against their King; and knowing also that his own Life was insidiously aimed at by the King, he resolves to prevent him. And accordingly, all Things being in a Readiness, and being accompanied with a great Number of his Vassals and Friends, away goes he to the King, and openly upbraids him with the Slaughter of the Nobility, with the Seizure of their Goods and Estates, and with his enslaving the Commonalty; and demands of him to restore the Kingdom, which he was not able to manage, to the right Heir. *Nothatus*, being thus bearded and affronted, contrary to his Expectation, yet remitted nothing of his former Stoutness, but answered peremptorily, that he would maintain what he had done, by his kingly Prerogative, and, if he had carried it somewhat despotically, it was to be imputed not to his own Disposition, but to the Contumacy of the Subjects, who had enforced him thereto. These Taunts increased the Animosities between them, so that at last it came to Blows, and *Nothatus* was slain by *Devalus* and his Partisans,

Partisans, after he had reigned, cruelly and avariciously, twenty Years.

REUTHERUS, *the sixth King.*

THIS done, *Rutherus* was made King by the *Dovalian* Faction, without the Suffrages of the People: The Nobles, hearing of it, though they judged *Nothatus* worthy of the worst of Punishments, yet did not approve so bad an Example; and they took it in greater Disdain, because a publick Convention was not consulted, but the Choice of the chief Magistrate devolved on the Pleasure and Arbitriment of one Man: Besides, that it was not to be thought an obliging Act in him, thus to advance the young Man to the chief Power, who was, as yet, unfit to rule. For such as looked narrowly into the Matter, would find, that only the Name of King would be given to *Reutherus*, but the whole Power would reside in *Dovalus*. However, it did not much concern the Publick, whether *Nothatus*, or *Dovalus* were King, unless perhaps they hoped for a more tolerable Life under him, who being a private Man, durst adventure to murder his King, and so to deliver over the Scepter to another in a private Manner, than under one, who was not so extreme or cruel in his Government, until, by the Permission of the People, he was backed with Power and with the Terror of an Army. The Kindred of *Nothatus*, hearing such Things to be reported abroad, insinuating themselves into the Company of those who did regret such high Misdoings, at last gained this Point, that War should be declared against *Dovalus*; and that *Ferchard*, *Nothatus* his Son-in-law, should be General of their Army. Neither did *Dovalus* refuse to give Battle: They fought twice in one and the same Day; the *Dovalians*, though superior in Number, yet were beaten and put to Flight, more of them being slain in the Pursuit, than in the Battle. For, besides *Dovalus* himself, and the Chief of his Faction, there fell also *Getus*, the King of the *Picts*, with many of his Men. *Reutherus*, the new King, was taken Prisoner, and pardoned, out of respect to his tender Age, to the Memory of his Father, and to the royal Blood which ran in his Veins. Neither was the Victory unbloody, even to the Conquerors themselves, almost all the Chief of the Clans being slain, with many common Soldiers into the Bargain. This Conflict brought the Interests of the *Scots* and *Picts* to that low Ebb in *Britain*, that they who survived fled into desert and mountainous Places, and even into the neighbouring Islands, lest they should become a Prey to the *Britons*; who having now got that Opportunity,

tunity, which they long thirsted after, penetrated into the Country, as far as *Bodotria*, (now called *Forth*), without any Resistance. Afterwards, having made a little Settlement of Things there, they went forward against the *Caledonians*, and, having dispersed those who were gathered together to oppose them, they seized upon the Champaign Countries of the *Picts*, and, placing Garrisons there, thinking the War to be at an End, they returned home with their Army. In the mean time, the Remainders of the *Scots* and *Picts*, which had retired to the Mountains, Woods, and other inaccessible Places, vexed the Governors of Castles and Garrisons by robbing them of their Cattle, upon which they lived; and, being increased by the Accession of greater Forces from the Islands, they sometimes burnt Villages, and plundered far and near, so that the Ground was left without Tillage in many Places. The *Britons*, either being detained by home-bred Dissensions, or not thinking it adviseable or safe to lead their Army into such difficult and almost inaccessible Places, where they could meet their enemies with no Forces more numerous than they had to oppose them, did by their slow Actings, increase the Boldness of their Opposers. The *Scots* and *Picts* being thus miserably afflicted for twelve Years, at length a new Fry of lusty warlike Youths grew up, (who, in so great Straits that they had undergone, were inured to Hardship), those sent Messengers all about, and, mutually exhorting one another, they resolved to try their Fortunes. Whereupon *Reutherus* sails out of *Ireland* into the *Æbudæ*, and from thence into *Albium*, and landing his Forces at the Bay now called *Loch Brien*, and there joining with young *Gethus*, the Son of old *Gethus*, who was his Wife's Brother, they consulted together concerning the Management of the War. The Issue of their Consult was, that it was best to draw towards the Enemy unawares, whilst he was unprepared. As soon as they met, the Service was so hot, and the Fight so sharp, that neither Army had Reason to boast; so that both of them being wearied with Slaughter, made Peace for some Years: *Reuther*, or (as *Bede* calls him) *Reuda*, returned to his antient Seat of *Argyle*; and the *Scots* were, a long time after, from him called *Dalreudini*; for *Daal* in old *Scottish* signifieth a Part, as some say, or a Meadow or Plain, as others affirm. From whence he made a farther Progress, and in a short time enlarged his Dominions even to their antient Bounds. After he had reigned twenty six Years he died, leaving a Son behind him, named *Thereus*, begot upon the Daughter of *Gethus*.

REUTHA, *the seventh King.*

BECAUSE *Thereus* was yet scarce ten Years old, and so too young to undertake the Kingdom, according to the Law long before made and observed, concerning the Succession of Kings; therefore his Father's Brother *Reutha* was declared King; who being free from Wars abroad, endeavoured to reduce the People, who were grown almost wild by their former Sufferings, and also insolent upon their late Victory, (though a bloody one), into a milder Carriage and Deportment; and accordingly he enacted many publick and profitable Laws, of which not a few yet remain amongst the *antient Scots*. Having reigned seventeen Years, with so good a *Conduct*, being revered and beloved of all; either for want of Health, (to which he himself imputed it), or else fearing the ambitious Nature of his Kinsman *Thereus*, he resigned up the Government, the People being hardly brought to give their Consent to it; and at his Resignation there was a large *Panegyrick* made in his Praise.

THEREUS, *the eighth King.*

THEREUS was substituted in his Stead; in the first six Years of his Reign, he so managed the Government, that *Reutha's* Predictions concerning him seemed to be true. But after that Time was expired he ran headlong into all manner of Vice, insomuch that putting the Nobles to Death by false Indictments, some lewd Fellows thereupon did, without Fear, range over all the Kingdom, acting Rapines and Robberies at their Pleasure. The *Phylarchi*, (*i. e.* Chief of the *Clans*), bemoaning the deplorable State of the Publick, determined to proceed judicially against him; which he having notice of, fled to the *Britons*; where, despairing of his Return, he ended his Days in great Contempt and Ignominy. In the mean time, *Conanus*, a prudent and regular Person, was elected Viceroy; he restored and strengthened what the other had impaired and weakened; he restrained Robberies, and having composed Matters as well as he could, he received News of the Death of *Thereus*; whereupon, in a publick Assembly, or Convention, of the *Estates*, he abdicated the Magistracy, about the twelfth Year after *Thereus* began his Reign.

JOSINA, *the ninth King.*

JOSINA, Brother of the late King, was raised to the Helm of Government; he did nothing memorable one way or other, only he held Physicians in very high Esteem; because,

because, when he was banished with his Father into *Ireland*, they had been his great Intimates. Whereupon the rest of the Nobility complying with the Humour of the King, it came to pass, that for many Ages there was scarce a Nobleman or Gentleman in *Scotland*, which had not the Skill to cure Wounds: For there was then little Use of other Parts of Physick amongst such Men, who were educated parsimoniously, and inured to much Labour and Toil. He died in a good old Age, having reigned four and twenty Years.

FINNANUS, the tenth King.

HIS Son *Finnan* succeeded him, who walking in his Father's Steps, endeavoured nothing more than to accustom his Subjects to a just and moderate Government; labouring to maintain his kingly Authority more by good Will than Arms: And that he might cut up the Root of Tyranny, he made a Decree, *That Kings should determine or command nothing of great Concern or Importance without the Authority of their great Council.* He was beloved both by his Subjects and by Foreigners. He deceased, having reigned thirty Years.

DURSTUS, the eleventh King.

NOTHING did so much aggravate the Loss of *Finnan*, as the profligate and debauched Life of his Son *Durstus*, who succeeded him. For first of all he banished from his Presence his Father's Friends, as troublesome Abridgers of his Pleasures: Then he made the corruptest Youngsters his familiar and bosom Friends, giving himself wholly up to Wine and Women. He drove away his Wife, the Daughter of the King of the *Britons*, who was prostituted to his Nobles. At length when he perceived that the Nobility were conspiring against him, as if he had been just then awakened out of a deep Sleep; foreseeing that he was not safe at home, and knew not where to find a secure Place abroad, if he were banished, in regard he was so hated both by his Subjects and Strangers too; he therefore thought it his best Course to pretend a Repentance for his former evil Life, by that means thinking he might retain the regal Government, and in time be revenged of his Enemies too. And thereupon, in the first place, he recalled his Wife, and by that means endeavoured to make fair Weather with the *Britons*. He assembles the Heads of his Subjects, and under a solemn Oath to do so no more, he enacts an Amnesty for what was past. He commits notorious Criminals to Prison, as if he had reserved them for farther Punishment:

And religiously promised that for the future he would act nothing without the Counsel of his Nobles. When by these Arts he had made others believe that he was a true Convert, he celebrates this Reconciliation and Concord with Plays, Feastings, and other Entertainments proper for publick Rejoicings. Thus all Mens Minds being filled with Jollity, he invites the Nobility to Supper; and then shutting them up in one Place being unarmed, and fearing nothing, he sent in Ruffians amongst them, who destroyed them all to a Man. That Calamity did not so much abate and quell the Minds of the rest with Fear, as it raised and blew up their languishing Anger into new Flames; wherefore gathering a great Army together, they all conspired to rid the Earth of so foul a Monster. *Durstus* perceiving that all other Hope failed him, resolved to try his Fortune in a Battle, with a few others, whom the like Fear of Punishment for the Wickedness of their former Lives, had drawn in to join with him; in which Fight he was slain after he had reigned nine Years. Though all Orders and Estates were justly incensed against him; yet they gave so great Deference to the Name of *King*, and to the Memory of his Ancestors, that he was buried amongst his Royal Predecessors,

EVENUS, the twelfth King.

AFTER his Death, in publick Assembly of the Nobles, there was a very great Contest; some alledging, that according to their Oath made to King *Fergus*, the antient Custom was to be observed; others fearing, that if they made any one of the Kindred of *Durstus* King, either the Similitude of Manners would incline him to the same Wickedness, or else the Propinquity of Blood would make him study Revenge. At last, *Evenus*, Cousin-german by the Father's Side to *Durstus*, being commended for his former Life, and for his extreme Hatred against the Tyrant, whilst he was alive, was sent for from amongst the *Picts*, (whither he had voluntarily banished himself out of Hatred to *Durstus*), and unanimously created King. He is reported to be the first who made his Subjects take an Oath of Allegiance to him, which Custom is yet retained by the Heads of the *Clans*. *Evenus*, that he might rectify the Manners of his Subjects, which were depraved by the former King, did first reduce Youth to the antient Parsimony in Diet, Apparel, and in their daily Conversation. For by that means he judged, they would be more valiant in War, and less seditious in Peace. He diligently visited all the Parts of his Kingdom, administering Justice with great Moderation, and

and punishing Offenders according to their Demerits. He assisted the King of the *Picts* with Aids against the *Britons*, betwixt whom there was fought a long and cruel Battle till Night parted them: The Victory being so uncertain, that both Armies departed with equal Slaughter, and as equal Fear. The *Britons* went home, the *Scots* and *Picts* retired into the next adjacent Mountains; but the Day after, from the high Grounds, perceiving the Departure or Flight of their Enemies, they came and gathered up the Spoils, as if they had been Conquerors, and so returned home with their Army. *Evenus* having repelled his Enemies, again betook himself to the Arts of Peace. And that Kings might not have the Trouble to travel over the Countries so oft for the administering Justice, (which was *then* their Custom to do), he divided the Kingdom into Circuits, and settled ordinary Judges to do that Work. He also appointed Informers to bring in Accusations against the Guilty. Which Office being found inconvenient, was either abrogated by a Law, or else grew obsolete by Custom. He died in the nineteenth Year of his Reign, leaving a base-born Son, called *Gillus*, a crafty Man, and desirous of the Kingdom.

GILLUS, the thirteenth King.

THERE were yet living of the Blood-royal, legitimate, Twins, *Dochamus* and *Dorgallus*, Sons of *Durustus*. Tho' their Age was not the Cause of the Difference, yet there arose a deadly Feud between them concerning the Kingdom; which was also farther increased by the Fraud of *Gillus*. The Matter being referred to the Arbitration of their Kindred, such was the Obstinacy of the Factions, that nothing could be determined. *Gillus*, who advised each of them to kill one another, when his secret Counsel took no Effect, gathered together the Chief of the Nobles, and his Kindred, (on pretence to end the Controversy), into one Place, where he suborned Men, fit for his Purpose, to raise a Tumult, and to destroy them both. And then, as if he himself had been assaulted by Treachery, he implored the Aid of all that were present, and fled to *Evonium*, a Place fortified by King *Evenus*. Having garrisoned that Fort with Part of the Nobility, and other Persons conscious to his Crime, out of an high Place in the Castle he made a long Oration to the People, who in great Multitudes were gathered about him, concerning the Rashness and Obstinacy of the two Brothers; he declaimed also against those Assassins who killed them; but at last he told them, that he was left by *Evenus*, the Guardian of the Kingdom, as well as of his domestick Affairs, till a new King could

could be chosen. When the People heard this, though they believed it to be false, yet when they saw him fortified in a strong Garrison, for Fear of a greater Mischief, they instantly swore Fealty to him, and declared him King. He, though he had strengthened himself in the Kingdom by the Consent of the People, (obtained as you have heard), yet, not thinking himself safe from the Posterity of *Durstus*, as long as any of them were alive, resolved to destroy his Nephews.

THERE remained alive of them *Lismorus*, *Gormachus* and *Ederus*, the Sons of *Dochamus*, Son of *Durstus*; they were educated in the *Isle of Man*. Thither *Gillus* went, on pretence to bring them home; and to the two elder he behaved himself with great Reverence and Respect, and carried them with him into *Albium*, cunningly pretending, that they being of a Royal Stock, should be educated in his Court, suitable to their princely Quality. As for *Ederus*, the younger, he left Soldiers, on pretence of a Guard to attend his Person, to whom he gave Command, on a certain appointed Day, to kill him. But the Disposition of *Gillus* being well known to all, the Nurse, suspecting Treachery to be hatching against the Child, conveyed him secretly by Night into the Country of *Argyle*, and so she eluded *Gillus*, who sought in vain to find him out to destroy him; for she bred him up for some Years privately in a Cave under Ground; whereupon *Gillus*, in a Fury, put the two elder Brothers of *Ederus*, and also their Guard, to Death: But it being publickly reported, that *Ederus* was conveyed into *Ireland*, he made no farther Inquiry after him. And yet his Cruelty rested not here, though he had slain the Nephews of *Durstus*; for not judging himself sufficiently secure, as long as any one of the Royal Progeny was left alive, he caused all those who bore an Alliance or Friendship to them to be also put to Death. The Nobles, who were grieved at the present State of Affairs, which was bad at present, and fearing that it would be worse, entered into a Combination against him; and carried the Matter with so much Secrecy, that a War was begun against *Gillus*, before he had notice that any Preparations were making towards it. But in levying an Army against his Opposers, he soon perceived, how unconstant the Fealty of Man is towards wicked and flagitious Princes. For there were very few that came in to him at his Summons; and those that did were Debauchees, such as were afraid of Peace in regard of the Wickedness of their former Lives. And therefore, distrusting his Forces, he left his Army, and in a Fisher-boat was carried over into *Ireland*. In the mean time the Scots, that they might not be without a legal Government, made *Cadvallus*, Chief of those who combined against *Gillus*, their Viceroy, to whom,

whom, upon a Treaty, the Forces of his Enemies submitted, and were, upon their Submission, received into his Protection. When *Cadvallus* understood that *Gillus* was about to renew the War, and in order to it, was raising as many debauched Persons as he could, he resolved to prevent him before he could gather a just Army, and so to pursue him wheresoever he fled. First, he sailed into the *Æbudæ*, or *Hebrides*; there he caused *Ederus*, the only Branch of the Family of *Durstus* yet alive, to be brought to him, and gave Order for his liberal and Royal Education. When *Gillus* heard of his March, he retired again into *Ireland*; there he engaged the Clans of that Nation, with great Promises of Reward, to endeavour his Restoration to his Kingdom; which if they could effect, then he would give them the *Æbudæ* Islands for their Reward. By these Promises he gathered together a great Army; *Cadvallus* having prepared all Things for his Transportation, was suddenly called back, to clear himself from a false Suspicion of affecting, or aspiring to, the kingly Government.

EVENUS II. the fourteenth King.

THIS being the Case, the first Thing he did, was to take care that *Evenus*, an eminent Person, the Son of *Dovalus* Brother to King *Finnan*, might by the Suffrages of the People be created King; who, having accepted the Government, caused all Places which were commodious for his Enemies, and especially the Maritime ones, to be filled with strong Garrisons, that so his Enemies might not make a sudden Descent into his Kingdom, without Opposition; *Gillus*, hearing of this, did also alter his Resolution, and sailed to the Isle of *Ila*, and there, having wasted the Country far and near with Fire and Sword, he returned back into *Ireland*. *Evenus* sends a great Army thither, under the Command of *Cadvallus*, that so he might exhaust the Spring-head of the War. Neither did *Gillus* refuse to fight him, but being deserted by his Men, who followed him for Booty, rather than for Love, he changed his Apparel, and with a small Company, fled into a neighbouring Wood: The rest of his Army being thus deserted by their General, and their Fellow-soldiers too, yielded to *Cadvallus*. After the Battle was ended, they sought a long time for *Gillus*, and at last found him in a blind Cave, where he was slain, the third Year after he began his Reign, and his Head was brought to *Cadvallus*. Matters being thus happily settled in *Ireland* by *Cadvallus*, as he was returning home he met not with the same Felicity; for being tossed up and down in a grievous Tempest, he lost the greatest Part of his Army, and all the

the Prey they had gotten; which struck him into such a Damp, that not long after he died of Grief: The King indeed comforted him, (but all in vain), and, praising his Valour and Success in the War, he cast all his Miseries upon the Crossness of Fortune. The new King lifted up with this Success, renewed a Peace with the *Picts*; and, in Confirmation of it, he took to Wife the Daughter of *Getus*, the third King of the *Picts*. But the sudden Arrival and Landing of the *Orkney-men* in *Albium*, quickly disturbed this publick Joy. However the King falling suddenly upon them, drove them out of the Field to the Mountains, and from thence to the Sea; and there being in a Fright and Hurry, whilst they crowded and hindered one another in endeavouring to ship themselves off again, they were all slain to a Man. *Belus* their King, despairing to obtain Quarter, slew himself. *Evenus*, having finished the War, returns to the Work of Peace, and constitutes two Mart-towns for Trade in convenient Places; *i. e.* *Ennerlochy* and *Ennerness*, each of them receiving their Name from Rivers, gliding by them. For *Enner*, amongst the antient *Scots*, signifies a Place where Ships may come to Land. He subdued the Inhabitants of the *Æbudæ*, who, by reason of their long Wars, were grown very licentious and quarrelsome. He reconciled their Animosities, and appeased their Disturbances, and soon after died, having reigned seventeen Years.

EDERUS, the fifteenth King.

E*DERUS*, the Son of *Dochamus*, was made King in his Place; who, whilst he was reaping the sweet Fruits of Peace established both at home and abroad, and giving himself to the Sport of Hunting, (according to the antient Custom of the Nation), had News suddenly brought him, that one *Bredius* an Islander, of Kin to the Tyrant *Gillus*, was landed with a great Navy of Soldiers, and plundered the Country: He presently gathered together a powerful Army against him, and marching as silently as he could in the Night, he passed by the Camp of his Enemies, and set upon their Ships in the Road, which by this sudden Surprise, he easily mastered, and, killing the Guard, he burnt the Navy. In the Morning he led his Army against the Camp, which he easily took, finding the Soldiers negligent, and in no Order at all; many were slain on the Spot, whilst they delayed either to fight or fly: The rest having their Flight by Sea prevented, by the burning of their Ships, were there taken and hanged. The Booty was restored to the Owners, that could make their proper Claims. A few Years after, another of the Kindred of *Gillus*, and out of the
same

same Island too, raised the like Commotion, which had the same Event and Success; for his Army was overthrown, his Fleet burnt, the Booty recovered back, and restored to the right Owners. Thus having settled a firm Peace, being very old, he fell sick, and died in the Forty eighth Year of his Reign.

EVENUS III. the sixteenth King.

EVENUS III. succeeded him, a Son unworthy of so good a Father; for, not being contented with an hundred Concubines of the noblest Families, he published his Impurities and his Shame to the World by established Laws. For he enacted, that every Man might marry as many Wives as he was able to maintain: And also, that before the Marriage of noble Virgins, the King should have one Night's Lodging with them; and the Nobles the like, before the Marriage of the *Plebeians*: That the Wives of *Plebeians* should be common to the Nobility. Luxury, Cruelty and Covetousness did, (as they ordinarily do), attend and follow this his flagitious Wickedness. For his Incomes and Revenues not answering his Expence, upon pretended Causes, the wealthier Sort were put to Death; and the King going Shares with the Robbers, by that means Thieves were never punished. And thus the Favour, which his permitting promiscuous Lusts had obtained him from the corrupted Youth, was again lost by his Cruelty and Rapaciousness. For, a Conspiracy of the Nobles being formed against him, he soon perceived, that the Friendship and seeming Union of wicked Men, was not to be relied upon. For, as soon as they came to fight, he was deserted by his Soldiers, and fell alive into his Enemies Hands, by whom he was thrown into the common Goal. *Cadallanus*, who succeeded him as Regent, demanding Sentence to be pronounced against him, he was condemned to perpetual Imprisonment. But there, one of his Enemies, either out of some old Grudge for Injuries received from him; or else hoping for Favour, or at least Impunity, for the Murder of the King, strangled him by Night in the Prison, when he had reigned seven Years. However the Murderer came to be hanged for his wicked Pains.

METELLANUS, the seventeenth King.

METELLANUS, Kinsman to *Ederus*, succeeded him in the Throne; a Prince no less dear to all for his excellent Virtues, than *Evenus* was hated by them for his abominable Vices. He was mightily prized and esteemed for this, that during his Reign there was Peace both at home and abroad.

broad. But it was some Allay to his Happiness, that he could not abrogate the filthy Laws of *Evenus*, being hindered by his Nobility, who were too much addicted to Luxury. His Demise was in the thirtieth Year of his Reign.

CARATACUS, the eighteenth King.

METELLANUS dying without Issue, the Kingdom was conferred on *Caratacus*, Son of *Cadallanus*, a young Man of the Royal Blood. Soon after his Accession to the Throne, he quieted the People of the *Æbudæ* Islands, (who had raised Commotions upon the Death of their last King), but not without great Trouble. Yet here I cannot easily believe what our Writers, following *Orosius*, *Eutropius*, and *Bede*, do say, viz. That the *Orcades* were subdued by *Claudius Cæsar*, in his Reign. Not that I think it a very hard Thing for him to attempt a few Islands, one by one, that lay scattered up and down in the stormy Sea, and having but a few, and those too unarmed, Inhabitants to defend them, and seeing they could not mutually help one another, to take them all in; nor that I think it incredible, that a Navy might be sent by *Claudius* on that Expedition, he being a Man (as *Orosius* affirms), that fought for War and Victory all the World over: But because *Tacitus* affirms, that, before the Coming of *Julius Agricola* into *Britain*, that Part of it was utterly unknown to the Romans. *Caratacus* reigned twenty Years.

CORBREDUS, the nineteenth King.

CORBREDUS, his Brother, succeeded him. He also subdued the *Islanders* in many Expeditions, a People, that almost in every *Inter-regnum*, affected Innovation, and excited new Tumults. He also quite suppressed the *Banditti*, which most infested the Commonalty. Having settled Peace, he returned to *Albium*, and making his Progress over all *Scotland*, he repaired the Places injured by War, and departed this Life in the eighteenth Year of his Reign.

DARDANUS, the twentieth King.

THE Convention of Estates set up *Dardanus*, the Nephew of *Metellanus*, in his Stead, passing by the Son of *Corbredus*, because of his young and tender Years. No Man, before him, ever came to the Crown, of whom greater Expectations were conceived, and no Man did ever more egregiously deceive the Peoples Hopes. Before he undertook the chief Magistracy,

Magistracy, he gave great Proof his Liberality, Temperance and Fortitude: So that in the Beginning of his Reign he was an indifferent good, and a tolerable King; but he had scarce sat three Years on the Throne, before he ran headlong into all Sorts of Wickedness. He banished those who had been the sober and prudent Counsellors of his Father, because they were against his lewd Practices. Only Flatterers, and such as could invent new Pleasures, were his Bosom Friends. He caused *Cardorus*, his own Kinsman, to be put to Death, because he reproved him for his Extravagance in lawless Pleasures; and yet he had been Lord Chief Justice and Chancellor too, under the former King. And a while after, many other Persons, as they did excel in Virtue, or in Wealth, were circumvented by him, by one Wile or other, and so unjustly brought to their Ends. At last, to free himself from the Fears of a Successor, he took a Resolution to destroy *Corbredus Galdus*, his Kinsman, with his Brothers, who were royally educated in View of the Kingdom. The Charge of this Assassination was committed to *Cormoracus*, one of his intimate Friends. He being prevailed with by many Gifts, but more Promises, was sent to perpetrate the Villany; but attempting it with less Caution than such a Butchery required, he was taken in the very Fact, by some of *Galdus* his Train, with a naked Fauchion in his Hand; being arraigned and put to the Torture, he confessed the Author, and the designed Order of the Conspiracy, and so was executed immediately. When this wicked Plot was divulged abroad, there was a general Combination of almost all Sorts of People against the King; insomuch that having slain many of those who were Panders to his Lust, as fast as they could be met with, they endeavoured at last to make their Way to the King himself, the Source and Fountain of all Mischief. In the mean time, *Conanus*, one of the King's Parasites, a Man meanly descended, but highly respected and entrusted by his Master, levied some Troops, and had the Confidence to send them forth against the Nobles, but being deserted by them, he was taken and hanged. The Commons, having now got *Galdus* for their General, found out *Dardanus*, who was looking out for a lurking Place to secure himself; while they were apprehending of him, he endeavoured to lay violent Hands on himself; but being prevented, he was brought to *Galdus*, and immediately put to Death: His Head was carried up, and down in Mockery, and his Body thrown into a Jakes, after he had reigned four Years.

CORBRED II. *the twenty first King.*

CORBRED II. surnamed *Galdus*, succeeded him; a Prince equally dear to Lords and Commons; as well upon the account, and early Proof, of his own personal Virtue, and promising Ingenuity, as for the Memory of his worthy Father. Some imagine, that he was *that Galgacus*, who is mentioned by *Tacitus*, and that he was surnamed *Galdus* by the *Scots*, because he had been educated amongst the *Britons*. For the *Scots*, according to their antient Custom, call all Strangers *Galds*, or *Galls*; as the *Germans* call them *Wals*, as I shewed more at large above. After he had taken the Government upon him, he increased the great Hopes which had been pre-conceived of him: For, making an Expedition into the Islands of *Sky* and *Lewis*, he quelled the Seditions which had been lately raised there, and suffered to come to an Head, by the Negligence of *Dardanus*; and quelled them too like a good Prince, with a due and prudent Mixture of Mercy and Severity. He slew the Captains of those *Banditti*, and enforced the rest, for Fear of Punishment, either to be their own Banishers, and fly, or else to return to their former rural Employments: He, as I believe, was the first of the *Scottish* Kings, that ever advanced his Ensigns against the *Romans*, who had, by little and little, propagated their Empire even to his very Borders. For *Petilius Cerealis* first broke the Forces of the *Brigantes*, and his Successor *Julius Frontinus* conquered the *Silures*. 'Tis very probable, that the *Scots* and *Picts* sent Aid to those Nations, who were situate not far from their Borders. *Julius Agricola* succeeded the former Generals, who having overcome the *Ordovices*, and reduced the Island *Man*, when he was come to the narrowest Part of *Britain*, thinking that it was not far to the End of the Island, he was encouraged to the Conquest of it all. And therefore in the third Year of his Generalship, he overcame and plundered the neighbouring Countries of the *Scots* and *Picts*, until he came to the River *Tay*; and though his Army was much distressed by the Rigour of the Season, yet he had Time to build Forts in all Places convenient for Defence; by which means he defeated the Designs of his Enemies, and withal broke their Force. For till that Time the adverse Party, being Men inured to Hardship, would, though they lost Ground every Summer, very frequently recover it back again in Winter, when the *Roman* Legions were dispersed into Winter Quarters: And sometimes they would assault and take their Enemies Castles and Garrisons, being not sufficiently fortified. But at that time, by the Skill of *Agrippa* in building his Forts, and by his Diligence in making them defensible;

fenfible; and withal, by relieving them with his Forces every Year, their Attempts were eluded. In the fourth Year of his Government, perceiving that the *Firths* of *Forth* and of *Clyde* were only divided by a small Tract of Land, having fortified that Place with Garrisons, he spoiled the Countries that ran towards the *Irish* Sea. In his fifth Year, he sent a Fleet to Sea, and made Descents in many Places, and plundered the maritime Coasts, fortifying those that looked towards *Ireland* with Garrisons, not only for that present Occasion, but also that he might from thence more easily transport an Army to that Country. By this Prudence of *Agricola*, the *Scots* and *Picts* being shut up in a narrow Corner, and secluded from any Commerce with the *Britons*, prepared themselves for the last great Shock, the decisive Blow: neither was *Agricola* less careful, but commanding his Navy to fetch a Compass about, to discover the utmost Parts of the Island, he led his Army beyond the *Forth*, and drew towards the *Caledonians*: There the Enemies being ready (as in a desperate Case) to run their last Hazard, assaulted some of the *Roman* Garrisons; which struck such a Terror into them, that some of the *Romans*, as fearing either the Number of their Enemies, or their Obstinacy, by reason of the last Degree of Desperateness to which they were driven, were of Opinion, that it would be best for them to retreat with their Army into a Place of greater Safety. But their General, being resolved to fight, when he was informed that the Enemy approached him in three distinct Brigades; he drew towards them, having divided his Army into three Squadrons also; which Project almost proved his utter Ruin. For his Enemies understanding his Design, did with their whole Army assault one of his Legions by Night, and having killed the Centinels, went nigh to have taken his whole Camp: But being prevented by the Coming in of the other Legions, after they had fought desperately till Day-light, they were at length put to Flight, and retreated into the Mountains and Woods. These Actions happened about the eighth Year of his Expeditions. Both Parties prepared themselves, as for the finishing Stroke, against the ensuing Spring: The *Romans* judging, that the Victory would put an End to the War; and their Enemies looking upon their *All* to be at Stake; and, that they were to fight for their Liberty, Lives, and for whatsoever is to be accounted dear and sacred amongst Men: Hereupon judging, that in former Battles they were overcome by Stratagem rather than by Valour, they betook themselves to the higher Grounds; and, at the Foot of Mount *Grampius*, waited the Approach of the *Romans*. There a bloody Fight was begun betwixt them: The Victory was a great while wavering and uncertain; at last,
all

all the valiant Men of the *Caledonians* being slain, the rest having their Courage cooled, were forced to retreat to their Fastnesses. After this Battle, there was no Doubt at all, but that *Agricola* would have subdued all *Britain*, by the Force of his conquering Arms, if he had not been called home by *Domitian*; not for the Honour of his Victories, as was pretended, but for his Destruction and Death. After his Departure, Sedition grew to a great Head in the *Roman* Camp; and the *Scots* and *Picts* very glad of the Occasion, and pretty much encouraged by it, began to creep out of the Places where they lay lurking before; and perceiving that the *Romans* had not a General, nor the same Camp-discipline as before, they sent Envoys up and down, to try the Inclination, not only of their own Countrymen, but likewise of the *Britons*. Thus, in the first place, being imboldened by having Success in some small Skirmishes, they began more and more to take Heart, and to assault Garrisons; and at last, with a formed Army, they resolved to venture the Hazard of a pitched Battle. By this means the *Romans* were expelled out of their Territories, and were forced, with doubtful Success, to contend with the *Britons* for their antient Province. *Galdus* having obtained a Respite from Arms, made his Progress all over the several Countries of the Land, and resettled the old Owners in their Habitations, which had been almost destroyed by the War: As for the Places which were wholly unpeopled, he sent his Soldiers to inhabit them. And having restrained the frequent Robberies which were wont to be committed, he composed the Differences which began to arise betwixt him and the *Picts*. At length, in great Glory and Esteem, both with Friends and Foes, he deceased, in the Thirty fifth Year of his Reign.

LUCTACUS, the twenty second King.

SO good a Father was succeeded by *Luclacus*, as bad a Son; who despising the Counsel of his Nobles, gave himself wholly up to Wine and Women. No Nearness of Alliance, no Reverence of the Laws, no Respect of Nobility, or of conjugal Relation, could restrain him from committing the vilest Lewdness with the fair unhappy Creatures that he had a Mind to. Add to this, that he was inhumanly cruel, and also insatiably covetous. All the young Fry, who are evermore inclinable to the worse, too soon and too easily degenerated into the Manners of their King. So that at last, when he had defiled all, with Whoredom, Rapines and Slaughters, and no one Man durst oppose his exorbitant Power; an Assembly of
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the States being called together, and speaking freely concerning the State of the Kingdom, he commanded the Nobles, as seditious Persons, to be led out to Execution; but by the Concourse of the interveening Multitude, both he, and also the loathed Ministers of his Lust and Lewdness were slain, when he had scarce finished the third Year of his Reign. Out of Honour to his Father, his Body was allowed to be interred amongst the Sepulchres of his Ancestors; but the Bodies of his Associates were thrown up and down, and had not the Privilege of common Burial.

MOGALDUS, *the twenty third King.*

AFTER him, *Mogaldus* was elected King, Grandson to *Galdus*, and Nephew to *Luëtacus* by the Mother's Side: In the Beginning of his Reign he equalled the best of Kings; but, growing older, he was tainted with Vices, and easily degenerated into the Manners of his Uncle. When he first entered on the Government, that he might with the greater Ease reform the vicious Practices of the former King, which had even corrupted the publick Manners, he made Peace with his Neighbours; he restored the antient Ceremonies in Religion, which had been carelessly neglected: He banished all Pimps, and all the Instruments of Lust and Debauchery from Court, and did every thing by the Advice of the Estates, according to the antient Custom; by which Deportment he procured to himself Love at home, and Reverence abroad. Having settled Matters at home, he turned his Mind to warlike Affairs, and drove out the *Romans* from the Borders of his Kingdom; and by his Auxiliaries, assisted the *Picts* against the Injuries of the *Romans*: Nay, and in some prosperous Battles, he so weakened the *Roman* Power amongst the *Britons*, that they also were put in some Hopes of recovering their Liberty; and to compass so good an End, took up Arms in many Places. These Hopes of theirs increased, because the Emperor *Adrian* had recalled *Julius Severus*, a fierce and skilful Warrior, out of *Britain* into *Syria*, to quell the Seditions of the *Jews*; and the Tumults more and more increasing, it came to that Pass at last, that *Adrian* himself was forced to go over from *Gallia* into *Britain*: But he, being a greater Lover of Peace than War, desired rather to maintain the Bounds of his Empire, than to enlarge them. Whereupon, when he came to *York*, and found the Country beyond it to be harassed by the War, he resolved to take a particular View of the Devastation, and so marched his Army to the River *Tine*; where being informed by the old Soldiers who

who had followed *Agricola*, almost to the utmost Bounds of *Britain*, that there would be more Pains than Profit in conquering the rest of the Island, he built a Wall and Trench for the Space of eighty Miles, between the *Firths* of the Rivers *Tine* and *Eske*; and so excluded the *Scots* and *Picts* from their Provincials; and having settled the State of the Province, he returned back from whence he came. Here I cannot but take notice, that, since there yet remain several Marks of this Wall, in many Places, it is a Wonder to me, that *Bede* should wholly omit to mention it; especially, since *Ælius Spartianus* hath taken notice of it, in the Life of *Adrian*; and also *Herodian*, in the Life of *Severus*. I cannot persuade myself, that *Bede* could be so mistaken, to think, as many yet do, that that Wall was not made by *Adrian*, but by *Severus*. This by the by.

HEREUPON the *Roman* Province was quieted, the Excursions of their Neighbours were prevented, and Peace was kept up between them, for a great while. The *Britons* easily embraced it, and the *Scots* and *Picts* had got an Opportunity by it to divide the neighbouring Lands, as a Prey, amongst themselves. But that Peace, besides the Prejudice it did to the Body, by weakening its Vigour, through Sloth and Idleness, did also enervate the Mind, by the Baits of Pleasure, which then began to tickle it: For by that means *Mogaldus*, till then unconquered in War, forgetting the Glory of his Ancestors, ran headlong into all kind of Vice; and, besides other pernicious and foul Miscarriages, prejudicial to the Publick, he made a most unjust Law, That the Estates of such as were condemned should be forfeited to his Exchequer, no Part thereof being allotted to their Wives or Children. This Law is yet observed and pleaded for by the Officers of the King's Revenue, who are willing to gratify his Lust, though they then did, and yet do, know, that it is an unjust and inhuman Institution. *Mogaldus* having thus made himself obnoxious and hateful to the Nobles and Commons, being unable to resist their Combinations, with one or two of his Companions he sought to run and hide himself from their Fury; but before he could execute his Project, he was taken, and put to Death, after he had reigned Thirty six Years. This was done about the sixth Year of the Reign of the Emperor *Antoninus Pius*.

CONARUS, the twenty fourth King.

CONARUS his Son succeeded him, who beginning very ill, concluded his wicked Reign as unhappily as he began it. For he was not only conscious and privy to, but also a Partner

Partner in, the Conspiracy against his Father. However, to cover his Faults, in the Beginning of his Reign there happened to break out a War very opportunely for him: For the *Britons*, having passed *Adrian's* Wall, took away great Store of Men and Cattle. Upon that *Conarus*, by the Advice of his Council, joining his Army with the *Picts*, passed over *Adrian's* Wall in many Places, and made great Havock in the *Britons* Country; and at last, encountering their Enemy, a great and bloody Battle was fought betwixt them, the *Romans* and *Britons*. The Slaughter was almost equal on both Sides, which occasioned Peace betwixt them till the next Year: Yet the *Romans*, because they were not Conquerors, looked upon themselves as in a manner conquered. Their own Forces being much lessened, and *Adrian* putting no great Confidence in the *Britons*, who, as he found, conceived some Hopes of Liberty from his Misfortunes, he sent to *Antoninus Pius* for Aids; laying the Blame of the Violation of the Peace upon the *Scots* and *Picts*, and of the Loss and Slaughter of his Men, upon the *Britons*. *Lollius Urbicus* was sent over Lieutenant-General by the Emperor, who overcame his Enemy in a bloody Battle, and drove them beyond the Wall of *Adrian*, which he again repaired. Afterwards there was a Cessation of Arms for many Years, as if a silent Truce had been made: For the *Romans* thought it enough to keep the Enemy from ravaging and plundering, and for that End their Camp was pitched on the Borders: And *Conarus*, who loved nothing in War, but the Licentiousness that was the Consequence of it, made haste to return home, that he might employ that Vacancy wholly to immerge himself in Pleasures: And now those Vices, which he had before concealed, on Design to gain the Love of others, began to appear bare-faced. And when, by his Art of Dissimulation, he judged the Kingdom sure to him; he was just as profuse in spending immense Treasures on his own Lusts and Pleasures, as his Ancestors had been diligent and industrious in procuring them; insomuch that in a very short time, he was reduced to great Want. At length convening an Assembly of the Estates, he made a long and plausible Oration of the Grandeur and Magnificence which was necessary for Kings; and complained of the Lowness of his Exchequer; thus covering his Vices under the specious Name of Gallantry and Magnificence: He became also an earnest Suitor, that a Valuation of every Man's Estate should be made, and a proportionable Tax imposed on each Individual. This Speech was unacceptable to all that heard it, whose Answer was, That the Matter was of more Moment than to be determined on a sudden: Upon this Account the Estates, having obtained a short Time

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for Consultation, upon asking every particular Man's Opinion, soon found, that this new Device of demanding such a vast Sum of Money, did not proceed from the Nobles, but from some Court Parasites; and accordingly they voted, that the King should be kept Prisoner, as unfit to reign; until upon his Abjuration of the Government, they substituted another. When they met the next Day, he who was first demanded to give his Vote, made a sharp Speech and Invective against the former Part of the King's Life; saying, That Bawds, Parasites, Minstrels, and Troops of Harlots, were not fit Instruments for Kings and Kingdoms, as being useles in War, and troublesome in Peace; besides, they were costly and full of Infamy and Disgrace. He added, The Complaint was false, that the King's Revenue and Income was not sufficient for his Expence: since it had sufficed a great many of their former Kings, to make them formidable to their Enemies in War, and to live nobly and splendidly upon it in time of Peace. But if any be of Opinion, that the publick Revenue is too short, then, said he, let a Supplement be made, not out of the Subject's Purse, but out of the Prince's own domestick Parsimony. He farther added, That the Measure of Expence was not to be taken from the Lust and exorbitant Desires of Men, which were infinite, but from the Ability of the People, and the real Necessities of Nature. And therefore it was his Opinion, that those Villains, upon whom the publick Patrimony was conferred, and for whose Sake the King had undone so many worthy Persons of good Rank and Quality, by despoiling them of their Estates, and putting them to Death, should be compelled, by Law and Torture too, to refund that to the lawful Owners, which they had unjustly got as the Reward of their Flattery. In the mean time he advised, that the King should be kept a Prisoner, till they could substitute another, that would not only inure himself to Thrift, but also teach others, by his Example, to live hardly and parsimoniously, as his Forefathers had done; that so the strict Discipline, received from their Ancestors, might be transmitted to Posterity.

THIS Speech, as it was sharp enough of itself, so it seemed more cutting to those, who had Velvet Ears, and were unaccustomed to hear such free and bold Discourses. Neither did the King endeavour to allay the Hearts of his People by fair and gentle Words, but rather, by fierce and menacing Expressions, did the more vehemently inflame and provoke them; so that amidst these Disputes and Bickerings, a Tumult arising, some that were next the King laid Hands on him, and conveyed him, with some few others, into a Cave under Ground, where

where they imprisoned them. Those Courtiers, who had been the Authors of such wicked Counsels, were presently put to Death; and lest any Tumult of the *Mobile* should arise upon this Dissolution of the Bonds of Government, one *Argadus*, a Nobleman, was made Viceroy, 'till the People could conveniently meet, to set up a new King. *Argadus*, though in the Beginning of his Administration he settled all Things with great Equity, and thereby procured much Commendation by his moderate Deportment; yet his Mind being corrupted by Prosperity, he soon lost all the Credit of his former praiseworthy Life. For he cherished home-bred Seditions, and strengthened his Authority by foreign Aids, having such great Familiarity with the Chief of the *Picts*, that he took a Wife from amongst them, and gave his Daughters to them in Marriage; by which Practice it soon appeared, that he aspired to the Crown. These Things being laid to his Charge in a publick Assembly, wherein he was much blamed for his so sudden Degeneration and Apostasy, he was altogether ashamed, and knowing them to be true, he burst out into Tears; and as soon as his Weeping gave him Liberty to speak, being unable to purge himself from the objected Crimes, he craved Mercy, and humbly deprecated the Punishment of his Offences; *Which*, said he, *if I can obtain, I will recompence and make amends for my Errors in Government, by my future Care, Industry and Valour.* These Things he humbly supplicated upon his Knees, so that the Anger of the Nobles being now turned into Pity, they lifted him up from the Ground, and ordered him to continue in the Government, remitting his own Punishment to himself. As for them, they were well enough satisfied, if he did now truly and heartily repent of what he had done amiss heretofore. From that Day forward *Argadus* assembled the wisest Men of the whole Kingdom about him, and acted nothing but by their Advice; nay, during the Remainder of his Magistracy, he enacted many Laws for the Good of the Publick; of which *this* was the chief; That he restrained the Arbitrariness of Provincial Judges, and forbade them to give Sentence against all Offenders *alike*; but to have *respect* to *alleviating Circumstances*, where any such were. He either restrained, or put to Death, flagitious Persons, and amended the publick Manners, which had been corrupted by a long Course of Licentiousness, not only by inflicting legal Punishments on Transgressors of the Laws, but by affording them the leading Example of his own regular Life. Whilst these Things were acting, *Conarus*, partly afflicted with Grief, and partly worn out by Diseases, ended his lothsome and ignominious Life in Prison, in the fourteenth Year of his Reign.

ETHODIUS, the twenty fifth King.

ETHODIUS was set up in his Stead, *Mogaldus's* Sister's Son; he immediately convened the Estates, and thereupon highly extolled *Argadus*, and after he had bestowed on him great Honours, and large Rewards, he made him Plenipotentiary under him, for the Administration of the Government; when he had made his Progress to view all the Countries and Parts of his Dominions, according to Custom, he sailed over to the *Æbudæ Islands*; *Argadus* was sent by him to quell the Disturbers of the publick Peace; who soon suppressed them, and brought them Prisoners to the King. These Combinations thus appeased, he returned into *Albium*; but the Islanders being freed by his Absence from their present Fear; and farther being persuaded by false Reports spread abroad, that he was engaged in a foreign War; and besides, being provoked, rather than suppressed, by the Punishment of their Associates, began to raise new Tumults. *Argadus* was again sent to suppress them, but they, being assisted both by the *Picts* and *Irish*, gave him Battle, without any Delay, in which Fight, *Argadus* himself, being circumvented by Treachery, was slain: That Blow made the King lay aside all other Business, and to march thither himself; where he so wasted them, with some light occasional Skirmishes, and by his frequent Alarms and Inroads upon them, that being inferior to him in Force, they retired into a Valley, encompassed on all Sides with craggy Rocks, having only one Passage leading to it, that so the Conveniency of the Place, as they thought, might somewhat contribute to their Safety. *Ethodius*, perceiving the Disadvantage of the Place for his Enemy, disposed of his Guards in fit Avenues; and also made a Wall and a Graft at the Mouth of the Passage; by which means they were brought to that extreme Penury of all Things, that they were forced to yield up themselves to the King at Discretion. They were willing to accept of any Conditions, but the King gave them only these; *That two hundred of them, such as the King should cull out, with their General, should be surrendered up to him; the rest should every Man return to his own Home.* The Punishment of those who were thus given up, being presently inflicted on them, had almost raised up a new Sedition; for the common Soldiers were so enraged at so terrible a Spectacle, that, for want of Arms, they threw Stones at the King's Officers: Neither was their tumultuous Fury allayed without much Bloodshed. Thus *Ethodius*, having settled Peace everywhere, in order to the Administration of Justice, made his Progress over all his Kingdom, much delighting himself in Hunting by the Way, so that he made many

many *hunting Laws*, of which a great Part are observed to this very Day. He had an *Irish* Musician or Harper, lying all Night in his Bed-chamber, (according to the Custom of the *Scottish* Nobility), by whom he was slain in the Night, in Revenge of a Kinsman of his, whom, he said, the King had put to Death. This Fellow, when he was led forth to Execution, was so unconcerned at his Torture, that he seemed to be very glad, as if he had done but his Duty, and acted his Part with Applause.

SATRAEL, the twenty sixth King.

ETHODIUS being thus slain, when he had reigned three and thirty Years, and his Son being not of Age fit to govern, his Brother *Satrael* was elected King. This Man being of a depraved, yet cunning Disposition, endeavoured to establish the Kingdom in his own Family, and so to destroy the Sons of *Ethodius*: In order whereunto, those Nobles who were most dear to *Ethodius*, were, by Calumnies purposely devised, suppressed and slain by him. Afterwards, because the Commons very much regreted the Slaughter of their Nobles, he began to oppress them also; which Matter, in a little time, so increased the Hatred conceived against him, and so diminished his Authority, that Tumults and Seditions were its immediate Consequences. He durst not appear to suppress them, because, he knew, he lay under a publick *Odium*; so that while he was playing at hide and seek at home, he was put to Death by his own Men, in the Night, when he had reigned four Years.

DONALDUS I. the twenty seventh King.

DONALDUS, another Brother of *Ethodius*, was set up in his Room, who equalled, nay exceeded, the Vices of *Satrael*, by as great, and as many contrary Virtues. This Prince's Clemency, joined with his Love of Equity, did very much enhance the Price of his other Excellencies. He, by the Terror and Weight of his Authority, and also by present Punishments inflicted, quelled all intestine Commotions; and rightly conceiving, that the Soldiery, who were before wanton and idle, and spoiled by Luxury, might be made more ready to resist an Enemy, he caused a Muster to be made of them, and so accustomed them to training and exercising their Arms, and military Discipline; that, in a short time, the new-listed Novices in War equalled the Valour of the Veterans, and old Soldiers. The Peace which he had abroad, did much forward this his Design. For the *Roman* Legions, some few Years before,

fore, made a Mutiny in *Britain*, as desiring any other General rather than *Commodus*, and especially *Ælius Pertinax*, who was sent to suppress them; so that leaving the *Scots* and *Picts*, they turned the whole Stress of the War upon themselves. It was also a farther Advantage to him, in order to a Peace, that *Donaldus* had, first of all the *Scottish* Kings, embraced the Christian Religion; yet neither he, nor some other of the succeeding Kings, though a great Part of the Nobility favoured the Design, could wholly extirpate the old heathenish Rites and Ceremonies. But the Expedition of *Severus* the Emperor falling out in his Time, mightily disturbed all his Measures, both publick and private. For *Severus*, being very skilful in military Affairs, brought so many Forces into *Britain*, in hopes to conquer the whole Island, as never any *Roman* General had done before himself. There were also other Causes for this Expedition of his, as, the corrupt Life of his Sons, by reason of the Vices reigning in *Rome*; and the Effeminacy of his Army, occasioned by Sloth and lying still: To remedy these Mischiefs, he thought it best to put them upon Action. Upon his Arrival, the private Tumults, which were about to break forth, were suppressed, and the *Scots* and *Picts*, leaving the Counties near the Enemy, retreated to Places of greater Safety, and more difficult Access. *Severus*, that he might, once for all, put an End to the *British* Wars, led his Army through all the waste Places, deserted by their Inhabitants, against the *Caledonians*. Though his Enemy did not dare to give him Battle in the Field, he was much incommoded by the Coldness of the Country, and underwent a great deal of Trouble, to cut down Woods, to level Hills, and to throw vast Heaps of Earth into the Marsh-grounds, and also to erect Bridges over Rivers, to make a Passage for his Army. In the meantime, the Enemy despairing of Success, if they should fight so great a Multitude in a pitched Battle, did here and there leave Herds of their Cattle, on purpose as a Prey to them, that so they might stop the *Romans*, who, in hopes of such Booties, were inticed to stray far from their Camp: And indeed the *Romans*, besides those that being thus dispersed were taken in the Ambushes laid for them, were also much prejudiced by continual Rains; and being wearied with long Marches, and so not able to follow, were in many Places slain by their own Fellows, that so they might not fall alive into the Hands of their Enemies. Yet notwithstanding, though they had lost fifty thousand of their Soldiers, (as *Dion* writes), they did not desist from their Enterprize, till they had penetrated even to the End and extreme Bounds of the Island. As for *Severus* himself, though he was sick during this whole Expedition, and thereupon was fain to

to be carried in a covered Horse-litter; yet, by his incredible Obstinacy and Perseverance, he made his Enemies to accept of Conditions of Peace, and to yield up to him no small Part of their Country. He built a Wall, as a Mound to the *Roman* Empire, between the Firths of *Forth* and *Glyde*; where *Agricola*, before him, had also determined to bound their Province. That Wall, where it toucheth the River *Carron*, had a Garrison on it, so situate, and the Ways and Passages so laid out, that it was like a small City; which some of our Countrymen, though by a Mistake, do think to be *Maldon*. But it is more probable, that this was the City which *Bede* calls *Guidi*. A few Years before this was written, some Footsteps of Trenches, Walls, and Streets appeared; neither yet are all the Walls so demolished, but that they discover themselves visibly in many Places; and when the Earth is a little digged up, square Stones are quarried out, which the Owners of the neighbouring Countries use in building their Houses. Nay, sometimes Stones with Inscriptions on them are found, which shew, that it was a *Roman* Pile of Building. Those Words of *Ælius Spartianus* demonstrate the noble Grandeur of this Structure. *He strengthened Britain (says he) with a Wall drawn cross-ways over the Island, from Sea to Sea; which is the greatest Ornament of the Empire.* By which Words he seems to intimate, that it was not a Trench, as *Bede* would have it, but a Wall; especially since he gives such a Commendation to a Work, which is shorter by half than *Adrian's* Wall. Nay, this Fortification, where it is least distant, yet is eighty Miles off from the Wall of *Adrian*. There are also other Indications of that Peace, if I mistake not. For, a little below that Garrison, of which I have spoken, there is a round Edifice on the opposite Side of the River *Carron*, made of square Stones, heaped on one another, without Lime or Mortar. 'Tis no bigger than a small Pigeon-house; the Top of it is open, but the other Parts are whole, save that the upper Lintel of the Door, wherein the Name of the Builder and Work is thought to have been inscribed, was taken away by *Edward I.* King of *England*; who did also invidiously deface all the rest of the old *Scottish* Monuments, as much as ever he could. Some think, and have written, though erroneously, that that Structure was the Temple of *Claudius Cæsar*. But my Conjecture is rather, that it was the Temple of the Heathen God *Terminus*. There were also, on the left Bank of the same River, two Hillocks, or Barrows of Earth, raised (as it sufficiently appears) by the Hands of Men in a small Plain. A great Part of the less, which inclines more to the *West*, is swept away by the Washings and Overflowings of the River; the neighbouring

ing Inhabitants call them yet *Duni Pacis*. So that Peace being again procured by this Division of the Island, and all Matters being in a Sort accommodated, *Donaldus* departed this Life, having reigned one and twenty Years.

ETHODIUS II. *the twenty eighth King.*

ETHODIUS II. Son of the former *Ethodius*, was substituted in his Room, a Man almost stupid. This is certain, he was of a more languid and soft Disposition, than was fit for the Government of such a fierce and warlike People; which being taken notice of, the Nobles, in a Convention, bore that Reverence to the Progeny of King *Fergus*, that they left the Name of *King* to *Ethodius*, as slothful as he was; but yet not guilty of a notorious Wickedness; but they set Deputies over all the Provinces, to administer Justice there; whose Moderation and Equity did so regulate Matters, that *Scotland* was never in a quieter State. For they did not only punish Offenders, but also made the immoderate Covetousness of the King be no Burden to the People. This King in the twenty first Year of his Reign was slain in a Tumult of his own Officers.

ATHIRCO, *the twenty ninth King.*

ATHIRCO his Son, manifesting greater Ingenuity than is usually found in such a youthful Age, was therefore made King: For, by his manly Exercises in riding, throwing the Dart, and vying with his young Courtiers in Feats of Arms; as also by his Bounty and courteous Demeanor, he won to himself the Love of all. But his Vices increasing with his Age, by his profound Avarice, Peevishness, Luxury and Sloth, he so alienated the Minds of good Men from him, that the more the Sons were delighted with his nefarious Practices, the more their Fathers were offended at them. At last, a Conspiracy of the Nobles was formed against him, occasioned by one *Nathalocus*, a Nobleman, whose Daughters, being first deflowered by him, and then ignominiously beaten with Rods, he prostituted to the Lust of those Ruffians that were about him. He endeavoured to defend himself against them, but perceiving he had not Force enough so to do, being also forsaken by his Domesticks, who detested his lewd Practices, he laid violent Hands on himself, in the twelfth Year of his Reign. After his Death *Dorus*, either because he was his Brother, or else had been a Pander to his Lust, fearing lest the Nobles, in the Heat of their Provocation, should exercise their Rage upon all the King's Lineage,

Lineage, saved himself by Flight, with his Brother's three small Children, *Findochus*, *Carantius* and *Donaldus*. Neither was he mistaken in his Opinion; for *Nathalocus*, who had received so signal an Injury, not contented with *Dorus* his Exile, suborned Emissaries to kill him, and his Brother's Children too; who, coming to the *Picts*, (for the Royal Youths had chosen the Place of their Banishment amongst them), and lighting upon one very like *Dorus*, in Stature and Physiognomy, they slew him, instead of *Dorus* himself.

NATHALOCUS, the thirtieth King.

NATHALOCUS, thinking that he had slain him who stood most in his Way, was the first that canvassed for the Kingdom of *Scotland*. 'Tis true, a great Part of the Nobility were against him; yet, by means of those whom he had corrupted by Promises and Bribes, he carried the Point, and was made King. Neither did he manage the Kingdom any better than he got it. For suspecting the Nobility, which, in the Parliaments of the Kingdom, he had found to be adverse to him, he governed all by the Ministry of such *Plebeians*, whom Audaciousness and Penury (he knew) would easily incline to any Wickedness. Besides those Suspicions I have mentioned, he was encountered with a far more grievous one; for, intercepting Letters directed to some of the chief Nobles, he understood by them, That *Dorus*, and the Children of *Athirco*, were yet alive, and were brought up amongst the *Picts*, in hopes of the Kingdom. To avoid this Danger, he sent for those Nobles, whom he most suspected, to come to him, pretending he had need of their Advice in the publick Affairs of the Kingdom. When they were assembled, he shut them all up in Prison, and the very next Night caused them all to be strangled. But that which he hoped would be a Remedy to his Fears, was but as a Firebrand to raise up another Conspiracy. For the Friends of those who were slain being afraid of themselves, as well as grieving for the Loss of their Relations and Kindred, unanimously take up Arms against him. Whilst he was raising an Army to oppose them, he was slain by one of his own Domesticks about the twelfth Year of his Reign. Some of our Countrymen do add a Tale in the Case, which is more handsomely contrived, than likely to be true: That the very Man who slew the King, had been before sent by him to Soothsayers, to inquire concerning the King's Victories, his Life, and Kingdom; and that an old Wizard should answer him, That the King should not live long, but his Danger would arise, not from his Enemies, but from his Domesticks; and when

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he pressed the Woman, *From which of them?* She replied, *Even from thyself, Man.* Whereupon he cursed the Woman; yet returning home in a great Quandary, he thought with himself, that the Woman's Answer could not be concealed; and yet it was not safe for him to declare it, lest he should render himself suspected to the King, who was a depraved Person, and guided wholly by his own Fears: And therefore it seemed to him the safest Course to kill the Tyrant with the Favour of many, than to preserve him alive, with the extreme Hazard of his own Life. Presently after he returned home, having obtained Leave for a private Access, to declare the secret Answer of the Oracle, or Conjuror, he slew the King, just then entering upon the twelfth Year of his Reign; and so freed his Country from Bondage, and himself from Danger.

FINDOCHUS, the thirty first King.

WHEN the last King's Death was publicly known, the Sons of *Athirco* were recalled home. *Findochus*, besides his being of the Royal Family, was also happy in several rich Gifts of Nature; he was exceedingly beautiful, tall of Stature, and in the Flower of his Age; and having, besides all these Accomplishments, the Recommendation of having suffered many Afflictions very heroically, he was chosen King. Neither did he deceive Mens Expectations; for in his ordinary Deportment he was very courteous; in administering of Justice equal, and impartial; and a conscientious Performer of all his Promises. But *Donaldus* the Islander, being weary of Peace, sailed over with a numerous Army into *Albium*; and making Havock of the Villages where he came, returned home with a great Booty. His Pretence for the War was, the Revenge of the Death of King *Nathalocus*. *Findochus* speedily lifted an Army against him, and transporting them into the Island, he overthrew *Donaldus* in Battle, and forced him to fly for Refuge to his Ships; many were slain in the Fight, and many were drowned, whilst they endeavoured in a Hurry to get a Ship-board. *Donaldus* himself being taken into the Boat, endeavouring to escape, the Boat sunk, by reason of the Multitude of those who overloaded it, and so he was drowned. However, the Islanders not disheartened with this Overthrow, after the Departure of the King, sent for Forces out of *Ireland*, and renewed the War, making *Donaldus* his Son their General, in the Room of his Father; under whom they again made a Descent into the Continent, and drove away much Booty. Upon this *Findochus* again conveyed his Forces into the *Æbuda* Isles,

Isles, and marching over all the Islands, executed severe Punishment on the Plunderers; and overthrowing the Forts, into which they were wont to fly, he made such a Slaughter of the Men, and carried away so much Booty, that he left many of the Islands almost desolate. Upon *Findochus* his Return, *Donaldus*, who had fled for Safety into *Ireland*, returned from thence, and endeavouring to recruit his Armies, he found his Forces so weakened, that he left off the Thoughts of managing an open War, and resolved to betake himself to Guile and Stratagem. And in Prosecution of that Design, not daring to trust the King, though he had given him the publick Faith for his Security; he sent two of his Friends, Persons both bold and crafty, as with a secret Message, to him. They coming to *Findochus*, and boasting of their Lineage and Descent, and withal, grievously complaining of the Wrongs they had received from *Donaldus*, yet could not induce the King to believe them: They therefore applied themselves to *Carantius* his Brother, a shallow and ambitious Person. Being admitted into an intimate Familiarity with him, they were, by his means, made acquainted with the secret Affairs of the State and Commonwealth; and after feeling his Pulse, and finding out his Disposition, they had the Boldness at last, as to tell him, they were sent over to kill the King. He hearing this, looked upon the Kingdom as gotten by other Mens Wickedness and Danger, now sure to himself, and therefore shewed them all the Countenance and Favour imaginable. Well, all Things being prepared for the Perpetration of the designed Murder; whilst the King was hearing one of them relating the various Adventures of his Life, and the rest were busy in running to see a wild Beast of an extraordinary Bigness, the other thrust him through the Breast with a hunting Spear, and so murdered him. Upon the committing of this black Crime, this execrable Deed, there was a great Clamour and a mighty Concourse of People; some take up their dying King; others pursue the Murderers, who were luckily caught, and executed according to their impious Deserts; yet they were not put to Death before they had been racked; and by that means they confessed the Design of *Donaldus*, and the Wickedness of *Carantius*, who had withdrawn himself to dissemble the Matter. This *Carantius* first fled to the *Britons*; but they hearing of the Cause of his Banishment, detested so execrable a Guest; and therefore he went to the *Roman* Camp.

DONALDUS II. *the thirty second King.*

THE best of Men, as well as of Kings, being thus slain, by the detestable Treachery of his Brother, in the eleventh Year of his Reign; *Donaldus*, the youngest of his three Brothers, was set up King in his Stead. He, whilst he was preparing to revenge his Brother's Death, had Word brought to him, that *Donaldus* the Islander had entered *Murray*, not now carrying himself as a Robber, but as a King. Immediately upon these Advices, he, with a few of his Soldiers, which were near at Hand (having left a Command for the rest to follow) marches directly towards the Enemy. *Donaldus* being informed by his Spies, that the King had but a small Force with him, continued his March Day and Night, and by that means prevented the News of his Approach. The King being thus surprised, and seeing that he could not avoid a Battle, performed more than could have been expected from such a Handful of Men, but at length was overcome by his Enemy's Numbers; and being grievously wounded, with thirty more of the Prime of his Nobility, was taken Prisoner; about three thousand Men were slain in the Fight, and two thousand taken. The King died within three Days; either of his Wounds, or of Grief for the Overthrow, having scarce reigned one Year complete.

DONALDUS III. *the thirty third King.*

UPON his Death, *Donaldus* the Islander, who before, without any Authority, had assumed the Name of *King*, now took upon him to manage all Things as a legitimate Prince; taking his Advantage from the Fear of the Nobles, who (lest their Kinsmen, who were Prisoners with him, should be slain, which he daily threatened to do) durst not make any Insurrections against him. He was a *very Tyrant* in his Government, and cruel to all his Subjects; for he was not content, by an Edict, to forbid any others to bear Arms, but his own Servants and Officers too; and what is more, he hurried away several of the Nobility to violent Deaths, whose *Destruction* he esteemed to be the *Establishment* of his Government: Nay, he proceeded to sow Seeds of Discord amongst those who survived his Barbarity; neither did he think any Sight more lovely, than the mutual Slaughter of his Subjects. For he counted *their Ruin* was *his Gain*, and judged himself to be freed of *so many Enemies* as were slain, out of *both Armies*. Neither was he afraid of any thing more, than the Union of his Subjects against him. Hereupon he kept himself commonly with-

in the Verge of his own Palace, and being conscious of the Wrong he had done to all, as fearful of them, as he was formidable to them, he seldom went abroad. These Miseries continuing twelve Years, at length, *Crathilinthus*, the Son of King *Findochus*, with much ado, was found out, to revenge the publick Wrongs and Calamities: He had been bred up privately with his Foster-father, and was thought to have been dead. But having few about him, equal to him in Strength or Cunning, dissembling his Name and his Lineage; he first applied himself to Court, and being received into near Familiarity by the King, through the Dexterity of his Wit, he became his most intimate and greatest Favourite. At last, when all Things succeeded according to his Desire; he discovered to a few of his Confidants who he was, and what he designed; and gathering a small Party about him, having got a convenient Opportunity, he slew *Donaldus*, and departed privately with his Associates.

CRATHILINTHUS, the thirty fourth King.

WHEN the Death of the Tyrant was divulged, both the Fact itself, and the Authors of it too, were cried up to the Skies with one general Acclamation; so that *Crathilinthus*, upon the Discovery and legal Proof of his Descent, was made King, with more Unanimity and Applause, than ever any King had been before him; in regard he had been the Author, not only of their Liberty, but of their Safety too. At the Beginning of his Reign, by publick Consent, he caused the Children and Kindred of the Tyrant to be put to Death, as if he would extirpate Tyranny from the very Root. He afterwards made a Progress over all his Kingdom, to administer Justice, as had been usual; and he repaired, as carefully as he could, the Damages done by *Donaldus*. Thus having established Peace at home and abroad, he spent his vacant Hours in Hunting, according to the Custom of the Country. Being on Mount *Grampius*, at this Royal Sport, near the Borders of the *Picts*, he very nobly entertained the gallant *Pictish* Youths that came to visit him; nay, he was not content with that Friendship, which had been antiently betwixt them, grounded on old Acquaintance, and strengthened by a mutual Peace, but he took them also into a nearer Acquaintance and a closer Familiarity: But that Familiarity had like to have proved his Ruin. For the *Picts* having stolen a Dog of the *Scottish* King's, in which he took great Delight, and the Keeper having discovered the Place where he was concealed, was killed as he was going

going to it, and endeavouring to bring him back: Presently a great Outcry was made, and a Multitude of both Parties were gathered together, between whom there was a sharp Combat, and many were slain on both Sides; amongst whom there were not a few of the young Nobility of each Nation; by which means were sown the Seeds of a most cruel War betwixt them. For, from that Day forward, each Nation infested the other with hostile Incurfions, and never gave over till they met together with complete Armies. Neither could Peace be made up between them upon any Terms, though both Kings desired it. For though they were not ignorant, how dangerous it was for them to be at War with one another, the *Romans* and *Britons* being their perpetual Enemies and Assailants; yet they were so maddened by, and so set upon, the Desire of Revenge, that, whilst they were eager on that Account, they neglected the publick Calamity impending on them both: And truly unless *Carausius*, a *Roman* Exile, one of mean Descent, but a good Soldier, had interposed, they had fought it out to the last Man, even till both Nations had been destroyed. This *Carausius*, being sent to the Sea-coasts of *Bologne* by *Diocletian*, to defend *Belgick Armorica* from the Incurfions of the *Franks* and *Saxons*, after he had taken many of the *Barbarians*, yet would neither restore the Prey to the Provincials, the right Owners, nor yet send it to the Emperor; this gave an Umbrage, that he purposely allowed the *Barbarians* to plunder, that so he might rob them at their Return, and enrich himself with the Spoil. For this Reason *Maximianus* commanded him to be slain; but he, taking imperial Authority upon him, seized upon *Britain*; and to strengthen his Party against *Bassianus*, the *Roman* Lieutenant-General, he reconciled the Discords betwixt the *Scots* and *Picts*, and entered into a firm League and Alliance with them both. The *Romans* made many Attempts against him; but, by his Skill in military Affairs, he defeated all their Designs: When he had restored the *Scots* and *Picts* into the Possession of those Lands which they formerly held, he was slain by his Companion *Allectus*, after he had reigned seven Years. *Allectus*, having reigned three Years, was slain by *Asclepiodotus*; and thus *Britain* was restored to the *Romans*, in the twelfth Year after its Revolt. But neither *Asclepiodotus*, nor the Person who succeeded him, one *Constantius Chlorus*, did any memorable thing in *Britain*; but that this latter begat *Constantine*, afterwards Emperor, on *Helena* his Concubine. Amidst these Transactions, died *Crathilinthus*, after a Reign of twenty and four Years.

FINCORMACHUS, the thirty fifth King.

F*INCORMACHUS*, his Cousin-german succeeded him, who performed many excellent Exploits against the *Romans*, by the Aid of the *Britons* and *Picts*: Nay, he fought some Battles with them without any Auxiliaries at all. At length, when the *Romans* were weakened by their Civil Wars at home, and perpetual Molestations abroad, Matters being a little quieted, the *Scots* were also glad to embrace a Peace: Who, being thus freed from external Cares, did principally endeavour to promote the *Christian* Religion; they took this Occasion to do it, because many of the *British* Christians, being afraid of the Cruelty of *Diocletian*, had fled to them: Amongst which sundry, eminent for Learning and Integrity of Life, made their Abode in *Scotland*, where they led a solitary Life, with such an universal Opinion of their Sanctity, that, when they died, their Cells were changed into *Temples* or *Kirks*. From hence the Custom arose afterwards, amongst the antient *Scots*, to call *Temples*, *Cells*. This Sort of *Monks* were called *Culdees*, whose Name and Order continued, till a latter Sort of *Monks*, divided into many Sects, expelled them: Yet these last were as far inferior to the former in Learning and Piety, as they exceeded them in Wealth, in Ceremonies, and in Pomp of outward Worship; by all which they pleased the Eye, but infatuated the Mind.

FINCORMACHUS, having settled Affairs in *Scotland* with great Equity, and reduced his Subjects to a more civil Kind of Life, left the World in the forty seventh Year of his Reign.

ROMACHUS, the thirty sixth King.

A*FTER* his Death there was a great Contest about the Kingdom, between three Cousin-germans, begot by the three Brothers of *Crathilinthus*, whose Names were *Romachus*, *Fethelmachus*, and *Angusianus*, or rather *Æneanus*. *Romachus's* Plea was, that his Father was the eldest of the three Brothers of *Crathilinthus*, and that his Mother was descended from the Blood-Royal of the *Picts*; as also, that he himself was of a stirring and active Disposition, and likely to procure Friends and Allies.

THAT which made for *Angusianus*, was his Age and Experience in the World, as also his admirable Deportment, to which was added the Favour of the People; and that which was the principal of all, *Fethelmachus*, who was before his Competitor, now voted for him. By reason of this Sedition, the Matter

Matter being like to be decided by Arms, nothing could be concluded in the first Convention of the Estates, and when that was dissolved, the whole Kingdom was divided into two Factions; and *Romachus*, who was least in the Favour of the People, called in the *Picts* Militia for his Assistance, that so he might strengthen himself by foreign Aids.

ANGUSTIANUS being informed that Ambushes were laid for him, judged it better, once for all, to try the Shock of a Battle, than to live in perpetual Solitude and Fear; for that End gathering his Party into a Body, he fought with *Romachus*; but being overcome by him, he and *Fethelmachus* fled together into the *Æbudæ* Islands.

BUT perceiving that he could not be safe there, because his Prowess rendered him formidable to the Heads of the Factions, and that he was also amongst a People naturally mercenary and venal, and corrupted by the Promises of *Romachus*, he fled into *Ireland* with his Friends. *Romachus* having thus removed his Rival, and obtained the Kingdom, rather by Force than the Good-will of the People, exercised his Power with a tyrannical Sway over his Enemies; and, to put a Colour of Law on the Matter, when he went about the Country to keep Assizes, he asked no Counsel of others, as was usual, but took all capital Causes into his own Cognizance; so that he made great Execution amongst the People, and struck a panick Fear into the Hearts of all good Men. At length, when every Soul was wearied with the present State of Affairs, the Nobility made a sudden Combination against him; and before he could gather his Forces together, he was taken in his Flight to the *Picts*, and put to Death in the third Year of his Reign. His Head was carried up and down, fastened to the Top of a Pole, and the People counted it a joyful Spectacle.

ANGUSTIANUS, the thirty seventh King.

THIS done, *Angustianus* was recalled, by general Consent, to rule the Kingdom. In the Beginning of his Reign, they which were the Ministers of Cruelty and Covetousness under *Romachus*, being afraid to live under so good a King, stirred up *Nectamus*, King of the *Picts*, to make War upon him, in Revenge of his Kinsman. *Angustianus*, being a Lover of Peace, sent Ambassadors to them very often, to advise them, that both Nations would be much prejudiced by those Divisions, in regard the *Britons* did but watch an Opportunity to destroy them both. But they hearkened not, either out of Confidence of their Strength, or out of Anger and Vexation of Spirit. So that, perceiving them to be averse from Peace, he led forth his

his Army against them ; and, after a very sharp Conflict, obtained the Victory. The King of the *Picts* made his Escape, with a few in his Company ; and, after he had a little mastered his Fear, being inflamed with Rage and Fury, he obtained of his Subjects, but with great Difficulty, to raise him a new Army : And when it was levied, he marched into *Caledonia*. *Angusianus* once more propounded Terms of Peace, but no Ear being given to them, he drew his Forces toward the Enemy. The Fight was maintained with equal Obstinacy on both Sides, one striving to retain their acquired Glory ; and the other endeavouring to wipe away the Ignominy and Disgrace which they had formerly received. At length the *Scots*, *Angusianus* being slain, broke their Ranks and ran away. Neither was the Day unbloody to the *Picts* ; their King likewise and all his valiant Warriors being slain in that Battle : The Loss being in a Manner equal on both Sides, occasioned a Peace between them for some short time. *Angusianus* reigned little above one Year.

FETHELMACHUS, the thirty eighth King.

FETHELMACHUS was made King, in the Room of *Angusianus* ; when he had scarce reigned two Years, he levied an Army, and made foul Havock of the *Picts* Country : As soon as the Enemy could meet him, they fought with a great Slaughter on either Side. For the main Battle of the *Picts*, they having lost both their Wings, was almost all encompassed round and taken, yet they died not unrevenge. The King of the *Picts*, three Days after, died of his Wounds. The *Scots*, making use of their Victory, having no Army at all to withstand them, made a great Spoil all over the *Picts* Country ; for the *Picts*, having received so great a Blow, never durst oppose them with their whole Force ; only they appointed some small Parties of their Men, in fit Time and Place, to withstand the straggling Troops of their Enemy ; that so they might not plunder far from home. In the mean time, one *Hergustus*, a crafty Man, having undertaken the Command of the *Picts*, inasmuch as he was inferior in Force, he applied himself to Fraud ; for he sent two *Picts*, who, pretending themselves to be *Scots*, were to kill the King. They, according to their Instructions, treated with a certain Musician about the Murder of the King : For those Sort of Creatures are wont to lodge in the Chambers of Princes and Noblemen, to relieve them whilst awake, and also to procure Sleep : Which Custom still continues in all the *British* Isles, amongst the old *Scots* : So that on a Night agreed upon between them,

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the *Picts* were introduced by this Minstrel, and so murdered the King as privately as they could; yet they could not carry it so secretly, but that the King's Attendants were awakened at the Hearing of his dying Groans; and so pursued the Authors of the Villany; and when they could fly no farther, the King's Officers took them, (though they threw Stones at them to defend themselves from a steep Rock), and hurried them back to Execution.

EUGENIUS, or EVENUS I. the thirty ninth King.

FETHELMACHUS being thus slain, in the third Year of his Reign, *Eugenius*, or rather *Evenus*, the Son of *Fincormachus* succeeded him. About that time, *Maximus* the Roman General, being in hopes to conquer the whole Island, if he could destroy the *Scots* and *Picts* both, first of all he pretends many favourable Respects to the *Picts* who were then the weaker Party; and therefore, by Consequence, more ready to treat with him. Then he filled with vain Promises, that, if they would persevere in their Alliance with the *Romans*, besides other innumerable Advantages, they should have the *Scots* Land, to be divided amongst them. The *Picts* were caught with this Bait, being blinded by Anger, desirous of Revenge, allured by Promises, and regardless of future Events: Hereupon they joined their Forces with the *Romans*, and spoiled the *Scots* Country. Their first Fight with them was at *Cree*, a River of *Galway*; the *Scots*, being few in Number, were easily overcome by a more numerous Army, and being thus put to Flight, the *Romans* pursued them every way without any Order, as being sure of the Victory. In the mean time the *Argyle* Men and some other Forces of the remote Parts, who were coming up to join with their vanquished Friends, fell in good Order upon the scattered Troops of the *Romans*, and made a great Slaughter amongst their Enemies. *Eugenius* gathered up those whom he could recal from Flight, and, calling a Council of War, was advised, that since his Forces were not sufficient to carry on the War, he should return back to *Carrick*. But as *Maximus* was pursuing his Victory, Word was brought him, that all was in a Flame in the inner Parts of *Britain*. The *Scots* were glad of his Departure, as being eased of a great Part of their Enemies: And though they were scarce able to defend their own, yet, between Anger and Hope, they resolved, before the Summer was past, to perform some great Exploit against their adjacent Enemies; and accordingly they poured in the Remainders of their Forces upon the *Picts*.

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As they marched, they slew all they met, without Distinction, and put all about them to Fire and Sword. *Maximus*, though he threatened and spoke contumeliously of the *Scots*, yet being equally joyful at the Destruction of both Nations, as soon as he found an Opportunity, marched against the *Scots*, upon pretence to revenge the Wrongs done by them to the *Picts*. The *Scots*, on the other Side, being now to fight, not for Glory, Empire, or Booty, but for their Country, Fortune, Lives, and whatsoever else is near and dear to Men, drew forth all that were able to bear Arms; and not the Men only, but Women also, (according to the Custom of the Nation), prepared themselves for their last Encounter, and pitched their Tents not far from the River *Down*, and near their Enemies Camp. Both Armies being set in Order of Battle, first of all, the Auxiliaries set upon the *Scots*, where some fighting in Hope, others incited by Despair, there was a very sharp, though short, Encounter; the *Picts* and *Britons* were repulsed with great Loss, and had been certainly wholly routed and put to Flight, if seasonable Relief had not come to them from the *Romans*. But *Maximus* bringing on his Legions, the *Scots* being inferior in Number, in the Nature of Arms, and in their military Discipline, were driven back and almost quite ruined. King *Eugenius* himself fell in this Fight, as not being willing to survive his Soldiers; and the greatest Part of his Nobles fell with him, as loth to forsake their King. *Maximus*, having obtained this great Victory sooner than he hoped, and scarce finding any on whom he might wreak his Hatred, mercifully returned to his former Clemency; for marching over many Provinces of the *Scots*, he took those that yielded themselves to Mercy, and caused them to till the Land; withal adding his Commands, that they should be contented with their own, and not be offensive to their Neighbours. The *Picts* taking this his Clemency in evil Part, alledged, that the *Romans* and their Allies would never obtain a firm, solid Peace, as long as the Nation of the *Scots*, which were always unquiet, and took all Opportunities to plunder, remained alive; adding farther, That *Britain* would never be secure, whilst any of the *Scottish* Blood remained in it: That they were like wild Beasts, who would be sweetened by no Offices of Love, nor would they be quiet, though they received never so many Losses; so that there would be no End of War, till the whole Nation was extinguished. *Maximus* replied many Things, in bar to such Severities, as, that it was the antient Custom of the *Romans*, if they overcame any Nation, to be so far from extirpating them, that they made many

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of them Denizons of their City: That though they had almost conquered the whole World, yet never any People or Nation were wholly eradicated by them: That he himself, having slain their King, with the Flower of his Army, had so quelled them, that now they were no longer to be feared, but rather pitied by their Enemies. He farther urged, that his Hatred against the *Scots* was as great as theirs; but if they considered the Matter well, it would be a much more joyful Spectacle, to behold the Miseries of them living, than the bloody Graves of the Slain; nay, that it was a more grievous Punishment to live a dying Life, than, by once dying, to put an End to all Miseries. This was the Sum of the Discourse which he made, not so much out of any Affection to the *Scots*, as out of an Abomination of the *Picts* Cruelty. Moreover, he had an Eye to the future, as judging it extremely hazardous to the *Roman* Province, if the Forces of the *Picts*, upon the Extirpation of the *Scots*, should be doubled. But the *Picts* did so ply him with Complaints, Supplications and Gifts, that at length they obtained an Edict from him, that all the *Scots* should depart out of *Britain* by a certain Day, and the Man that was found there after the Time limited, should be put to Death. Their Country was divided betwixt the *Picts* and *Britains*. Thus the surviving *Scots*, as every Man's Fortune led him, were scattered over *Ireland*, the *Æbudæ* Islands, through *Scandia*, and the *Cimbrick Chersonesus*, and were in all Places kindly received by the Inhabitants. But the *Picts*, though they made publick Profession of the *Christian* Religion, yet could not forbear committing Injuries against the Priests and *Monks*; which, in that Age, were held in great Veneration. So that those poor Ecclesiasticks were dispersed into all the Countries round about, and many of them came into *Icolumbkil*, one of the *Æbudæ* Islands, where, being gathered together in a Monastery, they transmitted an high Opinion of their Piety and Holiness to Posterity. The rest of the *Scots* being thus afflicted by Wars, exiled from their Countries, and in Despair of returning thither again; the Inhabitants of the *Æbudæ* Isles, being of a fierce and unquiet Nature, idle, poor, abounding in Men, yet wanting Necessaries, thought that they ought to attempt something of themselves; and so gathering a Navy of *Birlins*, and small Ships together, under *Gillo* their Commander, they landed in the County of *Argyle*. Having made their Descent there, and dispersing and scattering themselves, amongst a Country almost wholly destitute of Inhabitants, to fetch in Booty, they were circumvented by the *Picts*, who were sent to assist the Inhabitants,

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and placed in Garrison there; and their Retreat to their Ships being cut off, were all slain to a Man. Their whole Navy was taken, and reserved for Service against the *Islanders*. And not long after, they who fled to *Ireland*, partly out of Remembrance of their antient Alliance, and partly out of Commiseration of their Fortune, easily incited a Nation, naturally inclined to War and Plunder, to afford them Aid to recover their Country and antient Patrimony. Ten thousand Auxiliaries were allowed them, who landing in that Part of *Scotland*, which is opposite to *Ireland*, struck a great Terror into the People all the Country over. Being encouraged by their first happy Success, when they were consulting how to carry on the War, the *Albion Scots*, well knowing the Strength of the *Romans*, and how much they exceeded other Nations in their Skill as to military Affairs, persuaded them to be contented with their present Victory, and to return home with their Booty, and not stay till the whole of *Britain* was gathered together, to assault them. And since the Forces of all *Ireland*, if they had been there, could not withstand the *Roman Army*, which, by its Conduct and Valour, had almost subdued the Universe; therefore, they were to deal with them, not by open Force, but by Subtlety. That they were to watch Opportunities, and since they could not match their Enemies in Number, Force, or military Skill, that therefore they should tire them out with Toil and Labour. And that this was the only Method of rightly managing the War with them. The *Irish Scots* on the other Side, blamed those of *Albion*, whose former Valour was now so languid, that, though they were the Offspring of those, who had almost overthrown whole Armies of the *Romans*, yet could not now look them in the Face; nay, there were some of the *Albine-Scots* themselves of the same Opinion, alledging, that this Method of War, propounded by their Countrymen, was very vain and frivolous, serving only to gall the Enemy, but not to recover their own Country; and that therefore they ought to follow their good Fortune, and not to think of returning, till she made Way for them. And, if they would act thus, then no doubt but God (who had blessed them with such prosperous Beginnings) would bless their Arms, so as to lessen the Power of the Enemy, either by raising up new Tumults amongst the *Britains*, or by calling off the *Roman Legions* to a War nearer home. That the Occasion now offered, was not to be neglected, lest hereafter it might be sought for in vain. This Opinion prevailed, and so they joyfully returned to their Prey. Thus, whilst in hopes to recover what they had lost, they indulged their own Will, rather

ther rashly than prudently, being immediately overpowered by greater Forces, they lost the best Part of their Men. This Slaughter being made known in *Ireland*, cut off all Hopes of Return from the *Scots*, and made the *Irish* fear, lest they also should not retain their Liberty long; so that, after many Consultations, they could find no Way more advisable, than that the *Irish Scots* should send Ambassadors into *Britain*, to make Peace with the *Romans*, upon the best Conditions they could procure. Upon their Arrival, *Maximus* first of all severely rebuked them, for that, without any Provocation, they had causelessly excited the *Roman Arms* against them. The Ambassadors, in Excuse, laid the Blame on the rude Rabble, and so they obtained Pardon. The Peace was made on these Conditions, That the *Hibernians*, after that Day, should never entertain, or shelter, any Enemies of the *Romans*; that they should forbear to offer any Injury to their Allies; and that they should manage their Government with a friendly Respect to the *Romans*. The *Hibernians*, having thus obtained better Terms than they expected, returned joyfully home. That which inclined *Maximus* to make this easy Pacification, was, not his Fear of the *Hibernians*, (for he did not much value all the Disturbance they could give him), but because his Mind being intent upon Hopes of greater Matters, he was willing to leave all *Britain* not only quiet and free from War, but also affectionate and under an Obligation to him. For, when he perceived, after the Defeat and Slaughter of so many of their Armies, that the Forces of the *Roman Empire* were shattered and weakened by their civil Wars; and that the Emperors were not made by the Senate and People, but by military Election and Favour; considering also, that he had conquered *Britain*, (which none ever did before him), and thereby had got great Fame by his military Exploits, and had an Army (for the Number of it) strong enough; in this Posture of Affairs he determined, if Fortune offered him an Opportunity to seize on the Empire, not to be wanting to so glorious an Occasion. Prompted by this Hope, he treated his Soldiers with great Affability, and bestowed on them many Gifts; he took Advice in all his important Affairs, of the noblest of the *Britains*, he recruited his Army with *Picts* Soldiers, and committed several Garrisons, in divers Places, to be kept by them. The Lands of the *Scots* he divided betwixt them and the *Britons*. To the *Picts* he left their antient Possessions free; only he exacted a small Tribute from the remotest Corner of the *Scottish Kingdom*, which he had given to them as a Testimony, (for so he gave it out himself), that all *Britain* was partly overcome,
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and partly settled on Conditions of Peace, by him. And by these Artifices, he strangely won the Affections of the common Soldiers: So that all Things being in Readiness, according to his conceived Hope, he assumed the imperial Dignity, as if he had been compelled so to do by his Soldiers. After him, *Constantine* was chosen General by the *Britains*, being recommended only upon the account of his Name; for otherwise he was but a common Soldier at first. He being also slain, *Gratian*, a Person descended of *British* Blood, ruled over the Island. But *Maximus* being killed in *Italy*, and *Gratian* in *Britain*, *Victorinus* was sent from *Rome* to rule *Britain*, as Lieutenant. He pretending to enlarge the Empire during his Administration, commanded the *Picts*, who were reduced into the Form of a Province, to use the *Roman* Laws, denouncing a great Penalty to those who should dare to do otherwise: And whereas *Hergustus* their King died whilst these Things were in Agitation; he forbade them to chuse another King, or set up any other Magistrate, but what was sent them from *Rome*. This the *Picts* looked upon as a mere Slavery. Whereupon they begun, though too late, and to no Purpose, to resent it, and complain they had been basely and unworthily betrayed by a Nation allied to them, and in Amity with them; and though sometimes they were at odds, yet they were Partakers with them of all Hazards, against a foreign Enemy: So that now they suffered according to their Demerits, who had deprived themselves not only of all Aids, but of all Mercy and Pity also. For now who would be sorry for their Calamity, who called to mind, to what Miseries and Necessities they had reduced their antient Friends? And that the Oracle was applicable here, which foretold, *That the Picts in Time should be extirpated by the Scots*. So that now they were punished for betraying the *Scots*: Nay, their own Punishment was the greater of the two, in regard *Banishment* is more tolerable than *Servitude*. For banished Men are free, let their Fortune be what it will; but they themselves were loaded with the bitterest of all Evils, which were so much more intolerable, because they fell into them by their own Demerit. But that they might have one to resort to, and procure a publick Consultation, for the remedying of these Calamities, they create *Durustus*, the Son of *Hergustus*, King. The Nobles being assembled about him, to provide a Remedy for their Miseries; their Complaints expressed the Severity of their Bondage. They alledged, that they were now not in an imaginary, but a real Slavery: That they were shut up within the Wall of *Severus*, as wild Beasts, separated from all human Commerce; and that all their Soldiery, under the splendid
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Name of War, were indeed drawn out for the Shambles. That, besides the Hatred of their neighbouring Nations, they were bitterly reproached by the Monks too, who cried out, that God justly despised and rejected their Prayers, who had so cruelly persecuted his Ministers, though they were their Brethren, and of the same Religion with themselves, in that they would not suffer them, by whom God might have been appeased or supplicated, to live in the same Country with them: These Things did grievously pinch their Consciences; so that, Adversity infusing some Sparks of Religion into their Minds, and also some Ease from their Miseries being obtained, they at last pitched upon this, as the only Way to recover their Liberty: That after they had reconciled themselves to the *Scots*, they would also endeavour to appease the Wrath of God, who was an Enemy to them for their Perfidiousness. In Pursuance of this good Resolution, understanding that young *Fergusius*, of the Blood Royal, was in Exile in *Scandia*; they thought, if he were recalled, that the rest also might be induced, by his Authority, to return. To effect which they sent an Embassy to him, but secretly, for Fear of the *Romans*, to sound his Inclination, as to his Return into his own Country.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F

S C O T L A N D.

B O O K V.

AFTER *Eugenius* was slain by the *Romans*, as hath been related before, and all the *Scots* banished from their Country, the King's Brother, whether *Echadius*, or *Ethodius*, is uncertain, for Fear of the Treachery of the *Picts*, and also diffident of his own Affairs, hired Shipping, and committed himself to the Winds, and to Fortune; and so sailed into *Scandia*, together with his Son *Erthus*, and his Nephew *Fergusius*. As soon as he arrived there, and came to Court, the King of the Country, being informed who he was, from whence he came, and what adverse Fortune he had met withal; his Language, and also his Habit and Mien soon procuring Credit to his Allegation, he was admitted into near Familiarity with him. *Fergusius* living there, till he grew up to be a Man, (his Father and Grandfather being dead), he addicted himself wholly to military Studies; at which Time many Expeditions were made by the united Forces of the *North*, against the *Roman* Empire. Some of the Forces fell upon *Hungary*, some upon *Gallia*; and *Fergusius*, both out of his Love to Arms, and his Hatred to the *Romans*, followed the *Franks*, in their War against the *Gauls*: But that Expedition proved not very prosperous, so that he returned into *Scandia* with greater Glory, than Success: And when his Name began to be famous, not only there, but also a-
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mongst the neighbouring Nations, his Renown reaching to the *Scots* and *Picts*, the *Scots* were in mighty Hopes of recovering their own Country again, and the *Picts* in full Expectation of obtaining their antient Liberty; if, laying aside their old Grudges, they should chuse him General, and try their Fortune against the *Romans*. And indeed at that Time the Affairs of the *Romans* were brought to so low an Ebb, by reason of the Successes of the neighbouring Nations against them, that their Condition was Bait enough to excite old Enemies to revenge the former Injuries they had received from them. For, their Emperors, besides their being weakened by civil Wars, were so vexed on every Side by the *Gauls*, *Vandals*, *Franks* and *Africans*, who did severally make Inroads upon them, each from his own Coast, that, omitting the Care of foreign Affairs, they called back their Armies into *Italy*, to defend *Rome* itself, the Seat of their Empire. In the Midst of these Commotions, they, who commanded the *British* Legions, esteeming the *Roman* Affairs as desperate, studied each their own Advantages, and severally to establish their distinct Tyrannies. Neither were they content to vex the Islanders with all kind of Cruelty and Avarice, but they also harassed one another by mutual Incursions. Thus the Number of the legionary Soldiers daily decreased, and the Hatred of the Provincials against them increased: So that all *Britain* would have certainly rebelled, if their Power had been but equal to their Will. But that, above all their other Miseries, was most prejudicial to the *Britains*, which the Emperor *Constantine*, the last General of the *Roman* Army there, caused them to endure; for, when he was made Emperor, he withdrew not only the *Roman* Army, but even the *British* Soldiers too; and so left the whole Island disarmed, and exposed to all Violence, if they had had any foreign Enemy to invade them. This was the chief Occasion which mightily hastened the Combination of the *Scots*. When Affairs stood in this Posture, secret Messengers were dispatched between the *Scots* and the *Picts*; and they struck up a Peace immediately. Then they both sent Ambassadors to call home *Fergusius*, to take upon him the kingly Government, as descending to him from his Ancestors. *Fergusius*, being a military Man, desirous of Honour, and besides, not so well pleased with his present State of Life, but encouraged with the Hopes of a better, easily accepted the Terms. When his Return was noised abroad, many of the exiled *Scots*, nay several of the *Danes* too, his Acquaintance and Fellow-soldiers, being animated with the same Hopes, accompanied him home; they all landed in *Argyle*. Thither all those Exiles who were in *Ireland*, and the circumjacent Islands, having had Notice given them

them beforehand of his Coming, resorted speedily to him; and they also drew along with them a considerable Number of their *Clans* and Relations, and several young Soldiers too, who were desirous of Innovation.

FERGUSIUS II. *the fortieth King.*

FERGUSIUS having got these Forces together, was created the fortieth King of Scotland, being inaugurated according to the Manner of the Country. The black Book of Paisley casts his Return on the sixth Year of *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, Emperors; others, upon the eighth of their Reign, that is, according to the Account of *Marianus Scotus*, 403, according to *Funccius*, 404 Years, after the Incarnation of Christ; and about 27 Years after the Death of his Grandfather *Eugenius*. They who contend out of *Bede*, that this was the first Coming of the Scots into Britain, may be convinced of a manifest Untruth, by his very *History*. When the Assembly of the Estates was dissolved, *Fergusius* being born and bred to Feats of War and Arms, judging it convenient to make use of the Favourableness of Fortune, and the Forwardness of his Men; and withal designing to prevent the Report of his Coming, demolished all the neighbouring Garrisons, having not Soldiers enough to keep them; and having recovered his own Kingdom, as soon as the Season of the Year would permit, he prepared for an Expedition against his Enemy. In the mean time the Britons were divided into two Factions, some of them desirous of Liberty, and weary of a foreign Yoke, were glad of their Arrival; others preferred their present Settlement, though attended with so many and great Inconveniencies, before an uncertain Liberty, and a certain War. And therefore, out of Fear of the Danger hanging over their Heads; and withal, being conscious of their own Weakness, they agreed upon a double Embassy, one to the *Picts*, another to the *Romans*: That to the *Picts* was to advise them not to desert their old Allies the *Romans* and *Britons*, nor to take part with their antient Enemies; who were a Company of poor, hopeless, and despicable Creatures. They farther sent them Admonitions, Promises, and, in case of Non-compliance, grievous Threatenings from the *Romans*, whom with their whole united Forces they could never withstand; much less could they now cope with them, since one of them was exhausted by Draughts and Detachments of Soldiers, and the other worn out with all manner of Miseries.

THE Minutes of their Instructions to their Ambassadors at *Rome*, were these, That they should furnish them with Aids in Time, whilst there was any thing left to defend against the Rage of a cruel Enemy; which if they would do, then *Britain* would still remain firm under their Obedience; if not, it were better for them to leave their Country, than to endure a Servitude worse than Death, under savage Nations. Accordingly the *Romans*, though pressed close by Wars on every Side, yet sent one Legion out of *Gaul* to defend their Province, but with a Command to return as soon as they had settled Matters. The *Britons* having received those Auxiliaries, did suddenly assault the plundering Troops of their Enemies, who were carelessly straggling up and down, and repulsed them with great Slaughter.

THE confederate Kings having a well-disciplined and regular Army, came to the Wall of *Severus*, and meeting their Enemies by the River *Carron*, a bloody Battle was fought between them. Great Slaughter was made on both Sides, but the Victory fell to the *Romans*; who being in a little Time to return into *Gallia*, were content only to have driven back their Enemies, and to repair the Wall of *Severus*, which in many Places was demolished: When they had done this, and had garrisoned it with *Britons*, they departed. The confederate Kings, though they were superior to their Enemies, in making swift Marches, and enduring of Hardships; yet, being inferior in Number and Force, resolved not to fight any more pitched Battles, but rather to weary their Enemies, by frequent Inroads, and not to put all to a Venture in one Fight, since they had not as yet sufficient Forces for such a general Engagement. But when they heard that the *Romans* were returned out of *Britain*, they altered their Resolutions, and gathering all their Troops together, they demolished the Wall of *Severus*, which was slightly repaired, only by the Hands of Soldiers, and but negligently guarded by the *Britons*. Having got by this means a larger Space to forage in, they made the Country beyond the Wall (which they were not able to keep, for Want of Men) useless to the *Britons*, for many Miles. It is reported that one *Graham* was the principal Man in demolishing that Fortification; who, transporting his Soldiers in Ships, landed beyond the Wall, and slew the Guards upon a Surprise, and so made a Passage for his Men. 'Tis not certain among Writers, whether this *Graham* was a *Scot* or *Briton*; but most think that he was a *Briton*, descended of the *Fulgentian* Line, a prime and noble Family in that Nation; as also that he was the Father-in-law of King *Fergusius*: I am most inclined to be of this last Opinion. The Wall then being thus razed, the *Scots* and *Picts* committed most inhuman Cruelties

Cruelties and Outrages upon the *Britons*, without Distinction of Age or Sex: For (as Matters then stood) the *Britons* were weak, and unaccustomed to War; so that they sent a lamentable Embassy to *Rome*, complaining of the unspeakable Calamities they endured, and with great Humility and Earnestness supplicating for Aid; farther alledging, that if they were not moved at the Destruction of the *Britons*, and the Loss of a Province, (lately so splendid), yet it became the *Romans* to maintain their own Dignity, lest their Name should grow contemptible amongst those barbarous Nations. Accordingly another Legion was again sent for their Relief, who coming (as *Bede* says) in *Autumn*, a Season of the Year when they were unexpected, made great Slaughter of their Enemies. The confederate Kings gathered what Force they could together, to beat them back; and, being encouraged by their Success in former Times, and also by the Friendship and Alliance of *Dionethus*, a *Briton*, they made Approaches toward the Enemy. This *Dionethus* was well descended in his own Country, but always an Adviser of his Countrymen to shake off the *Roman* Yoke; and then especially, when so fair an Opportunity was offered, and the whole Strength of the Empire was engaged in other Wars, which made him suspected by his own Men as an Affecter of Novelty, was hated by the *Romans*, but a Friend to the *Scots* and *Picts*; who understanding that the Design of the *Romans* was first to destroy *Dionethus*, as an Enemy near at Hand, and in their very Bowels; to obviate their Purpose, they made great Marches towards them; and joining their Forces with those of *Dionethus*, began a sharp Encounter with the *Romans*; who, surrounded by Numbers, both in Front and Rear, were put to Flight. When the Ranks of the legionary Soldiers were thus broken, and gave Ground, the confederate Kings being too eager in the Pursuit, fell amongst the *Reserve* of the *Romans*, who stood in good Order, and were repulsed by them with great Slaughter: So that if the *Romans*, conscious of the Weakness of their Numbers, had not forbore any farther Pursuit, their Enemies had doubtless received a mighty Overthrow that Day; but because the Loss of some Soldiers in but a small Army was too sensibly felt, therefore they rejoiced the less on account of the Victory.

MAXIMIANUS (so our Writers call him, who commanded the *Roman* Legion) being dismayed at this Check, retired into the Midst of his Province, and the Kings returned each to his own Dominion. Then it was that *Dionethus* took the supreme Authority upon him, he clothed himself in Purple after the Manner of the *Romans*, and carried himself as King
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of the *Britons*. When the *Romans* understood that their Enemies were dispersed, they gathered what Force they could together, and increased them with *British* Auxiliaries, and so marched against *Dionethus*, who infested the Provinces adjoining to him; for they thought to subdue him, from whom their Danger was nearest, before his Allies could come to his Relief: But the three Kings united their Forces sooner than the *Romans* imagined, and joining all their Forces together, they encouraged their Soldiers as well as they could, and without Delay drew out their Armies in a Line of Battle. The *Roman* General placed the *Britons* in the Front, and the *Romans* in the Reserves: It was a very sharp Fight, and the Front giving Ground, *Maximianus* brought on his Legion, and stopt the *Britons* just ready to run; and then sending about some Troops to fall on the Rear, some Brigades of *Scots*, being encompassed by them, drew themselves into a Circle, where they bravely defended themselves till the greatest Part of their Enemy's Army falling upon them, they were every Man slain; yet their Loss gave Opportunity to the rest to escape. There fell in that Fight *Fergus* King of the *Scots*, and *Durstus* King of the *Picts*; *Dionethus* being wounded, was with great Difficulty carried off to the Sea, and in a Skiff returned home. This Victory struck such a Terror into all the Conquered, that it refreshed the Memory of antient Times, insomuch that many consulted whither to betake themselves for their Place of Exile. *Fergusius* died when he had reigned sixteen Years, a Man of an heroic Spirit, and who may deservedly be called the second Founder of the *Scottish* Kingdom; nay (perhaps) he may be said to exceed the former *Fergusius* in this, that he came into a Country almost naked and empty, by the Concession of the *Picts*; neither had he the unconquered Forces of the *Romans* to deal with, but the *Britons*; who, though somewhat (but not much) superior to the *Scots* in Accoutrements and Provisions for War, were however far inferior to them in enduring the Hardships of the Field. But this latter *Fergusius*, when almost all the *Scots* were slain who were able to bear Arms, being brought up in a foreign Country, and after the twenty seventh Year of his Banishment from his own, being sent for as an unknown King, by those Subjects who were as unknown to him, marched with a mixed Army, collected out of several Nations, against the *Britons*, who were at that time assisted by the Forces of the *Romans*; so that if the divine Providence had not manifestly favoured his Designs, he might seem to have undertaken a very temerarious Attempt, and bordering upon Madness itself. He left three Sons behind him, very young Children, *Eugenius*, *Dongardus*, and *Constantius*; *Graham*, their Grandfather

Grandfather by the Mother's Side, was by universal Consent appointed *Guardian* over them, and in the mean time, till they came to be of Age, he was to manage the Government as Regent. He was a Person of that virtuous Temper, that even in the most turbulent Times, and amidst a most fierce Nation, who were not always obedient, no not to Kings of their own Nation, yet there happened no civil Diffensions at home in his Time, though he himself was a Foreigner.

EUGENIUS, or EVENUS II. *the forty first King.*

EUGENIUS, or *Evenus* II. the eldest Son of *Fergusius*, had the Name of King, but the Power was in the Hands of *Graham*; he caused a Muster to be made of the Soldiers all over the Land; and when he found that his *Militia* was weakened by former Fights, beyond what he thought, he saw that nothing then was to be done, and so ceased from making any Levies. But the *Roman* Legion having relieved their Allies, and, as they were commanded, being about to return into the Continent, spoiled all their Enemies Country within the Wall of *Severus*, and slew the Inhabitants; it is true, they restored the Lands to the *Britons*, but they kept the Plunder and Booty for themselves. So that the remaining *Scots* and *Picts*, who survived their late Loss, were again shut up between the two Firths of the Sea. Matters being brought to this Pass, the *Romans* declared to the *Britons*, with how great and strong Armies they were beset, who had conspired to destroy the *Roman* Name and Empire; so that they were not able to take so much Pains, nor to be at so great Expence to maintain Places so far off; and therefore they advised the *Britons* not to expect any more Aids from them for the future. But they advised them rather to take up Arms themselves, and to inure themselves to undergo military Pains and Hazards; and, if they had offended before, through Slothfulness, to begin and make amends now by Industry and Hardiness, and not permit themselves to grow so contemptible to their Enemies, (to whom they were superior in Number and Forces), as to suffer them to drive away yearly Booties from their Country, as if they had only gone abroad like a Pack of Hunters for their Prey. And the *Romans* themselves, that they might do them a lasting Good that might be of great Service to them in future Times, did undertake a great and memorable Work for them. For they gathered together a huge Company of Workmen out of their whole Province, (the *Romans* and *Britons* both vying who should be forwardest), and just in that Place where the Trench or Graft was drawn by *Severus*, thirty Miles long, there they built a Wall of

of Stone eight Foot broad, and twelve high; they distinguished it by Castles, some of which represented small Towns. It was finished and bounded on the *West* by a Place now called *Kirkpatrick*, and on the *East* it began from the Monastery of *Aberkernick*, as *Bede* affirms; in which Country, about one hundred and twenty Years since, there was a strong Castle of the *Douglasses* called *Abercorn*, but no Sign of any Monastery at all. Moreover, lest their Enemies should make a Descent by Ships into Places beyond the Wall, (as, in their Memory, they had formerly done), they set up many Beacons or Watch-towers on the higher Grounds along the Shore, from whence there was a large Prospect into the Sea: And, where it was convenient, they appointed *Garrisons*, but consisting of such cowardly and effeminate Fellows, that they could not endure so much as to see the Face of an armed Enemy. The *Roman* Legion did this beneficial and obliging Work for their Provincials, before their Departure. Withal, vehemently exhorting them to defend their own Country, with their own Arms; for they must never more hope for Assistance from the *Romans*, whose Affairs were now brought to that Exigence, that they could no longer help their Allies, especially those that were so far remote. When the *Scots* and *Picts* understood for certain, by their Spies, that the *Romans* were departed, and would return no more; they assaulted the Wall with all their Might, and much more eagerly than before; and did not only cast down their Opposers, by hurling Darts at them, but also pulled them down headlong from the Top of the Wall with Cramp-irons, as *Bede* calls them; which were, as I understand, crooked Iron Instruments, or Hooks, fastened on the Tops of long Poles; so that the upper Fortification being thus made destitute of its Defenders, they applied their Engines, and destroyed the Foundations too; and thus an Entrance and Passage being made, they inforced their affrighted Enemies to leave their Habitations and Dwellings, and to fly away for Safety where-ever they could find it. For the *Scots* and *Picts* were so eagerly bent on Revenge, that their Enemies had good Reason to think all their former Calamities tolerable, in respect to those they were now forced to endure. Afterwards the Assailants, rather wearied than satisfied with the Miseries of their Enemies, returned home, and began at last to bethink themselves, that they had not so much taken away the Goods of their Enemies, as they had wasted and spoiled what would have been the Rewards of their Victory. They convened an Assembly of the Estates, where it was debated amongst them, how so great a Victory might be improved;

proved; and their first Resolution was, to fill those Lands which they had taken from the Enemy, with fresh Colonies, for the Procreation of a new Progeny. This Counsel seemed the more wholesome and adviseable, because of the Abundance of valiant, but indigent Officers and Soldiers, who had not Room enough to live in their old Habitations. This Turn of Prosperity being signified to the neighbouring Nations, encouraged not only the *Scottish* Exiles, but a great Company of Strangers too, who lived but poorly at home, to flock in, as to a Prey; for they supposed, that a Man of that Spirit and Conduct as *Graham* was, would never lay down Arms 'till he had brought the whole Island of *Britain* under his Subjection; but there they were mistaken; for he, having run so many Hazards, was more inclinable to Peace, with Honour and Glory, than to risque his present certain Felicity, by throwing himself into uncertain Dangers. And therefore he made Peace with the *Britons*, who were not only willing to, but also very earnestly desirous of the same. The Terms were, that each People should be contented with their own Bounds, and abstain from Wrong and Violence towards one another; *Adrian's Wall* was the Barrier. After this Peace was made, *Graham* divided the Lands not only among the *Scots*, but also among those outlandish Men who had followed his Ensigns. By this means almost all the Provinces were called by new Names, because the Persons that peopled them were Men, for the most part, born in Banishment abroad, and the rest perfect Foreigners. *Galway*, a County next to *Ireland*, falling by Lot to the *Irish*, is thought to have got its Name, so famed in their own Country, from them. *Caithness* was so called, because it was mountainous. *Ross*, because it was a *Peninsula*. *Buchan*, because it paid great Tribute out of Oxen. *Strathboggie*, *Nairn*, *Strathnavern*, *Lochspey*, *Strathedarn*, and *Monteith*, took their respective Names from several Rivers of the same Appellation. *Lochabyr* was so called from a Loch, or rather Bay of the Sea. Many of the Provinces situate on this Side the *Forth*, as *Lenox*, *Clydesdale*, *Tweeddale*, *Teviotdale*, *Liddisdale*, *Eskdale*, *Eusdale*, *Nithisdale*, *Annandale*, and *Douglasdale*, had their Surnames from Rivers. Many Places retained their antient Names, and some had theirs only a little changed. Afterwards, to the end that he might by just Laws bridle Licentiousness, which was grown to a great Height by the long Continuance of Wars: He first recalled the *Monks* and Teachers of the *Christian* Religion, out of Banishment to their own Homes; and, lest they might be burdensome to an indigent People, he ordained, that they should have an yearly Income out of the Fruits of the Earth;

which, though it was small, (as those Times were), was however deemed a handsome Competency; such was the Modesty and Temperance of the Men. He placed Garrisons in the most convenient Passages, to prevent all sudden Incurfions of the Enemy; he repaired Places that were demolished and erected new. The Fury of War being thus extinguished throughout the whole Island, though the *Britons* being saved, as it were, out of a dangerous Tempest, did enjoy the Sweets of publick Peace; yet it was doubtful whether War or Peace did them most Mischief. For when their Cities were razed, their Villages burnt, their Cattle driven away, and all their Instruments of Husbandry lost; they who survived this Cruelty of their Enemies, were forced to keep themselves from starving by Hunting; or else to turn their Course of Plunder from their Enemies upon their own Countrymen: So that a War at home was almost like to be the Consequence of their having made Peace abroad. Neither were they the only perpetual Enemies of Foreigners: For though they abstained from open Wars, yet every now and then they spoiled the Countries contiguous to them; particularly a Party of the *Irish*, encouraged with the Hopes of Booty, vexed the poor People, who were already miserably enough distressed with their Invasions by Sea. Their last Calamity, and the worst of all, was a Famine; which did so break the Spirit of that fierce People, that many of them voluntarily surrendered themselves into their Enemies Hands. At last, those few of them that remained, lurking in Caves and Dens, were necessitated to come abroad, and to scatter the wandering Troops of the Plunderers; they also drove the *Irish* back to Sea, and forced them to depart from *Albium*. That Mischief was no sooner removed, but a Calamity nearer hand, began to press upon them. The *Scots* and *Picts*, their eternal Enemies, were not contented to drive Preys from them by Stealth, but watched an Opportunity to attempt higher Matters. For *Eugenius* the Son of *Fergus*, who till that time had lain still, under the Tutorage of another; his Strength being increased by a long Peace, and much augmented by a young List of Soldiers flocking in to him, desired to shew himself; and besides the Weakness of the *Britons*, there happened likewise a private Cause of War: *Graham*, being his Grandfather by the Mother's Side, and nobly descended (as I spoke before) in his own Country, was of that Faction which were desirous to free themselves from *Roman* Slavery. This was the Cause he was banished by the contrary Faction, who were then more powerful, and so he fled to the *Scots*, his old Allies, between whom many Civilities had formerly passed. After his Death *Eugenius*,
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by his Ambassadors, demanded a Restitution of those fruitful Lands which were his Ancestors, situate within the Wall of *Adrian*; intimating plainly to them, that unless they did restore them, he would make War upon them. When the Ambassadors had declared their Message in an Assembly of the *Britons*, there were such Heats amongst them, that they came almost to Blows. They who were the fiercest of them cried out, that the *Scots* did not seek for Lands so much, (of which they had enough), as for War; and that they did not only insult over their Calamities, but also were resolved to try their Patience; if the Lands were denied, then a War would presently follow; if they were restored, then a cruel Enemy was to be received into their own Bowels; and yet they should not have Peace even *then*, unless they imagined that their Covetousness would be satisfied with the Concession of a few Lands, who were not contented with large Provinces, which were parted with in the last War. And that therefore it was good to obviate their immoderate and unsatiable Desires, in the very Beginning, and to repress their Licentiousness by Arms; lest, by the Grant of small Things, their Desires might be enlarged, and their Boldness increased to ask more. There was in that Assembly one *Conanus*, a *British* Nobleman, and eminent amongst his Countrymen on the account of his Prudence, who discoursed many Things gravely, concerning the Cruelty of their Enemies, and of the present State of the *Britons*, and that almost all their young Soldiers were drawn out for foreign Service; adding withal, that War abroad, Seditions at home, and Hunger occasioned by Want, would consume, at least weaken, the miserable Remains of his Countrymen: As for the *Roman* Legions, they were gone home to quell their own civil Wars, without any Hopes of Return; and therefore he gave his Advice, that they should make Peace with their formidable Enemies, if not an advantageous one, yet the best they could procure. This Counsel he gave, as he alledged, not out of any Respect to his own private Interest, but merely for the Necessities of the Publick; which appears (said he) by this, that as long as there was any Probability to defend ourselves against the Cruelty of our Enemies, he never made any mention of Peace at all; he added, that he was not ignorant, that this Peace, which he now persuaded them to, would not be a lasting one, but only prove a small Respite from War, till the Force of the *Britons*, weakened by so many Losses, and almost ruined, might be refreshed, and gather Strength by a little Intermision. Whilst he was thus speaking, a great Clamour run through the whole Assembly, which put him into some Consternation: For the

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Seditious cried out, that he did not respect the publick Good, but only endeavoured to obtain the Kingdom for himself, by means of foreign Aid. Upon that he departed from the Council, and called God to witness, that he had no private End of his own, in persuading them to a Peace; but a Tumult arising among the Multitude, he was there slain. His unhappy Lot made the wiser Sort refrain from speaking their Mind, and giving their Votes freely, though they evidently saw that the Destruction of their Country was at hand. The Ambassadors returning home without their Errand, the *Scots* and *Picts* left off all other Business, and prepared wholly for War; the *Britons* foreseeing the same after their Fit of Passion was somewhat over, send Ambassadors to *Scotland*; who upon Pretence of making Peace, were to put some Stop to the War, and to offer them Money; giving the *Scots* Hopes, that they might get more from them, by way of an amicable Treaty, than they pretended to seek for by War; that the Chances of War were doubtful, and the Issue uncertain; that it was not the Part of wise Men, to neglect the Benefit which was in their View; and, upon uncertain Hopes, to run themselves into most certain and assured Dangers. Nothing was obtained by this Embassy, for *Eugenius* was informed by his Spies, that the *Britons* did but dissemble the obtaining of a Peace abroad, whilst they were highly intent upon making mighty warlike Preparations at home; the *Scots* and *Picts* being inflamed, for that very Reason, with their old Hatred, and invited by the Calamities of the *Britons*; or else, lifted up with Success, would give them no Conditions, but to yield up their ALL; so that both Armies prepared for the last Encounter. The confederate Kings having been Conquerors for some Years, grew high in their Expectations, and hoped for a greater Victory; and the *Britons*, on the other Side, set before their Eyes all the Miseries, that a fierce and conquering Enemy could inflict upon them. In this Posture of Affairs, and Temper of Spirit, when both Parties came in Sight of one another, such a sharp Fight commenced between them, as the Inhabitants of *Britain* had never seen before. It was so obstinately maintained, that, after very long and hot Service, the right Wing of the *Scots* was, though with Difficulty, forced to give Ground; which *Eugenius* perceiving, having before brought all his other *Reserves* into Play, he at last commanded the very Squadrons, left to guard the Baggage, into the Fight: They being entire and fresh Men, routed the *Britons* which stood against them; so that the Victory began on that Side, from whence the Fear of a total Overthrow

throw proceeded. The rest of the *Britons* following the Fortune of the other Brigade, ran away too, and flying into the Woods and Marshes near the Place where the Battle was fought; as they were thus straggling, dispersed, and unarmed, their Enemies Baggage-men and Attendants flew Abundance of them. There fell of the *Britons* in this Fight 14000, of their Enemies 4000. After this Fight, the *Britons* having lost almost all their Infantry, send Ambassadors to the *Scots* and *Picts*, commissioning them to refuse no Conditions of Peace whatsoever: The confederate Kings seeing they had all in their Power, were somewhat inclined to Mercy, and therefore Terms of Peace were offered, which were hard indeed, but not the severest which (in such their afflicted State) they might have propounded: The Conditions were, *That the Britons should not send for any Roman, or other foreign Army, to assist them; That they should not admit them, if they came of their own Accord, nor give them Liberty to march through their Country; That the Friends and the Enemies of the Scots and Picts should be theirs in the same manner; and that, without their Permission, they should not make Peace or War, nor send Aid to any who desired it; That the Limits of their Kingdom should be the River Humber; That they should also make present Payment of a certain Sum of Money by way of Fine, to be divided amongst the Soldiers, which also was to be paid yearly by them; That they should give an hundred Hostages, such as the confederate Kings should approve of.*

THESE Conditions of Peace were taken by some of the *Britons* with a very ill Will, and it was out of mere Necessity they were all obliged to accept them: The same Necessity which procured it, made them keep the Peace for some Years: The *Britons* being left weak, and quite forsaken by the Foreigners, that they might have an Head to resort to, for publick Advice, made *Constantine*, their Countryman, a Nobleman of high Descent, and of great Repute, (whom they sent for out of *Gallick Britanny*), their King. He perceiving that the Forces of the *Britons* were boken, both abroad by Wars, and at home by Feuds, Robberies and Discords, thought fit to attempt nothing by Arms; but, during the ten Years he reigned, he maintained Peace with his Neighbours; till at last he was massacred by the Treachery of *Vortigern*, a potent and ambitious Man: He left three Sons behind him, of which two were under Age; the third and eldest, as unfit for Government, was spirited into a Monastery, and there confined: However he got to be created King by the Assistance of *Vortigern*, who sought to obtain Wealth and Power to himself, under the Envy of another Man's Name. Peace affording large Opportunities of cultivating and tilling Lands, after a most grievous

grievous Famine, such a plentiful Crop of Grain was produced, that the like was never before heard of in *Britain*. From hence arose those Vices which usually accompany Peace; as Luxury, Cruelty, Whoredom, Drunkenness, which are far more pernicious than all the Mischiefs of War. Truth and Sincerity were so far from being anywhere to be found, that Equity, Performance of Promises, and constant good Discipline, were not only Subjects of Scorn and Laughter among the Rabble, but among the *Monks*, and those who professed a religious Life; of which *Bede*, the *Anglo-Saxon*, and *Gildas* the *Briton*, do make an heavy Complaint. In the mean time the Ambassadors, who returned from *Ætius*, brought Word, that no Relief could be expected from him: For the *Britons* had sent Letters to *Ætius*, some Clauses of which I shall here recite as they are delivered by *Bede*; both because they are a succinct History of the Miseries of that Nation, and also because they demonstrate how much many Writers are mistaken in their Chronology. The Words are these, *To Ætius, the third time Consul, the Complaints of the Britons*. And a little after, *The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, the Sea beats us back again upon the Barbarians; we have no Choice but one of these two kinds of Deaths, either to be killed or drowned*. Now *Ætius* in his third Consulship had *Symmachus* for his Colleague, in the 446th Year after Christ. Neither could there any Aid be obtained from him, who was then principally intent upon observing the Motions of *Attila*: The rest of the *Britons* being driven to this desperate Point, *Vortigern* alone was glad of the publick Calamity; and in such a general Confusion he thought he might, with greater Impunity, perpetrate that Wickedness which he had long before designed in his Mind; which was, to cause the King to be slain by those Guards whom he had appointed to be placed about his Person; and afterwards, to avert the Suspicion of so foul a Parricide from himself, in a pretended Fit of Anger, as if he were impatient of Delay in executing Revenge, he caused the Guards also to be put to Death, without suffering them to plead for themselves. Thus having obtained the Kingdom by the highest Degree of Villany, he maintained it in no better a Manner than he usurped it. For, suspecting the Faith of the People towards him, and not confiding in his own Strength, which was but small, he engaged the *Saxons* to take his Part, who were then turned Pirates at Sea, and infested all the Shores far and near. He procured their Captain *Hengist*, with a strong Band of Soldiers, to come to him with three Gallies, and he assigned over Lands to him in *Britain*; so that now *Hengist* was to fight, not as for a strange Country, but as for his own

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Demefne and Eftate, and therefore was likely to do it with the more Good-will. When this was noifed abroad, fuch large Numbers of three Nations, the *Jutes*, the *Saxons*, and the *Angles* are reported to have flocked out of *Germany* into *Britain*, that they became formidable even to the Inhabitants of the Ifland. Firft of all, about the Year of our Lord 449, *Vortigern* being ftrengthened by thofe Auxiliaries, joined Battle with the *Scots* and *Picts*, whom he conquered, and drove beyond *Adrian's Wall*. As for what relates to *Eugenius*, the King of the *Scots*, there goes double Report of him; fome fay he was flain in Fight beyond the River *Humber*; others, that he died a natural Death. However he came by his End, this is certain, he governed the *Scots* with fuch Equity, that he may defervedly be reckoned amongft the beft of their Kings. For though he fpent the firft Part of his Life, almoft from his Childhood, in War, yet he made fuch a Proficiency under the Difcipline of his Grandfather, from whom he learnt fuch an Evennefs of Mind and Temper, that neither the Licence of Camps (as it ufually doth) could draw him to Vice; nor make him more negligent in conforming his Manners to the ftrict Rules of Piety; nor could his prosperous Succefs make him more arrogant. And on the other Side, the Peace and Calm he enjoyed, abated not at all the Sharpnefs of his Underftanding, nor did it break his martial Spirit; but he led his Life with fuch an Equality of Behaviour, that merely by the Advantage of his natural Difpofition, he equalled, or rather exceeded, thofe Princes who are inftituted in the liberal Arts, and from thence come to the Helm of Government.

DONGARDUS, the forty fecond King.

THE fame Year that *Eugenius* died, which was in the 452d Year of our Lord, his Brother, *Dongardus*, fucceeded him in the Throne. He was of a Difpofition like his Brother; for, as he was willing to embrace Peace upon good Conditions; fo, when Occafion required, he was not afraid of War. And therefore, in Reference both to Peace and War, he not only prepared all Things neceffary to refift the Invaſion of an Enemy, but he likewise trained up the Youth and Soldiery of his Country to Pains and Parſimony; that fo they might be reſtrained from Vice, and their Minds not grow feeble and languid by long Quiet, and too much Proſperity. But the Seditions at home, raifed by the *Britons*, were the Caufe that his Arms were not much famed abroad. But being freed from that Incumberance, he gave himſelf wholly up to the Reformation of Religion; for the Relicks of the *Pelagian* Hereſy did

did as yet trouble the Churches. To confute them Pope *Celestine* sent *Palladius* over, (in the Life of his Father *Eugenius*) who instructed many, that grew afterwards famous for Learning and Sanctity of Life; and especially *Patricius*, *Servanus*, *Ninianus*, *Kentigernus*. The same *Palladius* is reported to have first of all appointed Bishops in *Scotland*. Whereas till then, the Churches were governed only by *Monks*, without Bishops, with less Pomp and external Ceremony, but with greater Integrity and Sanctimony of Life. The *Scots* being thus intent about purging and settling Religion and divine Worship, escaped free from that Tempest of War which shattered almost all the World. In the second Year of the Reign of *Eugenius*, *Vortigern* was deposed, and his Son, *Vortimer*, chosen King of the *Britons*. He renewed the antient League with the *Scots* and *Picts*, that so he might more easily break the Power of the *Saxons*, which was a triple Alliance that the three Nations had entered into against the *Romans* in the Days of *Carafius*. *Don-gardus* did not long survive this League, for he died after he had reigned five Years.

CONSTANTINE I. the forty third King.

CONSTANTINUS, his youngest Brother, succeeded him in the Government; who, in his private Condition, lived temperately enough, but as soon as he mounted the Throne, he gave a Loose to Debauchery. He was covetous, and cruel to the Nobility, but familiar with Men of an inferior Rank. He gave himself wholly up to the debauching both of Virgins and Matrons, and to riotous Feasts; having always Musicians and Stage-players about him, and all other Parasites that would administer to his Lusts and Pleasures. The *Scots* Nobility, being offended at these Miscarriages, came often to him, to put him in mind of his Duty. He received their Admonitions very haughtily, bidding them to look after their own Affairs; and saying, that he had sufficient Advice from others: He told them too, that they were much mistaken if they thought to prescribe to their King, on pretence of advising him. And as he was thus arrogant towards his Subjects, so he was abject and submissive to his Enemies. For he granted them Peace at first asking, and forgave them the Injuries they had committed; nay, he demolished some Castles, and delivered up others to them. This Carriage of his did so far incense the *Scots* and *Picts*, that the *Scots* were ready to rebel; and the *Picts*, who before had dealt underhand with the *Saxons*, set up for themselves, and at last made a publick League with them. But amongst the *Scots* there was one *Dugal* of *Galway*, of great Authority

Authority amongst the Commons. He, for the present, restrained the Multitude by an insinuating Oration, in which he acknowledged, that many of those Things which they complained of were true, and that what they desired was just. But yet if a War should happen to break out, as an Addition to their other Miseries, the Kingdom would be indangered, nay, hardly to be saved from Destruction; especially for that the *Picts* were alienated from them; the *Britons*, since *Vortimer's* Death, but their uncertain Friends; and the *Saxons* (who were very strong and potent, and who managed their Victories with great Cruelties, and in whose Commerce there was no Faith to be reposed) were always intent upon the Destruction of all their Neighbours.

THE People being thus appeased by the Wisdom and Prudence of some of their grave Elders, the King continued to reign, though with the Hatred and Contempt of all; but was at length smote by a Nobleman of the *Æbudæ*, for ravishing his Daughter, in the fifteenth Year of his Reign. This is the common Report concerning his Death; but I rather incline to the Opinion of *Johannes Fordonus*, who says in his *Scotichronicon*, that he reigned twenty two Years, and at last died of a lingering Distemper. In his Reign *Aurelius Ambrosius* came into this *Britain*, out of the *Less-Britanny* beyond Sea; he was the Son of *Constantine*, who held the Kingdoms some Years before; but he being treacherously slain, and his Brother, who reigned after his Father, being also massacred by *Vortigern*, through the like Treachery, the two other remaining Sons of *Constantine* were conveyed by their Father's Friends into *French Bretagne*. I think this Original of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, is truer than that which others deliver, (among whom is *Bede*), for they say, that he was the last of the *Roman* Stock who reigned in *Britain*: These two Brothers, when *Vortimer* was murdered by the Fraud of his Stepmother; and *Vortigern* had made himself King without Authority or Power, being now grown up and fit to govern, returned, with the great Favour and Expectation of all Men, into the Island, to recover their Father's Kingdom; and withal, they brought no inconsiderable Number of *Britons* out of *Gaul* along with them. After their Arrival, before they would alarm the Strangers, they subdued *Vortigern* in *Wales*, and then sent Messengers to the *Scots* and *Picts*, desiring their Alliance, and craving the Assistance of their Arms against the *Saxons*, the most bitter Enemies of the *Christian* Name. Their Embassy was kindly received by the *Scots*, and the League before made with *Constantine*, was again renewed, which from that Day remained almost inviolate, till the Kingdom of *Britain* was oppressed by the *Angles*,
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and the Kingdom of the *Picts* by the *Scots*. But the *Picts* answered the *British* Ambassadors, That they had already made a League with the *Saxons*, and that they saw no Cause to break it; but they were resolved to run all Hazards with them for the future, and to be Partakers of their good or bad Success. Thus the whole Island was divided into two Factions, the *Scots* and *Britons* waging continual War against the *Picts* and *Saxons*.

CONGALLUS I. the forty fourth King.

TO Constantine succeeded Congallus, the Son of Dongardus, Constantine's Brother: He was inclinable to Arms, but durst not then attempt any thing, because the People were effeminated and weakened by Lasciviousness and Luxury, during the Reign of his Uncle. And though many in Compliance with his Disposition, (as usually Kings have many such Parasites) often persuaded him to take up Arms, yet he would never be brought to hearken to it. First then he applied himself to correct the publick Manners, neither did he attempt to reduce the antient Discipline, till he had created new Magistrates; and by their Means had cut off many Suits and Controversies, and restrained Thefts and Robberies. Peace being settled at home, he endeavoured to reclaim others to a more civil Course of Life; first of all by his own Example, and secondly by gently chastising, or else contemning those as infamous who took no Copy from him, but persisted obstinately in their evil Courses; and thus he quickly brought all Things to their former Condition. Seeing (as I said before) at the Beginning of his Reign he gave himself wholly up to the Study of Peace, the *Britons* began to persuade Aurelius Ambrosius to recover *Westmoreland* from the *Scots*, which they had possessed many Years. Upon this several Embassies being sent to and fro betwixt them, the Matter was like to be decided by the Sword, if Fear of the common Enemy had not put an End to the Dispute; so that the League made by Constantine was renewed, and no Alteration made in Reference to *Westmoreland*. Congallus had War with the *Saxons* all the Time of his Reign; but it was a slow and intermitting one, as Parties met by Chance when out upon Plunder, and carrying off their several Booties; in which Kind of fighting, the *Scots* being nimble, light, and most Horsemen, accounted themselves superior to their Enemies, but they never came to a pitched Battle: For Congallus was of Opinion, that it was best to trust as few Things as possible to the Decision of Fortune, and therefore he sent Part of his Forces to help Aurelius Ambrosius; and with the rest he wearied his Enemy, and never suffered them

to rest Night or Day. *Merlin* and *Gildas* lived in the Days of these and the next Kings: They were both *Britons*, and settled a great Fame amongst Posterity, who conceived a vast Opinion of their Prophecies and Divinations. *Merlin* was a little the more antient of the two, a Cheat and Impostor, rather than a Prophet. His Vaticinations are scattered up and down, but they are obscure, and contain no Certainty at all, to encourage any Hopes before their fulfilling; or to satisfy Men when they are fulfilled; so that there is no Truth in them on either Account. And besides, they are so framed, that you may accommodate or apply them to different or contrary Events, as you will yourself. Yet, though they are daily furnished up, and also augmented by new Additions, such is the Folly of credulous Men, that what they understand not, they are yet bold to affirm to be as true as Gospel; and though they be taken in a notorious Lie, yet they will not bear to be convinced of it.

GILDAS was later than he, a learned and good Man, and one who was held in great Veneration both in his Lifetime and after his Death, because he was excellent in Learning, and eminent for Sanctity. The Prophecies which go under his Name are such ridiculous Sentences, and so coarse and so ill-framed in the wording of them, and also in the whole Series of their Composure, that no wise Man can esteem them to be his. Each Prophet had a Patron suitable to his own Disposition. *Merlin* had *Vortigern* for his Patron, and after him *Uter*, to whom he was a Seer and Pander in his Lust. *Gildas* had *Aurelius Ambrosius*, a Person no less admirable for the Probity of his Life, than for his Victories in War; after whose Death *Gildas* retired into *Glastenbury* in *Somersetshire*, where he lived and died very devoutly. Our Books of the Life of *Aurelius Ambrosius* make mention of him: To which *Aurelius*, *Uter*, the youngest of *Constantine's* three Sons, succeeded, in the Year of our Lord 500. And the next Year after, *Congallus*, King of *Scotland*, departed this Life, in the twenty second Year of his Reign.

GORANUS, the forty fifth King.

GORANUS, his Brother, succeeded him; and, after his Example, governed *Scotland* with great Piety and Justice, as far as foreign Wars would permit him to do so; for he not only travelled all over the Kingdom (as the good Kings of old were wont to do) to punish Offenders, but also to prevent the Injuries which great Men offered to the Poor; who, in such Cases, dared not to complain; and to curb their oppres-

five Way of lording it over them, he appointed *Informers*, who were to find out such Miscarriages, write them down, and bring them to him: A Remedy necessary, perhaps, for those Times, but a very hazardous one in these our Days. He was the chief Means and Occasion, that the *Picts*, deserting the *Saxons*, made a joint League with the *Scots* and *Britons*. At that time *Lothus* was King of the *Picts*, a Person who excelled the Princes of his Time in all Accomplishments, both of Body and Mind. *Goranus* dealt earnestly with him, to break his Alliance with those *barbarous* Nations; alledging, that he ought to remember his own Country, in which they were all born, and especially their common Religion. That he was much deceived if he imagined, that the Peace betwixt him and the *Saxons* would be faithfully kept, when once the *Britons* and *Scots* were overthrown; seeing he had to do with Men of inhuman Cruelty, and insatiable Avarice: That they had given sufficient Proofs how little they esteemed Leagues, or any other Thing, when they wickedly slew the Nobility of the *Britons*, who had so well deserved of them, upon Pretence of calling them out to a Conference. That the Son-in-law was saved alive by the Father-in-law, not for any Alleviation of his Calamity, but for upbraiding him as an Enemy. He added, That the sacred Tie of Leagues, which amongst other Nations are accounted the firmest Bonds of Union, was amongst them as a Snare or Bait, to catch the simple and unwary in. To what Purpose was it to run so many Hazards, to free themselves from the Tyranny of the *Romans*, if they must of their own Accord give themselves up to the much harder and baser Servitude of the *Saxons*? This was not to make a Change of their *Condition*, but of their *Master* only: Nay, it was to prefer a blood-thirsty and *barbarous* one, before one that was *mild* and *gentle*. What a foolish, and wild Thing was it, to take away Lands from the *Scots* and *Britons*, and to deliver them to the *German*s? And so to despoil those who were but lately their Friends, and endeared to them by many antient Courtesies and Respects, that they might enrich *Pirates*, the common Enemies of Mankind, even to their own Destruction. That it ought to be esteemed the most grievous Thing of all by one who was a true Christian, to consent to that League, whereby Christian Religion must be extinguished, profane Rites renewed, and wicked Tyrants, the Enemies of Piety and Humanity, armed with Power against God and his Law.

LOTHUS knew all this to be true, which he had spoken, and therefore he committed the whole Affair to *Goranus* his Management; he easily persuades *Uter*, not only to make an Alliance, but to contract an Affinity too with the *Picts*; gi-
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ving him *Anna*, who was either his Sister, or else his Daughter, begotten in lawful Wedlock, to Wife: I am rather of their Opinion, who think she was his Sister, as judging that the Mistake arose from hence; that *Uter* had another natural Daughter, called *Anna*, by a Concubine. After this League between these three Kings, many Victories were obtained over the *Saxons*, so that the Name of *Uter* began to be great and formidable all over *Britain*. After all the Commanders of the *Saxons* were slain, and the Power of those that remained broken, and so Things made almost hopeless and desperate among them, *Uter* might have been accounted one of the greatest Kings of his Age, had he not by one foul and impious Fact, brought a Cloud over all his other great Virtues. There was one *Gorlois*, a noble Briton, of great Valour and Power, whose Wife *Igerne*, a beautiful Lady, *Uter*, while yet in a private Condition, doted upon; but her Chastity being a long time a Guard against his Lust, at last her Continency was conquered by *Merlin*, a Man audaciously wicked; and in this adulterous Commerce he begat a Son on her, named *Arthur*. *Uter*, his own lawful Wife being dead, himself now freed from nuptial Bonds, and made a King, and so (as he thought) free from Law too, not being able to bear the Absence of *Igerne*, out of Love to her, attempted a very rash Project. He framed an Accusation against *Gorlois*, besieged his Castle, took it, slew him, married *Igerne*, and owned *Arthur* for his own Son, educating him nobly, in Hopes of leaving him Heir to the Kingdom. And seeing his Wife's Infamy could not be concealed, that he might somewhat extenuate it, they forged a Tale, not much unlike that which had been often acted in Theatres, about *Jupiter* and *Alcmena*, viz. That *Uter*, by the Art of *Merlin*, was changed into the Shape of *Gorlois*, and so had his first Night's Lodging with *Igerne*; and indeed this *Merlin* was a Man of that Kidney, that he had rather be famous for a wicked Deed, than none at all. *Arthur*, thus begot by a stolen Copulation, as soon as he grew up, appeared so amiable in the Lineaments of his Body, and in the Inclinations of his Mind, that the Eyes of his Parents, and of all the People too, were fixed upon him, and gave many Omens of his future Greatness, so that after his Father's Death, all agreed upon him to be their King. And his Father was so much pleased with this Humour of the People, that he cherished it by all the Arts he could; so that now it was the common Opinion, that none but *Arthur* should be Heir to the Crown. *Uter* died when he had reigned 17 Years, and presently *Arthur* was set up in his Stead; though *Lothus*, King of the *Picts*, did much oppose it, grievously complaining, that his Children (for he

he had two, begotten on *Anna*, *Arthur's* Aunt, who were now of Years) were deprived of their Kingdom; and that a Bastard, begotten in Adultery, was preferred before them. On the other Side, all the *Britons* stood for *Arthur* and denied that he was to be accounted spurious, because *Uter* married his Mother at last, though it were after his Birth; and by that Marriage had treated him as his legitimate Son, and had always accounted him so to be: But although they pretended this Colour of Right, yet that which stood *Arthur* in most Stead, was his great Ingenuity, and those Specimens of his Virtue which he often shewed; nay, there was a tacit Impression (as it were) on the Minds of all Men, presaging his future Greatness. So that all ran in thick and threefold (as we say) to his Party, insomuch that *Lothus*, being borne down not only by that Pretence of Right, (which, after that Time, was always observed in *Britain*) but by the Affections of the People running another Way, desisted from his Enterprize in demanding the Kingdom; which he did so much the rather do, because he was loth to trust his Children, for whom that Kingdom was desired, to the *Britons*, who had shewn themselves so averse to them. Besides, the Intreaties of his Friends prevailed with him, who all alleged, That no Kingdom ought to be so dear to him, as to make him merely, for the sake of a Throne, join in Affinity with Infidels (to the Overthrow of the *Christian* Religion) who would no more inviolably keep their League and Alliance with him, than they had done before with the *Britons*. Moreover, the liberal and promising Disposition of *Arthur*, and the Greatness of his Mind, even above his Age, very much affected him. Insomuch that the League made by former Kings, betwixt the *Scots*, *Picts* and *Britons*, was again renewed, and upon that so great a Familiarity ensued, that *Lothus* promised to send *Galvinus*, the youngest of his two Sons, to the *British* Court, as soon as he was old enough to bear the Fatigue of the Journey. *Arthur* entered upon the regal Government before he was quite 18 Years old: But as his Courage was above his Age, so Success was not wanting to his daring Spirit; for whereas his Father had divided the Kingdom by certain Boundaries, with the *Saxons*, and had made Peace with them on Conditions; the fair Opportunity offered them, by reason of the youthful Age of the King, more prevailed with them to break the Peace, than the Sanctity of the League could prevail with them to observe it. *Arthur*, that he might quench the Fire in the Beginning, gathered an Army together sooner than any Man could imagine, and, being assisted with Auxiliaries from the *Scots* and *Picts*, he overthrew the Enemy in two great Battles, compelling them to pay Tribute, and to receive Laws from

from him. With the same Eagerness and Speed he took *London* the Metropolis of the Saxons Kingdom; and, having settled Things there, he marched his Army directly towards *York*, but the Report of Auxiliary Forces coming out of *Germany*, and the Approach of Winter, compelled him to raise his Siege from thence. But the next Summer after, as soon as ever he came before *York*, he had it immediately surrendered to him; such and so great was the Fear, that his unexpected Success the Year before had struck into the Minds of Men. He took up his Winter-quarters there, whither resorted to him the prime Persons of the Neighbourhood, and of his Subjects, where they spent the latter End of *December* in Mirth, Jollity, Drinking, and the Vices which are too often the Consequences of them; so that the Representations of the old heathenish Feasts, dedicated to *Saturn*, were here again revived; but the Number of Days they lasted were doubled, and amongst the wealthier Sort trebled, during which Time they counted it almost a Sin to treat of any serious Matter. Gifts are sent mutually from and to one another; frequent Invitations and Feastings pass between Friends, and the Faults of Servants are not punished. Our Countrymen call this Feast *Juletide*, substituting the Name of *Julius Cæsar* for that of *Saturn*. The Vulgar are yet persuaded, that the Nativity of Christ is then celebrated, but it is plain, that they exhibit the Lasciviousness of the *Bacchanalia*, rather than the Memory of Christ's Nativity.

In the mean time, the Saxons were reported to have pitched their Tents by the River *Humber*; and, whether it was so or not, *Arthur* marched towards them: But in as much as the Britons were effeminated by Pleasures, by that means they were less fit for military Services; insomuch that they did not seem the same Men, who had overthrown the Saxons in so many Battles heretofore; for, by their luxurious Idleness, they had added so much to their Rashness, as they had lost of their antient Severity of Discipline. They being so, Advice was given by the wiser Sort, to send for Aid from the Scots and Picts. Accordingly Ambassadors were sent, and Aid easily obtained; so that those who had been almost disjoined by Ambition, were so reconciled by a mutual Care of Religion, and animated by Emulation, that Forces were sent from either King, sooner than could well have been imagined. *Lothus* also, that he might give a publick Testimony of his Reconciliation, brought his Sons, *Modredus* and *Galvinus*, with him into the Camp; *Galvinus* he gave to *Arthur*, as his Companion, whom he received with so great Courtesy, that from that Day forward they lived and died together. The Army of the three Kings being thus ready, and their Camps joined, it was unanimously agreed

greed between them, That as the Danger was common to them all, and the Cause of it was also the *same*, so they would drive out the *Saxons*, and restore the Christian Rites and Religion, which were profaned by them. The Armies drawing near the one to the other, *Occa*, Son of a former *Occa*, then General of the *Saxons*, made Haste to join Battle. In the Confederate Army, the two Wings were allotted to the *Scots* and *Picts*, the main Battle to *Arthur*. The *Scots*, at the first Onset, wounded *Childerick*, Commander of that Wing of the Enemy, that fought against them: He falling, by reason of his Wounds, so terrified the rest, that the whole Wing was broken. In the other Wing, *Colgernus* the *Saxon*, after having cried out Shame upon the Perfidiousness of the *Picts*, assaulted *Lothus*, whom he knew by his Habit and his Arms, with great Violence, and dismounted him; but he himself being hemmed in among the Midst of his Enemies, was run through by two *Picts*, with Spears on both Sides of his Body. The main Battle, where the Fight was the sharpest, having lost both Wings, did at length give Ground; *Occa* being wounded, was carried to the Sea-side, with as many as could get on Ship-board with him, and transported into *Germany*; those of the remaining *Saxons*, who were most obstinate in their Error, were put to Death; the rest, pretending to turn to the Christian Religion, were saved.

THERE were other great Forces of the *Saxons* yet continuing in the *Eastern* Part of *England*, and in *Kent*. The Summer after, *Arthur* marched against them, having 10,000 *Scots* and *Picts* for his Assistance; *Congallus*, the Son of *Eugenius*, commanded the *Scots*; and *Modredus*, the Son of *Lothus*, the *Picts*; both young Men of great Hope, and who had often given good Testimonies of their Valour and Conduct. This Army of three Kings being about five Miles from the Enemy, and their Camps being distant one from another; the *Saxons* being informed by their Spies, that the *Picts* (who were farthest distant from the other Forces) were very careless and secure, they made a sudden and unexpected Assault on them in the Night. *Modredus* made a gallant Resistance for a time; at last, when Things were almost desperate on his Side, he mounted on an Horse with *Gallanus*, his Father-in-law, and so fled to King *Arthur*. *Arthur* was nothing dismayed at the Loss of the *Picts*, but spent that Day in settling Things which were discomposed; after that, his Army being commanded to march in the third Watch, he came upon the Enemy with a treble Army, and was at the *Saxons* Camp before they knew what the Matter was: The *Saxons* all in a terrible Dismay, ran up and down, having no Time to take Council, or to arm themselves;

themselves; thus their Camp being entered, they were slain by the *Britons*, but more especially the enraged *Picts* were cruel to all without Distinction.

SOME Writers of *English* Antiquities say, that *Arthur* fought twelve pitched Battles with the *Saxons*; but because they give us only the Names of the Places where they were fought, and nothing else, I shall mention them no otherwise. To speak briefly of his famous Actions, this is manifest, that he wholly subdued the Forces of the *Saxons*, and restored Peace to *Britain*; and when he went over to settle Things in *Less Britain* in *France*, he trusted the Kingdom to *Modredus* his Kinsman; who was to manage the Government as King till his Return. I have no Certainty of the Exploits he performed in *Gaul*: As to what *Geoffry* of *Monmouth* attributes to him there, it hath no Shadow, much less Likelihood of Truth in it; so that I pass it all by as impudently forged, and as causelessly believed. But to return to the Matter.

WHILST *Arthur* was absent, and intent on settling the *Gallick* Affairs, here were sown the Seeds of a War, most pernicious to *Britain*. There was a certain Man in *Arthur's* Retinue, named *Constantine*, the Son of *Cador*; who, for the excellent Enduements both of his Body and Mind, was highly in all Mens Favour. He secretly aimed at the Kingdom, and to make the People his own; whereupon the Nobles, at a convenient Time, when the King was free from Business, cast in Words concerning his Successor: Beseeching him to add this also to the other innumerable Blessings he had procured for his Country; that if he died childless he would not leave *Britain* destitute of a King, especially when so great Wars were like to be waged against them. Hereupon when some named *Modredus* as nearest of Kin, and already accustomed to the Government, both in Peace and War; and one too who had given good Proof of himself in his Viceroy-ship, who was also likely to make no small Addition to the *British* Affairs: This said, the Multitude who favoured *Constantine*, cried out, That they would not have a Stranger to be their King; and that *Britain* was not so bare of great Men, but that it would afford a King within its own Territories: They added also, That it was a foolish Thing to seek for that abroad, which they could have at home. *Arthur* knew before the Love of the People to *Constantine*; and therefore, though being a Man otherwise ambitious, yet he easily took part with the People; and, from that Day, shewed him openly, and cherished in him the Hopes of the Kingdom. *Modredus* his Friends took this ill, and looked upon it as a great Wrong to him; they alledged, That by the League made by *Arthur* with *Lothus*, it was expressly cau-

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tioned, that none should be preferred to the Succession of the Kingdom before the Sons of *Lothus*. To which the contrary Party answered, That that League was extorted by the Necessity of the Times against the common Good of the whole Nation, and that they were not obliged to keep it, now *Lothus*, with whom it was made, was dead. And that therefore the *Picts* would do well to be contented with their own Bounds, and not to invade other Mens. That the Kingdom of *Britain*, by God's Blessing, was now in that State, that it could not only defend itself against *new* Injuries, but also revenge the *old*.

THESE Things being brought to *Modredus*'s Ear, quite alienated his Mind from *Arthur*, and inclined him to set up for himself by maintaining his own Dignity, only he a little suspended the War till he had tried the Minds of the *Scots*; when they were brought over to his Party, an Army was listed consisting of many *Picts*, *Scots*, and some *Britons*, who were induced to side with *Modredus*, either for the Equity of his Cause, the Love of his Person, or their private Hatred of *Arthur*. Nay, *Vanora*, the Wife of *Arthur*, was thought not to be ignorant of these new Cabals, as having been too familiar with *Modredus*. Both Armies pitched their Tents by *Humber*, and being ready to engage, Proposals were made by the Bishops on both Sides, in order to a Peace, but in vain; for *Constantine*'s Friends obstructed all, affirming, that the Felicity of *Arthur*'s Fortune would bear down all Opposition. Hereupon a desperate Fight began on both Sides, but two Things especially turned to the Advantage of *Modredus* and his Confederates, one was a Marsh in the Midst between them, which the *Britons* could not easily pass; the other was this; in the Heat of the Fight there was one suborned to spread a Report among the *Britons*, that *Arthur* was slain, and therefore all being lost, every one should shift for himself. The Rumour spread presently, they all fled, yet there was a great Slaughter on both Sides, neither was the Victory joyous to either Party; for on the one Side *Modredus* was slain, and on the other his Brother *Galvinus*; *Arthur* himself mortally wounded, and a great Booty taken.

I very well know what fabulous Matters are reported by many, concerning the Life and Death of *Arthur*, but they are not fit to be related, least they cause a Mist to be cast over his other famous Actions; for when Men confidently affirm Lies, they cause the Truth itself many times to be called in question. This is certain, he was a great Man, and very valiant, bearing an entire Love to his Country, in freeing them from Servitude: in restoring the true Worship of God, and in reforming it when it was corrupted. I have spoken these Things concerning
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his Lineage, Life and Death more prolixly than the Nature of my Design required; for I never meant to record all the Exploits of the *Britons*, but to free and preserve the Affairs of our own Nation from the Oblivion of Time, and the fabulous Tales of some lewd and ill-disposed Writers. I have insisted longer on the Exploits of *Arthur*, partly because some curtail them out of Envy, and others heighten them with ostentatious Hyperboles. He died in the Year of our Lord five hundred and forty two, after he had reigned twenty four Years.

BUT to return to the Affairs of *Scotland*; *Goranus* the King now grown old, departed this Life, after he had governed *Scotland* thirty four Years; it is thought he was treacherously slain by his Subjects. There was one *Toncet*, Chief Justice in criminal Matters, a Man no less cruel than covetous; who played many foul Pranks against the richer Sort, and thought he might easily get Pardon of all from the King, because by this Means he had augmented his Treasury. The People could not easily obtain Admittance to the King, now grown weak with Age and Sickness, to make their Complaints; and, if they had Access, they judged their Allegations would not have been believed against such a principal Officer, and so high a Favourite, so that they set upon *Toncet* and murdered him. But after the Heat of their Anger was over, when they began to think with themselves how foul a Fact they had committed, and that there was no Pardon to be expected by them, they turned their Wrath and Fury upon the King himself; and, by the Instigation of *Donald* of *Athol*, they entered into his Palace and slew him also.

EUGENIUS III. the forty sixth King.

EUGENIUS, the Son of *Congallus*, succeeded him: when he was advised by some of the Nobility to revenge the Death of his Uncle *Goranus*, he entertained the Motion so coldly, that he himself was not without Suspicion in the Case, and the Suspicion was increased, because he took *Donald* of *Athol* into his Grace and Favour. So that the Wife of *Goranus*, for Fear, fled with her small Children into *Ireland*. But *Eugenius*, to purge his Life and Manners from so foul an Imputation, so managed the Kingdom, that none of the former Kings could be justly preferred before him; he assisted *Mordredus*, and also *Arthur*, against the *Saxons*. He sent several Captains to make daily Incursions into the *English* Borders; but he never fought a pitched Battle with them. He died in the Year of Christ five hundred and fifty eight, having reigned twenty three Years.

CONVALLUS, *the forty seventh King.*

HIS Brother *Convallus* next governed the Kingdom, and governed it ten Years with the greatest Peace and Tranquillity; a Man whose excellent Virtues rendered him worthy of eternal Memory; for besides his Equity in Matters of Law, and an Aversion which he had from his very Soul to all Covetousness, he vyed with the very *Monks* themselves, in Point of Sobriety of Life; though they, at that time, were under a most severe Discipline. He enriched Priests with Lands and other Revenues, more out of a pious Intention, than with any good Success. He restrained the Soldiers, who were declining to Effeminacy and Luxury (and abused the Blessing of Peace) rather by the Example and Authority of his own Life, than by the Severity of Laws. He called home the Sons of *Goranus*, who for Fear of *Eugenius* had fled into *Ireland*; but before their Return he died, in the Year five hundred and sixty eight. He never fought a Battle himself, but only assisted the *Britons* with auxiliary Forces against the *Saxons*, with whom they had frequent Combats, the Successes of which were very different.

KINNATELLUS, *the forty eighth King.*

WHEN he was dead, and the Throne devolved upon his Brother *Kinnatellus*, *Aidanus*, the Son of *Goranus*, came into *Scotland*, by the Persuasions of *Columba* a holy Man, who, two Years before, had come out of *Ireland*. This Person introduced him to the King; who beyond his own, and the Expectation of all other Men, received him very graciously, and desired him to be of good Cheer, for it would shortly be his Turn to reign. For *Kinnatellus*, worn out with Age and Sickness, and not capable of going through with the Administration himself, placed *Aidanus* at the Helm of Affairs, and so died, having reigned fourteen (some say fifteen) Months. Some Writers leave him out, and will have it, that *Aidanus* immediately succeeded *Convallus*; but there are more who give *Kinnatellus* a Place betwixt them.

AIDANUS, *the forty ninth King.*

AIDANUS being nominated King by *Kinnatellus*, and confirmed by the People, was installed by *Columba*: For the Authority of that Man was so great, in those Days, that neither Prince nor People would undertake any thing without his Advice. And at that time, after he had in a long Speech exhorted the King to rule equitably over his People, and the
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People to be loyal to their King, he earnestly pressed them both to persevere in the pure Worship of God, for that then both of them would prosper; but if they made any Defection from it, they must expect Destruction as the Reward of their Apostasy. Having performed this Service, he returned into his own Country.

The first Expedition of *Aidanus* was against the Robbers who infested *Galway*. Amongst whom when he came, he put their Ringleaders to Death, and Fear restrained the rest; but he met with a greater Storm at his Return. For, after he had held three Conventions of the Estates in *Galway*, *Abrya* or *Lochabyr*, and *Caithness*, and thought all Things were settled, there was a Tumult arose amongst them as they were a-hunting, where much Blood was spilt, and the King's Officers, who came to punish the Offenders, were repulsed and beaten: The Authors, for Fear of Punishment, fled into *Lothian*, to *Brudeus* King of the *Picts*: When Ambassadors were sent to him, to deliver them up according to the League betwixt them, they were refused; whereupon a fierce War commenced betwixt the *Scots* and *Picts*, but it was quickly put an End to by the means of *Columba*, who was highly esteemed by both Nations, according to his distinguished Merit.

In the mean time *England* was again divided into seven Kingdoms, and the *Britons* were driven into the *Peninsula* of *Wales*; but the *Saxons*, not contented with such large Dominions, kindled a new War betwixt the *Scots* and *Picts*. The chief Author and Incendiary in this Point was *Ethelfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, a covetous Man, and who was weary of Peace, out of a mere craving Appetite of enlarging his Dominions. He persuaded the *Picts*, (but with very much ado, for *Brudeus* would hardly be brought to consent to it), to drive away Preys out of the *Scots* Territories, and that would be a Handle for a new War. *Aidanus* being perfectly well apprized of the Treachery of the *Saxons*, that he might also strengthen himself with foreign Aid, renewed the antient League with *Malgo* the *Briton*. He sent his Son *Grifinus*, and his Sister's Son, *Brendinus*, a petty King of *Eubonia*, now called the *Isle of Man*, a military Person, with Forces; who joining with the *Britons*, entered *Northumberland*, and after three Days March came to the Enemy; but the *English* declined an Engagement, because they expected new Succours, which were reported to be near at hand: For indeed *Ceulinus*, King of the *East-Saxons*, a very warlike Man, was coming to them with great Forces; but the *Scots* and *Britons* intercepted, and fell upon him in his March, and wholly destroyed the Van of his Army, which was a long Way before the rest, together with his Son *Cutha*; but they

they were afraid to attack those behind, lest they should be circumvented and surrounded by *Ethelfrid*, who was at no great Distance. The two Kings of the *Saxons* being joined together, renewed the Fight, with much Slaughter on both Sides, and the *Scots* and the *Britons* were vanquished and put to Flight. There were slain of the *Scots* Nobles, *Grifinus* and *Brendinus*; in the opposite Army *Ethelfrid* lost one of his Eyes, and *Brudeus* was carried wounded out of the Field, to the great Astonishment and Dismay of his Party.

THE next Summer after, *Ethelfrid* uniting his Forces with those of the *Picts*, marched into *Galway*, supposing he should find all Things there in great Consternation, by reason of their ill Success the last Year: But *Aidanus* coming with his Forces thither sooner than his Enemies thought, set upon the straggling Plunderers, and drove them full of Fear and Trembling to their Camp. Thus having chastised their Rashness, and supposing they would then be more quiet, the Night after, he passed by their Camp, and joined the *Britons*. Both Armies having thus united their Forces, pitched their Tents in a narrow Valley of *Annandale*; and their Enemies, as now sure of their Destruction, beset the Passages entering into it. But they having fortified their Camp, as if they intended to keep that Ground, took the Opportunity at Night-time, when the Tide was out, to pass through a Ford, which was dangerously full of quick Sands, but that they knew every Part of it, and so march into *Cumberland*, and afterward into *Northumberland*, making great Havock in every Place they came at. The Enemy followed them at their Heels, and when they came in Sight of one another, both Armies prepared themselves for the Fight. The *Scots* and *Britons* made four Commanders more than they had before; who were noble Persons, of great Experience in military Affairs, that so the head-strong common Soldiers might have the Direction of a greater Number of Captains to guide their Fury right. The Officers superadded were *Constantine* and *Mencrinus*, *Britons*; *Calenus* and *Murdacus*, *Scotsmen*. By their Conduct and Encouragement the Soldiers fell upon the Enemy, with so great Violence, that they were presently broken and put to Flight. There goes a Report that *Columba*, being then in the Isle *Icolumbkil*, told his Companions of this Victory, the very same Hour in which it was obtained. Of the *Saxon* Nobles there were slain, in this Fight, *Cialinus* and *Vitellius*, both great Warriors, and highly descended. About eleven Years after this Victory, the *Saxons* and *Picts* infested the adjacent Country; whereupon a Day was appointed, on which the *Britons* and *Scots* should meet, and, with their united Forces, set upon the *Saxons*. *Aidanus*, though
very

very old, came to the Place at the appointed Time, and staid for the *Britons*, but in vain, for they came not; yet he drove Preys out of his Enemies Country: *Ethelfrid* having now got a fair Opportunity of putting himself upon Action, set upon the dispersed *Scots*, and made a great Slaughter amongst them. *Aidanus* having lost many of his Men, fled for his Life; yet the Victory was not unbloody to the *Saxons*, for they lost *Theobald*, *Ethelfrid*'s Brother, and some of those Squadrons that followed him were almost wholly cut off. *Aidanus* having met with this sad Overthrow, and being also informed of the Death of *Columba*, that holy Man, whom he so highly honoured, and plainly foreseeing to what Cruelty the Remnant of *Christians* was likely to be exposed, Grief and Age so wore him out, that he did not long survive; he reigned thirty four Years, and died in the Year of our Lord 604. In his Reign it was, that a certain *Monk*, named *Austin*, came into *Britain*, being sent by Pope *Gregory*; who, by his Ambition, in teaching a new Form of Religion, mightily disturbed the *old*, for he did not so much instruct Men in the Discipline of Christianity, as in the Ceremonies of the *Roman Church*. Nay the *Britons*, before his Coming, were taught the Principles of the Christian Religion, by the Disciples of *John the Evangelist*, and were instituted in the same by the *Monks*, who were in that Age learned and pious Men. As for *Austin*, he laboured to reduce all Things to the Dominion of the Bishop of *Rome* only, and gave himself out to be the only Archbishop of the Isle of *Britain*; and withal introduced a Dispute, neither necessary nor useful concerning the Day on which *Easter* was to be kept; and did by this Means mightily trouble the Churches: Nay, he so loaded the Christian Discipline, which was then inclining towards Superstition, with such new Ceremonies and Figments of Miracles, that he scarce left any Mark or Footstep of true Piety behind him.

KENNETHUS I. the fiftieth King.

AFTER *Aidanus*, *Kennethus* was elected King; he did nothing memorable in his Time. He died the fourth, (or, as some say), the twelfth Month, after he began to reign.

EUGENIUS IV. the fifty first King.

NEXT after him, *Eugenius*, the Son of *Aidanus*, was proclaimed King, in the Year of our Lord 605. He was brought up (as the *Black Book of Paisley* hath it) piously and carefully under *Columba*, being very well educated in human Learning;

Learning; yet in this he swerved from the Institution of his Master, that he was more addicted to War than Peace; for he exercised the *Saxons* and *Picts* with daily Incursions. His Government was very severe and rough; those who were proud and contumacious, sooner felt the Point of his Sword than they received from him any Conditions of Peace; but to those who asked Pardon for their Offences, and voluntarily surrendered themselves, he was very merciful and easy to forgive, and not at all insolent in his Victories. This is what that Book reports concerning *Eugenius*. But *Boëtius* says, on the contrary, that he lived in great Peace; which happened not so much from his foreign Leagues, as from the Discords of his Enemies, who kept up a civil War among themselves. For the *English*, who inhabited the *South* Parts, and professed the sacred Name of Jesus Christ, whilst they were endeavouring to revenge the Injuries offered to them, deprived *Ethelfrid*, the then most potent King of *Northumberland*, both of his Life and Kingdom together. *Edvinus* succeeded him, and *Ethelfrid's* Relations fled into *Scotland*, amongst whom were seven of his Sons, and one Daughter. This came to pass in the tenth Year of the Reign of *Eugenius*. As these *Saxons* flew to him for Refuge, so he (though he knew them to be Enemies both to him and the whole Christian Name) entertained and protected them with great Courtesy and Humanity as long as he lived: He gave them no less than Royal Reception, and took mighty Care to have them piously educated in the Christian Religion. He died in the sixteenth Year of his Reign, and was much lamented by all Men, who had every one a Loss, and found every one a Want of him.

FERCHARDUS I. *the fifty second King.*

HIS Son, *Ferchardus*, was substituted in his Room, in the Year of Christ 622, and in the thirteenth Year of *Heraclius* the Emperor. He being a politick Man, and very wickedly guileful, endeavoured to change the lawful Government of the Land into Tyranny; in order to which he nourished Factions amongst the Nobility, supposing by that Means to effect what wickedly he designed with Impunity. But the Nobles, understanding his malicious Aim, secretly made up the Breach amongst themselves; and, calling an Assembly of the Estates, summoned him to appear; which he refusing to do, they stormed the Castle where he was, and so drew him, *per Force*, to Judgment. Many and grievous Crimes were objected against him, and particularly the *Pelagian* Heresy, the Contempt of Baptism, and other sacred Rites. Then, as he
was

was not able to purge himself from any one of them, he was committed to Prison; where, that he might not live to be a publick Spectacle of Disgrace, he put an End to his own Life in the fourteenth Year of his Reign.

DONALDUS IV. *the fifty third King.*

HIS Brother *Donaldus*, or *Donevaldus*, mounted the Throne in his Stead; who, calling to mind the Elogy of his Father, and the miserable End of his Brother, made it his Business to maintain the true Worship of God; and that, not only at home, but he sought by all lawful Means to propagate it abroad. For when *Edwin* was dead, he furnished the Relations and the Children of *Ethelfrid*, who had remained Exiles in *Scotland* for many Years, with Accommodations to return home; he bestowed upon them Gifts, he sent Forces to accompany them, and gave them free Liberty to pass and repass, as Occasion should require. This *Edwin*, spoken of above, was slain by *Kedvalla*, as *Bede* calls him, King of the *Britons*, and by *Penda*, King of the *Mercians*; one of which was his Enemy, out of an old Pique to the Nation itself: The other out of a new one, for his having embraced Christianity; but both, still more out of an Emulation of his Power. The Victory is reported to have been more cruel than any in the Monuments of History; for whilst *Penda* endeavoured to root out the Christians, and *Kedvalla* the Saxons, their Fury was so great, that it spared neither Sex nor Age. After the Death of *Edwin*, *Northumberland* was divided into two Kingdoms. *Osticus*, Cousin-german to *Edwin*, was made King of the *Deiri*; and *Eanfrid*, as *Bede* calls him, but our Writers name him *Andefridus*, *Ethelfrid*'s eldest Son, King of the *Bernici*. They renounced the Christian Religion, in which they had been diligently educated; one by the *Monks*, the other by *Paulinus* the Bishop, and revolted to their antient Superstition; but were both, shortly after, deprived of their Kingdoms and their Lives too, by *Penda*. *Oswald*, the Son of *Ethelfrid*, succeeded them both, a studious Promoter of the Christian Religion. He did but desire *Donaldus* by his Ambassadors, to send him some Doctors of the Christian Church, and he presently sent him some, and those truly Men of great Sanctity and Learning; who were accordingly received by him with great Humanity, and most bountifully rewarded. Neither did he think it below his kingly Dignity, to interpret the Meaning of their Sermons preached to the People, who did not so well understand the *Scottish* Language, and he would often gather them together for that Purpose; all which is clearly expressed by *Bede*. *Donaldus* died in the fourteenth Year of his

his Reign, leaving a precious Memory of his Virtues behind him.

FERCHARDUS II. *the fifty fourth King.*

FERCHARDUS, his Brother's Son of that Name, succeeded him, a Person the most flagitious in Nature. He had every Vice stamp'd upon his Heart, insatiable were his Desires of Wine, and Wealth. His Cruelty towards Men was perfectly inhuman, his Impiety towards God thoroughly diabolical. When his Cruelty and Rapine had raged among other Folks, he converted his Fury at last upon his own Domesticks. He killed his own Wife, and he ravished his own Daughters. For these crying Sins he was excommunicated from the Society of Christians. And as the Nobles were just going to assemble, by way of Consultation, about his Punishment; *Coleman*, that holy Bishop, stopped them; for he openly told him before several of them, *That divine Vengeance would speedily overtake him.* And truly the Event verified his Prediction; for a few Days after, as he was a hunting, he was hurt by a Wolf, and fell into a Fever; and yet after that, not being able to abstain from his former Intemperance, at last his Body was eaten up with the *lowfy Disease*; and then he is said to have cried out, That he was deservedly punished, because he had not hearkened to the wholesome Warning given him by *Coleman*. Thus at last, seeing his Error, and *Coleman* comforting him with Hopes of Pardon, in case he truly repented, he caused himself to be carried abroad in a Litter, meanly apparelled, and there he made a publick Confession of his Wickedness, and so died, in the Year of our Redemption 668. *Scotland* groined under this Monster eighteen Years.

MALDUINUS, *the fifty fifth King.*

MALDUINUS, the Son of *Donald*, succeeded him; who, that he might strengthen those Parts of the Kingdom which were weakened by the Tyranny of the former King, made Peace with all his Neighbours: But having made all Things quiet abroad, he was disturbed by a Sedition at home, arising between the *Argyle* and *Lennox* Men. *Malduinus* went in Person against the Authors of this Tumult, that so he might punish them without prejudicing the common People. They, to avoid the King's Wrath, composed their private Jars, and fled into the *Æbudæ* Isles. The King sent for them to have them punished, and the Islanders not daring to retain

retain them, delivered them up; their Punishment kept the rest in their Duties. About this Time it was, that when the *Scottish Monks* had propagated the Doctrine of Christ almost all over *England*, and had so instructed the *English Youth*, that now they seemed able, of themselves, to preach the Gospel in a proper Manner to their own Countrymen, their Envy against their very Masters grew in proportion to their Learning; and this Prejudice went so far, that the *Scottish Monks* were forced to return into their own Country. As this Contumely cut off the Concord between the two Kingdoms, so the Modesty of those who had received the Wrong, kept both Nations from an open formal War; but frequent Incurfions were made, and Skirmishes happened in divers Places. There broke out at this Time a terrible Plague over all *Europe*, such as was never recorded by any Writer before, only the *Scots* and *Picts* were free from the Contagion.

By reason of the frequent Injuries mutually offered, and Preys driven away on both Sides, each Nation was like to break out into an open War, if the Death of *Malduinus* had not prevented it. After he had reigned twenty Years, his Wife, suspecting that he had to do with an Harlot, strangled him, and four Days after she suffered for the Fact, and was burnt alive.

EUGENIUS V. *The fifty sixth King.*

EUGENIUS next, the fifth Son of King *Dongardus*, began his Reign. *Egfrid*, the King of *Northumberland* (with whom he chiefly desired to be at Peace) endeavouring to deceive him by feigned Truces; he played the same Game of State, and turned *Egfrid's* Artifices upon himself. Thus while both made a Shew of Peace in Words, they each secretly prepared for War; when the Truce was ended, *Egfrid*, though his Friends dissuaded him from it, joined Forces with the *Picts*, and entring into *Scotland* he sent out his Foragers all over *Galway*; but he was overthrown by *Eugenius*, the *Picts* giving Ground in the Fight, and lost almost all his Army, so that he hardly escaped; but at last wounded, and with but a few followers, he made Shift to get home. The next Year, his Friends then also dissuading him, he drew forth his Army against the *Picts*; who, pretending to run away, insnared him into an Ambush, and cut him off, with all his Men. The *Picts* laying hold of this so fair an Opportunity, recovered those large territories which had been taken from them in former Wars; and the *Britons* who freed themselves from the Government of the *Angli*, or *English*, together with the *Scots*, entred *Northumberland*, and made such an Havock there, that it never

recovered itself since. Soon after *Eugenius* died, in the fourth Year of his Reign,

EUGENIUS VI. the fifty seventh King,

EUGENIUS VI. the Son of *Ferchard*, succeeded *Eugenius* V. as did *Alfrid*, Brother to *Egfrid*, succeed him in *Northumberland*: Both Kings were very learned, especially in *Theology*, as Learning went at that Time of Day; and also friendly one to the other, on the account of their common Studies, so that the Peace was faithfully maintained betwixt them. *Alfrid* made use of this Tranquillity to settle his Kingdom, though in narrower Limits than before; but the *Scots* had neither an established Peace, nor yet a declared War, with the *Picts*: Excursions were frequently made, with very various Successes, though *Cutbrectus*, an *English* Bishop, and *Adamannus*, a *Scottish* Bishop, laboured in vain to reconcile them; yet they ordered Matters so well, that they never fought a pitched Battle. In the mean time, *Eugenius* being inflamed with an inexpiable Hatred against the Perfidiousness of the *Picts*, was stopped in the midst of his Career to Revenge, for he died having reigned ten Years. In his Reign it is reported that it rained Blood all over *Britain* for seven Days, and that the Milk, Cheese, and Butter were also turned into Blood.

AMBERKELETHUS, the fifty eighth King.

AFTER him *Amberkelethus*, the Son of *Findanus*, and Nephew of *Eugenius* V. obtained the Kingdom. At the Beginning of his Reign, he counterfeited Temperance, but soon returned to his natural Disposition, and broke out into all manner of Wickedness. *Garnard*, King of the *Picts*, laying hold of this Opportunity, gathered a great Army together, and invaded the *Scots*. *Amberkelethus* could hardly be excited to take Arms, without much Importunity, but at last he did: As he was going in the Night-time to do his private Occasions, having but two Servants with him, he was slain with an Arrow, (it was not known who shot it), when he had not reigned full two Years; but some say, that when he pressed upon the Enemy in a thick Wood, he was hurt with an Arrow by them, and so died ten Days after.

EUGENIUS VII. *the fifty ninth King.*

EUGENIUS VII. Brother of the former King, was declared King by the Suffrage of the Soldiers in the Field, that so the Army might not disband, nor be without an Head. He, putting little Confidence in an Army levied by a slothful King, lengthened out the War by Truces, and at last concluded it by marrying *Spondana*, Daughter of *Garnardus*. She, not long after, was murdered in her Bed by two *Athol* Men, who had conspired to destroy the King. The King himself was accused of the Murder, but *falsly*; and before he was brought to Judgment, the Murderers were found out, whereupon he was freed. The Offenders were put to the most exquisite of Tortures. When Matters were composed abroad, the King turned himself to the Affairs of Peace, and his Delight lay very much in Hunting, but his chief Care was for Religion: It was his first Design, and by his Appointment, that the noble Acts and Enterprizes of Kings should be registred in Monasteries. He maintained an uninterrupted Peace seventeen Years with all his Neighbours, and then died at *Abernethy*.

MURDACUS, *the sixtieth King.*

EUGENIUS, a little before his Death, commended *Murdacus*, the Son of *Amberkelethus*, to the Nobility to be his Successor. There was Peace all over *Britain* during his Reign, as *Bede* says about the End of his History. He imitated *Eugenius*, not only in maintaining Peace, but in endowing of *Monasteries* also. He repaired the Convent of *White-horn*, which was demolished. He died at the Entrance into the sixteenth Year of his Reign.

ETFINUS, *the sixty first King.*

IN the Year of our Lord 730, *Etfinus*, the Son of *Eugenius VII.* entered upon the Kingdom. He being emulous of the Kings before him, kept the Kingdom in great Peace during the Space of 31 Years, that he managed the Government: When he was old, and could not perform the kingly Office himself, he appointed four Vicegerents to administer Justice to the People. Whilst these presided over the Affairs of *Scotland*, some loose Persons resuming their former luxuriant Extravagances, by Neglect, or, (as some think), even by the Encouragement of the Magistrates, put all Things into Confusion; but their wicked Pranks were the less taken notice of, by reason of the excessive Cruelty and Pride of one *Donaldus*, who, ranging

ranging over all *Galway*, made the Country People pay Tribute to him; or else he robbed them, and reduced them to great Want.

EUGENIUS VIII. *the sixty second King.*

A MIDST these Tumults, *Eugenius VIII.* the Son of *Murdacus*, was set up in the Room of *Etfinus* deceased; his first Enterprize was to suppress *Donaldus*, whom he overthrew in many bloody Fights, and at last took him Prisoner, and publickly executed him, to the Joy of all the Spectators. He put *Murdacus* to Death, Vicegerent of *Galway*, for siding with *Donaldus*, and set a pecuniary Fine on the rest of the Vicegerents: He made Satisfaction to the People who had been robbed, out of the Offenders Estates. Wicked Men being terrified for Fear of these Punishments, a great Calm ensued after a most violent Tempest, and he confirmed the Leagues formerly made with the neighbouring Kings. Yet after all this, he, who got so much Glory in War, when once Peace was ratified, gave himself up to all manner of Vice; and seeing he would not be reclaimed, neither by the Advices of his Friends, nor of the Priests, all the Nobles conspired to destroy him, which they did in a publick Convention, in the third Year of his Reign. The Companions and Associates of his wicked Practices ended their Lives at the Gallows, all Men rejoicing, made a Holiday to see their Executions.

FERGUSIUS III. *the sixty third King.*

FERGUSIUS III. the Son of *Etfinus*, succeeded him; who, under a like counterfeit Pretence of Virtue, being horribly vicious at the Bottom, died also after the like violent Manner, having reigned the same Number of Years, viz. three. He was poisoned by his Wife; others write, That when his Wife had often upbraided him with living in Contempt of Matrimony, and following whole Flocks of Harlots, and found no Amendment from her Reproofs, she strangled him at Night, as he was sleeping in his Bed: When Inquiry was made into his Death, and many of his Friends were accused, yet, though severely tortured, would confess nothing; the Queen, though otherwise of a fierce Nature, and impetuous, yet pitying the Suffering of so many innocent Persons, appeared, and from a lofty Stand that she had chosen on some high Place, told the Assembly, *That she was the Author of the Murder*; and presently, lest she should be made a living Spectacle of Reproach, she stabbed herself in the Breast with a Knife; which Fact of
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her's was variously spoken of, and descanted upon, according to the several Humours and Dispositions of the Men of those Days.

SOLVATHIUS, the sixty fourth King.

KING *Solvathius*, the Son of *Eugenius VIII.* is the next in Order; who, if he had not contracted the Gout, by being in Damps and Colds, in the third Year of his Reign, might well be reckoned for his personal Valour amongst the best of Kings; yet notwithstanding his Disease, he shewed his great Wisdom and Prudence in the Choice of his Generals, by whom he appeased all Tumults. First of all, *Donaldus Banus* (i. e.) *White*, standing in no Fear of being attacked by a lame and gouty Prince, had the Boldness to seize upon all the *Western* Islands, and to call himself King of the *Æbudæ*. Afterwards, making a Descent on the Continent, and carrying away much Prey, he was forced, by *Cullanus*, General of the *Argyle* Men, and by *Ducalus*, Captain of the *Athol* Men, into a Wood, out of which there was but one Passage; so that their Endeavours to escape were fruitless, but he and his *Party* were there slain to a Man. One *Gilcolumbus*, out of the same Hopes, and with the same Audacity, assaulted *Galway*, which his Father had oppressed before; but he also was overthrown by the same Generals, and shared the self-same Fate. In the mean time there was no Disturbance from the *English* and *Picts*, but the Continuance of Peace was occasioned by their Combustions at home. *Solvathius* reigned 20 Years, it being the Year of *Christ* 787, he died, and had the general Applause of Mankind.

ACHAIUS, the sixty fifth King.

ACHAIUS, the Son of *Etfinus*, succeeded him; he had made Peace with the *Angles* and *Picts*, but understanding that War was threatened from *Ireland*, composed the Seditions that were like to happen at home; and this he did not only by his Industry, but by his Largesses and Bounty. The Cause of the *Irish* War was this. In the Reign of the former King, who was unfit to make any Expedition, the *Irish* and the *Islanders*, out of Hope of Prey and Impunity, had made a Descent upon *Cantire*, the adjoining Peninsula with great Armies, both at one and the same time. But a Feud arising between the Plunderers, many of the *Islanders*, and all the *Irish*, were slain. To revenge this Slaughter, the *Irish* rigged out a great Navy, to sail into the *Æbudæ*. *Achais* sent Ambassadors to them,

them, to acquaint them, that they had no just Cause for a War, in regard that Thieves, fighting for their Prey, had slain one another; that the Loss was not, that so many were slain, but rather that any of them had escaped. They farther alledged, that the King and his national Councils were so far from offering any Injury to the *Irish*, that they had put all the Authors of the late Slaughter to Death. The Ambassadors discouraging many Things to this Purpose, all they could say was so coarsely and barbarously rejected by the *Irish*, that they sent out their Fleet against the *Albine Scots*, even before the Departure of those Ambassadors; when their Fleet was on the *Main*, a Tempest arose, in which they universally perished. This Mischance occasioned some Sentiments of Remorse and Pity in the *Irish*, so that now they humbly sued for that Peace, which they had before disdainfully refused.

BUT first of all, *Achaius* made Peace between the *Scots* and the *French* chiefly for this Reason, because not only the *Saxons*, who inhabited *Germany*, but even those who had fixed in *Britain*, infested *Gaul* with piratical Invasions. And besides, *Charles the Great*, whose Desire was to ennoble *France*, not only by Arms, but Literature, had sent for some learned Men out of *Scotland*, to read Philosophy in *Greek* and *Latin* at *Paris*. For there were yet many Monks in *Scotland*, eminent for Learning and Piety, the antient Discipline being then not quite extinguished; amongst whom was *Johannes*, surnamed *Scotus*, or, which is all one, *Albinus*, for the *Scots*, in their own Language, call themselves *Albini*: He was the Preceptor of *Charles the Great*, and left very many Monuments of his Learning behind him, and, in particular, some Rules of *Rhetorick*, which I have seen, with the Name *Johannes Albinus* inscribed, as Author of the Book. There are also some Writings of *Clement*, a *Scot*, remaining, who was a great Professor of Learning at the same time in *Paris*. There were many other *Scottish* Monks, who went over into *France*, out of their Zeal for God and Godliness, who preached the Doctrine of Christianity to the People inhabiting about the *Rhine*, and that with so great Success, that the People built *Monasteries* in many Places. The *Germans* pay this to their Memory, that even to our Days, *Scots* are made the Governors over those *Monasteries*. Though *Achaius* was desirous of Peace, yet the *Pictish* Affairs drew him on to a War. For when *Athelstan*, the *English-man*, had wasted the neighbouring Lands of the *Picts*, *Hungus* their King obtained the Aid of ten thousand *Scots* from *Achaius*, who before was disgusted with the *English*. He placed his Son *Alpinus* Commander over them, who was born to him by the Sister of *Hungus*; by the Assistance of those Auxiliaries, he carried a great deal of Plunder

Plunder out of *Northumberland*. *Athelstan*, a fierce Warrior, was almost at his Heels, and overtook him not far from *Haddington*. The *Picts* dismayed at the sudden Approach of their Enemies, stood immediately to their Arms, and kept themselves in their Stations, till very late: Having set their Watches for the Night, *Hungus* being inferior in other Things, desired Aid of God, and gave himself wholly up to Prayer. At last, when his Body was wearied with Labour, and his Mind oppressed with Care, he seemed to behold *Andrew* the Apostle standing by him in his Sleep, and promising him the Victory. This Vision being declared to the *Picts*, filled them full of Hope, so that they prepare themselves with great Alacrity for a Combat, which it was in vain to think of avoiding. The next Day being spent in light Skirmishes, on the third they came to a pitched Battle. Some add, that another Prodigy was seen in the Heavens, a Cross like the Letter X at the Time of the Engagement, which did so terrify the *English*, that they could hardly sustain the first Onset of the *Picts*. *Athelstan* was slain there, who gave Name to the Place of Battle, which is yet called *Athelstan's Ford*. *Hungus* ascribed the Victory to St. *Andrew*, to whom, besides other Gifts, he offered the Tithes of his royal Demesnes. I am of Opinion, that this was the *Athelstan*, Commander of the *Danes*, to whom the *English* affirm that *Northumberland* was granted by *Alfred*. *Achaius* died the thirty second Year of his Reign, and in the Year of *Christ* eight hundred and nineteen.

CONGALLUS III. the sixty sixth King.

CONGALLUS, his Cousin-german, succeeded him, who reigned five Years in profound Peace both at home and abroad.

DONGALLUS, the sixty seventh King.

DONGALLUS, the Son of *Solvathius*, was next King to him. The young Soldiers, not able to endure the Severity of his Government, went in a Body to *Alpinus* the Son of *Achaius*; and because they could not persuade him by fair Means to undertake the Government of the Kingdom, they compelled him by Force and Menaces to be seemingly on their Side. He having raised and formed an Army, and pretending to do as they would have him, disappointed them, and fled to *Dongallus*. His Coming was acceptable to the King, but a great Dismay to the Rebels; and therefore they accuse

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him

him to the King, as if *Alpinus* himself had persuaded them to rebel. The King well perceiving their Calumny, prepared an Army so suddenly, that he was upon them before there could be the least Rumour of his Coming. Those of them whom he took, he punished.

IN the mean time *Hungus* died, and his eldest Son *Dorstologus* was slain by the Treachery of his Brother *Eganus*; neither did the Murderer long survive his Brother. So that the Male-stock of *Hungus* being extinct, his Sister's Son *Alpinus*, as next Heir, both by the antient Law, and in Right of Blood, claimed the Kingdom. The *Picts* disdained him as a Foreigner, whereupon *Dongallus* sent Messengers to them to expostulate the Matter, but they refused to give them Audience, and even commanded them to depart in four Days. *Dongallus* intended to make War upon them with all his Might: But in the midst of his Preparation, as he was passing over the *Spey*, whose Current was very violent, the Vessel, in which he was, sunk, and he was drowned after he had reigned six Years, some say seven.

ALPINUS, the sixty eighth King.

AL P I N U S, the Son of *Achaius*, led the Army raised by *Dongallus*, against *Feredethus*, who had seized upon, and arrogated the Kingdom of the *Picts* to himself. The Armies met at *Restenot*, a Village of *Angus*; the Fight was maintained with great Obstinacy and cruel Bloodshed, even until Night; the Victory was uncertain, though the Death of *Feredethus* made it incline to the Side of the *Scots*. For when he saw his Men fly in the Fight, with a Troop of young Noblemen he broke through the main Body of the *Scots*, and being thus separated from his Men, was there slain, with the Flower of his Nobility. *Brudus* was substituted in his Place, a slothful Person, and unfit for military Affairs. In his Reign, the *Scots* drove Preys out of their Enemies Country, without Resistance; and the *Picts* raising up a Tumult on purpose amongst themselves, slew *Brudus* before he had reigned one Year. Then they set up *Kennethus*, another of *Feredethus* his Sons, in his Stead; one neither more valiant, nor more successful, than his Brother: For when he had levied an Army, and came in Sight of his Enemies, he stole privately away, and so was killed by a Countryman, who upbraided him as a Fugitive, not knowing who he was. The *Picts* having lost their King, before their Enemies were sensible of it, returned home and made another *Brudus* King, one of high Descent and noble Atchievements. He, as soon as he entered

entered upon the Government, set upon the straggling Plunderers, and curbed their Rashness, making a great Slaughter amongst them; after that, that he might strengthen his weak Forces by foreign Aids, he sent Ambassadors, with great Gifts, to the *English*, who were the nearest to him. They received the Gifts, and were large enough in their Promises of Assistance; but, though the *Picts* earnestly pressed them, yet they put them off, laying the Fault on their own Combinations at home. The *Picts* being disappointed of their Hope there, levied every Man of their own, that were able to bear Arms, and resolved to venture their *All*; with this Resolution they marched directly towards the Enemy, who were encamped not far from *Dundee*. As soon as they met, the Battle was so much the more sharp, by reason of the old Hatred, and the recent and fresh Disgust, the many mutual Slaughters, and the frequent Injuries and Wrongs, committed on both Sides. The Conflict was a long time doubtful, when at last, an hundred *Pictish* Horse rose out of an Ambush; who, that they might seem to be a greater Number, had also mounted their Baggage Men and Attendants upon their Baggage Horses, and so, shewing themselves upon the Tops of the Hills, they wheeled about, as if they would have set upon the Rear of their Enemies Army. That Apprehension struck such Terror into the *Scots*, that they presently scattered, and fled into the neighbouring Woods; by which many of them saved their Lives, only some few were slain in the Fight, but more in Flight, by the nimble Baggageers, who were set on Horseback. King *Alpinus*, and many of his Nobles were taken Prisoners, and inhumanly put to Death. The King's Head was fastened to a Pole, and carried up and down the Army; till at last they set it up for a Spectacle in the most eminent Place of the greatest Town they had, (which then was *Abernethy*). The Place where he was slain, as yet retains his Name, being called, *Bas Alpin*, i. e. *The Death of Alpin*.

KENNETHUS II. the sixty ninth King.

ALPINUS being slain, after he had reigned three Years, his Son *Kennethus* succeeded him. The next Summer the *Picts* having some Hopes, that if they did but endeavour it, the *Scots* might easily be driven out of *Britain*, as they had been heretofore; they hired some Troops of the *English*, and joined them with whatever Forces of their own they could raise. But a sudden Sedition arising among themselves, and that so outrageous, that King *Brudus* himself could not

compose it, the Army disbanded upon it; and *Brudus* died about three Months after, rather of a broken Heart, than of any Disease. His Brother *Druskenus* was declared King in his room, who in vain attempted to compose Things at home; but in the interim, some young *Scots* fetch'd off by Night the Head of *Alpinus*, from the Place where the *Picts* had set it up, and brought it to *Kennethus*; he not only commended them for their noble Exploit, but also rewarded them with a Grant of some Lands. *Kennethus* summoned together an Assembly to consult about a War with the *Picts*; and though the King himself, and the forwardest of the Soldiers, were for revenging the Treachery of such a perfidious People; yet the major Part, and especially the graver Sort, thought it more adviseable to stay, till their Forces which had been weakened in former Wars, had recovered themselves afresh: In the mean time, they would neither seek Peace, nor yet make War with the *Picts*, till a better Opportunity for either should offer itself. This Opinion prevailed, so that there was Peace betwixt the two Nations for three Years, as if it had been by common Consent. But in the fourth Year, *Kennethus*, eager to renew the War, and yet finding few of the Nobles of his Mind, invited them to a Banquet: The Entertainment continued till late at Night, so that they were all obliged of Necessity to lodge at the King's House, which they might the more easily do, in regard every Man, according to the Custom of their Ancestors, lay on the Ground, and so they disposed of themselves in that large House, having nothing under them but Leaves and Grass. When they were gone to sleep, the King suborned a Youth, one of his Kinsmen, commanding him to clothe himself with the Skins of Fishes, especially of the Stock-fish, dried in the Wind, and so to enter by Night; and to speak through a long Tube, that the Voice might better reach their Ears at a Distance, and thus to exhort them to War; as if a Message had been sent them from Heaven to that Purpose. The Nobles were suddenly awakened at this Voice, which at that time seemed to them to be greater and more august than a Man's; many also were laden with Wine, and the sudden flashing of Light from the Fishes Skins, darting upon their drowsy Eyes, and dazzling them, put them into a very great Astonishment; in fine, an unwonted Apparition affected the Eyes of them all, and a kind of religious Consternation seized upon their Minds. And that which increased the Admiration was, that the Messenger, stripping himself of his disguised Habit, and by a secret Passage, conveying himself away, as in an instant, seemed to have

have vanished out of Sight. When the News of it was brought to the King in the Morning, and many added to the Story, as is usual in such Cases, he was pleased to affirm too, that he saw the like Apparition in his Sleep. Immediately a War was concluded upon by the general Consent of them all, as if they had received the Word of Command from God himself. When the Armies were led forth to Battle, as soon as ever they came in Sight one of another, every one ran upon the Enemy, which stood next to him, without so much as staying for the Command of their Captains. The Fight was as fiercely continued, as it was eagerly begun. At last the Victory inclined to the *Scots*. Those, in whom the *Picts* put most Confidence, proved their Ruin. For the *English Troops*, seeing that all Things were managed without Order, and by a tumultuary Force, retreated to the next Hill, as if they had only been Spectators of other Mens Dangers. There was a mighty Slaughter made of the *Picts*. For the *Scots* were highly provoked against them, not only by their antient Hatred, but by the Remembrance of their late Cruelty against *Alpinus*, and against the rest whom they had taken Prisoners with that King: But that which chiefly inflamed their Minds, was a Watch-word, spread abroad among the *Scots*, *That they should remember Alpinus*; the Moment that Word was given, they spared neither Age, nor any Rank of Men. The Hills covered the Retreat of the *English*, and the *Scots* were so vehemently intent upon revenging themselves on the *Picts*, that they could not pursue them. This Victory reduced the *Picts* to so low an Ebb, and rendered their Condition so deplorable, that, though they endeavoured to make Peace, yet all was in vain, for the *Scots* would hearken to no Conditions, but the full and entire Surrender of their whole Kingdom. The next Year, when all Places were surrendered up beyond *Forth*, Northwards, and Garrisons placed in them, as *Kennethus* was marching his Army against those on this Side of it, Word was brought him, that some of the Garrisons which he had left behind, were taken, and the Soldiers slain. Upon these Advices he marched his Army back against the rebellious *Picts*, of whom he spared neither Man, Woman, nor Child; but put the whole Country to Fire and Sword. *Druskenus*, seeing the *Picts* were enraged, almost like Madmen, at the Cruelty exercised over them, and knowing now that they must fight, not for their Kingdom, but for their very Lives, and the Lives of their Wives and Children, gathered together all the Force that ever he could make; and so passing the *Forth*, came to *Scone*, a Town situate on the Bank of

of the River *Tay*, where he waited for the Coming of the *Scots*. There they again endeavoured to make a Pacification, offering to surrender all the Country beyond the *Forth*, but the *Scots* would have all, or none. The Fight, as must be in such Circumstances of Necessity, was very fierce. At last, the *Picts*, after an obstinate Resistance, were broken, and the River *Tay*, putting a Stop to their Flight, was the Cause of their Destruction. For *Druskenus*, and almost all his Nobility, being not able to pass it, were there slain: And the common Soldiers had no better Fortune; for as they crowded to the River in several Places to save themselves, they laboured also under the same Incapacity of passing it, and so they every one of them lost their Lives. Hence it is, (as I judge) that our Writers say, we fought with the *Picts* seven times in one Day. The Force of the *Picts* was wholly broken by this Overthrow, and *Kennethus* laid *Lothian* and the adjacent Country waste, together with those beyond the *Forth*, that they might never be able to recover themselves again. The Garrisons, for Fear, surrendered themselves. Those few *Picts* who were left alive, fled into *England*, in an indigent and necessitous Condition.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
S C O T L A N D.

B O O K VI.

AS I formerly called *Fergusius* I. and after him, *Fergusius* II. the Founders of the *Scottish* Kingdom, and that with very great Reason; so I may justly reckon *Kennethus*, the Son of *Alpinus*, a third Founder of it. *Fergus* I. from a mean Beginning advanced the Affairs of the *Scots* to such an Height, that they were envied by their Neighbours. *Fergus* II. when they were banished and dispersed into remote Countries, and in the Judgment of their Enemies, quite extirpated, did, as it were, recal them to Life, and in a few Years restored them to their antient Splendor. But *Kennethus* was so couragious, as to accept of the Kingdom, at a time when Affairs were almost become desperate; nay, at a time when others thought, that the small Remainder of the *Scots* could hardly have been defended, or kept together; and not only so, but he confounded the Power of the Enemy, (though assisted with foreign Aids, and big with a late triumphant Victory) in many sharp, yet prosperous Fights; and, when he had thus weakened them, he drove them out of *Britain*, and took from their King the Royal Name, which to this Day he could never recover again. Though these were great Atchievements, yet they were not the *greatest* he performed: For, as he enlarged his Kingdom, and made it double of what it was before; so he governed it in such a Manner, both by making
new

new Laws, and also by reviving the old ones; that neither Licentiousness, the Child of War, nor Pride, the Product of Victory, nor any Footsteps of those Evils, which are wont to accompany Luxury and Ease, did appear, during his Life. Nay, the Affairs of *Scotland* seemed to be supported for many Years after, by his Laws, called by Posterity the *Macalpin* Laws, as much as they were by Arms. But to let these Things pass; I shall proceed to relate his noble Acts as I have begun. *Kennethus*, having driven out the *Picts*, distributed their Lands amongst his Soldiers, according to each Man's Valour and Merit: Who, out of an Ambition, gave many Places and Countries new Names, and abrogated the old ones. He parted *Horestia* betwixt two Brothers, *Æneas* and *Mern*; one Part of which, in old *Scottish*, is yet called *Æneia*, (they who more affect the *English* Speech, call it *Angus*); the other, *Mern*. The Country adjoining, from *Tay* to the *Forth*, was called by the Antients, *Ross*, i. e. a *Peninsula*; there are some Signs of the Name yet remaining, as *Culross*, a Town, which is, as it were, the back or hinder Part of *Ross*; and *Kinross*, which signifies the Head of *Ross*. Now at this Day, all that County is called *Fife*, from an eminent Person called *Fifus*, whose Surname, they say, was *Duffus*; *Barodunum*, a Town in *Lothian*, or, as some call it, *Dunbar*, was so called (as it is thought) from a great Man, named, *Bar*. *Lothian* had its Name, not long ago, from *Lothus* King of the *Picts*. *Cunningham* is wholly a *Danish* Word, used, as I think, by the *Danes*, after the Death of *Kennethus*, who possessed that Country for some Years, having driven the *Scots* beyond the Wall of *Severus*; for *Cunningham* signifies in the *Danish* Language, the King's House, or Palace. 'Tis also probable, that *Merch* was so called by the *Danes*, because it fixed the Limits between both Kingdoms. As for *Edinburgh*, either by the gross Ignorance, or perverse Ill-will of some, it is sometimes called, *Vallis Dolorosa*, i. e. The *Doleful Valley*, and sometimes, *Castrum Puellarum*, *Maiden-Castle*; the Name in itself is not very obscure, though it is made so by ill Management. For they borrowed those Names from *French* Romances, which were devised within the Space of three hundred Years last past. This is certain, that the antient *Scots* called it *Dunedinum*; the latter *Edinburgum*, in which they follow their Country Custom in imposing of Names; whereas that Castle in a middle Appellation between both, I think may be better named, *Edinum*. But enough in this Place concerning the old and the new Names of the Countries, of which I have spoken more largely before. To return then to *Kennethus*; having enlarged his Kingdom,

Kingdom, as I said before, and settled wholesome Laws for the good Administration of the Government; he endeavoured farther to confirm his Royal Authority by mean and trivial Things, even bordering upon Superstition itself. There was a Marble-stone, which *Simon Breccus* is reported to have brought into *Ireland* out of *Spain*, which *Fergus*, the Son of *Ferchard*, is also said to have brought over into *Scottish Albion*, and to have placed it in *Argyle*. This Stone *Kennethus* removed out of *Argyle*, to *Scone* by the River *Tay*, and placed it there, inclosed in a Chair of Wood. The Kings of *Scotland* were wont to receive both the Kingly Name and the Royal Robes, sitting in that Chair, 'till the Days of *Edward I.* King of *England*, of whom in his Place. *Kennethus* translated the Episcopal See, which the *Picts* had placed at *Abernethy*, to *Fanum Reguli*, which the After-ages called *St. Andrew's*. But the antient *Scots-Bishops*, being chosen out of Monasteries, not then contending for Place or Honour, but for Sanctity and Learning, performed their Functions everywhere, occasionally, as Opportunity offered, without Envy or Emulation; no certain Dioceses being allotted to them, in regard the Ecclesiastical Function was not yet made a Post of Gain and worldly Lucre. After this Sort, *Kennethus* reigned twenty Years. In the Beginning of his fifth Year he overthrew the *Picts*, as the *Black Book of Paisley* hath it. The other sixteen Years, after he had destroyed the Government of the *Picts*, he lived in great Tranquillity, having maintained Peace at home, by reason of his just Government; and Peace abroad, by the Power of his Arms. He enlarged his Dominions from the *Orcades* to the Wall of *Adrian*. A. C. 854.

DONALDUS V. the seventieth King.

DONALDUS, his Brother, was chosen King next, who quite altered the whole publick Discipline, together with his own Demeanour. For whereas, in the Life-time of *Alpinus*, he made a Shew of Temperance; and, by that Means, had obtained the Love of the better sort; when his Brother was dead, as if he had been free'd from all Fear and Restraint, he gave himself up wholly to Pleasure. And as if there had been no Danger from any Enemy without, he neglected all military Study, and kept almost none about him, but Hunters, Hawkers and Inventers of new Pleasures. Upon these he spent the publick Revenue. The younger Sort, who were prone to Pleasures, extolled the King to the Skies, as a Noble and generous Prince; and scoffed at the Parsimony of former Times, as rude and illiberal. The antient Counsellors, seeing all Things likely to run to Ruin in a very short Time, came to the King, and put him

in mind of his Duty; of his present evil Ways and Miscarriages; and of the Dangers impending upon him. He nevertheless persisted in his slothful kind of Life, which gave Opportunity to the Remainders of the *Picts* (as if an hopeful Alarm had been given them, even from the very Bottom of Despair) to address themselves to *Osbreth* and *Ella*, two of the most potent and prevalent Kings of the *English*, (for then *England* was divided into many Kingdoms). They bewailed their Misfortune to them, and craved earnestly their Assistance; promising, that they and all their Posterity would become Feudataries to the *English*, in case they obtained the Victory over the *Scots*, which they prejudged would be an easy one, by reason of the slothful Nature of *Donald*. The *English* were easily persuaded, and having settled Things at home, they led out their Army into *Merch*, from whence they sent Heralds to *Donaldus*, requiring, that the Lands which the *Scots* had forcibly taken away from the *Picts*, their Friends and Allies, might be restored; which unless he would do, they would not neglect their old Confederates, who had newly solicited their Assistance. *Donaldus*, by the Advice of the Estates, which, in this Time of imminent Danger, he had (though unwillingly) convened, levied an Army, and met with the Enemy at *Jedd*, a River of *Teviotdale*, where he joined Battle, and overthrew *Osbreth*, forcing him to fly to the next Mountains: From thence he marched on by *Tweed* to the Sea-side, recovered *Berwick*, which had been taken by the *English*, and was again deserted by them, upon the ill News of the Success of the Battle; where he took all the Ships riding in the Mouth of the River, and seized upon all the Enemy's Provisions there. He got there an Opportunity to renew his interrupted Pleasures; and, as if his Enemies had been wholly overthrown, he indulged himself in all Kind of Voluptuousness. The *English*, who in the last Fight were rather scattered than subdued, understanding by their Spies the Carelessness and Security of the *Scots*, gathered together what Force they could out of the Neighbourhood, and set upon the *Scots* by Night, who were drowned in Wine, and fast asleep, making a great Slaughter amongst them; but they took the King, who was between sleeping and waking, Prisoner. From thence they followed the Course of their Victory, and to make their Revenge more compleat, they divided their Army into two Parts, and so marched into the Enemy's Country; Part of them, when they come to the *Forth*, got Vessels, and endeavoured to pass over by Water into *Fife*, but a great Number of them were shipwrecked, and drowned; and the rest, by the Violence of the Storm, were forced back to the Shore where they embarked; from whence, marching to *Stirling*, and joining with the rest of their Army, they pass over the *Forth*, on a
 Bridge.

Bridge. The *Scots*, after their Flight, gathered themselves into a Body thereabouts, having the bare Shew, rather than the Strength, of an Army; and sent Ambassadors to the *English* for Peace; which they did not refuse, because their Strength was weakened by the unsuccessful Battle of *Jedd*, and also by the late Shipwreck. The *English* propounded hard Conditions, yet such as the present State of Affairs made to seem tolerable. As that, *The Scots should yield up all the Land, which was within the Wall of Severus; That their Bounds should be beneath Stirling, the Forth; beneath Dunbarton, the Clyde; and between the two Rivers, the Wall of Severus.* Amidst such hard Terms of Peace, yet this happened, as welcome as it was unexpected, to the *Scots*, that no Mention was made concerning the Reduction of the *Picts*. For the *English* and *Britains* divided the Lands, surrendered up, betwixt them; the River being a Boundary betwixt them both. There are some, who think the Money yet called *Sterling* was then coined there. The Lands being thus divided, the *Picts*, who thought to recover their own, being eluded of their Hopes, passed over to the *Cimbrians* and *Scandians*, (*i. e.*) (as we Moderns speak) to *Denmark* and *Norway*. Those few of them that stay'd in *England*, were all put to Death, upon pretence that they would attempt Innovations by their soliciting of foreign Aids. *Donaldus*, after he had made Peace, upon his Return was honourably received, partly out of Respect to his Ancestors, and partly in hopes of his Repentance and Amendment. But he, persevering in his wonted Slothfulness, the Nobles fearing, that so sluggish a Person, who would neither hearken to the Counsels of his Friends, nor be reclaimed by his own Calamities, would lose that Part of the Kingdom which remained, confined him to a Prison; where, either out of Grief and Anguish of Heart, as having his Pleasure restrained; or out of Fear of being made a publick Spectacle of Scorn, he laid violent Hands on himself, in the sixth Year of his Reign. Others report, that this *Donaldus* performed many noble Exploits, both at home and abroad; and that he died a natural Death at *Scone*, in the Year of our Lord 858.

CONSTANTINUS II. *the seventy first King.*

CONSTANTINUS, the Son of *Kennethus*, was crowned after him, at *Scone*; he was a Prince of a great Spirit, and highly valiant. He was desirous to wipe away the Ignominy received under *Donaldus*, and to enlarge his Kingdom to the Bounds his Father had left; but he was otherwise advised by his Nobles, because the greatest Part of the Soldiery were slain under *Donaldus*; and the Remainder were grown so corrupt,

that it was not fit to put Arms into their Hands. This being so, the King first bent his Care to amend the publick Discipline; and accordingly he reduced the Order of Priests to their antient Parsimony, by severe Laws, in regard they had left off preaching, and had given themselves up to Luxury, Hunting, Hawking, and to Courtly Pomp. He caused the young Soldiers who were grown effeminate with Voluptuousness and Ease, to ly on the Ground, and to eat but once a-day. Drunkards were punished with Death. He forbid all Sports, but those which served to make the Body hardy, and inure the Mind to War. By these Laws, the Soldiery of the Kingdom were brought to a better Pass; when presently a certain Islander, named *Evenus*, whom the King himself had made Governor of *Loch-Abyr*, a Man of an unquiet Spirit, and ambitious of Dominion, rose up in Arms; he, knowing that the military Youth could not well stomach the Severity of these new Laws, first gathered together a small Number, and then a greater, complaining of the present State of Things. And when he found his Discourse was acceptable to them, he easily persuaded them to conspire about the taking off of *Constantine*. But being more active than cautious in gathering Strength to their Faction, they were betrayed by some of their own Confederates, and slain, before they knew any Forces were coming against them. *Evenus*, the Head of the Conspiracy, was hanged. About this Time it was, that the *Danes*, then the most potent and flourishing Nation amongst the *Germans*, were solicited by the *Picts* against the *Scots*, and also by one *Buernus*, (or as others write, *Verna*, whose Wife had been ravished by *Osbreth*) which they, being overstocked with young People at home, easily assented to, and so they came over in numerous Transports, and with a great Navy, into *Britain*. Their first Descent was in *Fife*; there they slew all they met, without Distinction, out of Hatred to the *Christian* Religion; and dividing their Army, they spoiled the Country two several Ways. *Constantine* made head against them, and first he set upon that Brigade which *Hubba*, Brother to the *Danish* King, commanded; which being hindered from joining the other Body of Troops, by the sudden Swelling of the River *Levin*, were there easily overcome and slain, except a few of his Men, who could swim over the River, and they fled to their other Commander, called *Humber*. *Constantine* pursued them, and marched as if he went to a Prey, not to a Battle, and overtook them not far from the Town of *Carail*, but not before they had well fortified their Camp. For the *Danes*, being very provident after their late unhappy Fight, had made a Kind of defensive Fortification, upon some small winding Rocks, near the Shore, by heaping up a Parcel of Stones together, which lay thereabouts.

abouts. In that Posture, *Constantine* assaulted them; where, by reason of the Incommodiousness of the Place, and the Despair of the *Danes*, he paid dear for his Rashness; for he lost a great Part of his Army; he himself was taken Prisoner, haled into a little Cave hard by, and there slain. There are some Monuments of this Fight remaining to this Day, as the Cave, the Circumference of their Camp, which was not cut out regularly, or by equal Spaces, but turning and winding according to the Bending of the Rocks. Some lay the Blame of this unlucky Accident upon the *Picts*, who, being admitted into *Constantine's* Fealty and Army, were the first that ran away, and drew the greatest Part of the Army after them. The *Danes* gathered up the Spoils, and departed to their Ships. The King's Body was found the Day after, and carried to the Sepulchres of his Ancestors in the Island *Icolumbkil*. He possessed the Kingdom sixteen Years, and died in the Year of our Lord 874.

ETHUS, the seventy second King.

HIS Brother, *Ethus*, succeeded him; from the Swiftness of his Feet, surnamed *Alipes*; he was elected King upon no higher, or other, Account, but because he gathered together the Relicks of the Army, which were scattered by the *Danes*. Amongst the Prodigies of his Time, they reckon those Sea-fishes then appearing, which are seldom seen, and after long Intervals of Time, but they never appear but in Shoals, nor without some unlucky Prefage. The common People call them *Monachi-marini*, i. e. *Sea-monks*; others give them the Name of *Bassineti*, i. e. hooded, or helmeted Fish. *Ethus*, quite unmindful both of his Brother and of his Ancestors, giving himself up to all Manner of Vices, and drawing the young Soldiers, who were by Nature very easily seduced, along with him, was taken Prisoner by a Combination of the Nobles; and, after all the flagitious Acts of his Life had been declared to the People, in a long Speech, he was forced to abjure the Government, in the second Year of his Reign. Three Days after he died in Prison for Grief. That which chiefly offended the Men of military Genius, was, his slothful Inactivity, because when the *Danes* were at War with the *English*, and many bloody Battles had been fought between them, yet he never bethought himself of the recovering the Country he had lost; nor would he suffer himself to be so much as put in mind of it, by others. Some write, that he was not forced to relinquish his Kingdom, but that he was wounded in a Combat by *Gregorius*, who was desirous of getting the Reins of the Empire

pire into his own Hands, and that he died two Months after,
Anno Christi 875.

GREGORIUS, the seventy third King.

GREGORIUS, the Son of *Dongallus*, was set up King in his Stead; a Person of a truly Royal Spirit, in whom no Virtue was wanting, that was requisite to complete a Monarch. First, he reconciled all those to him, who were against him when he endeavoured to gain the Throne; and then he proceeded to compose the Discords of the Nobles among themselves; he so tempered the Severities of his Government with Affability. that he got the Command of his Subjects more by Love, than by Fear: He restored the *old* Laws concerning the Immunity of the Ministers of the Church, (who were almost in the Nature of Slaves, under the *Picts*), or else he made *new*, to the same Purpose. His first Expedition was into *Fife* against the *Picts*, left there by the *Danes*, whilst they were employing their Arms against the *English*. He drove them not out of *Fife* only, but out of *Lothian* and *Merch* too. The *Danes*, when he came to *Berwick*, fearing, if they should have any Misfortune, the *English* would be upon their Backs too, durst not join in a Field-fight with *Gregory*; but sent Part of their Forces over the River into *Northumberland*, commanding them to join with a small Brigade of their Countrymen, who had gathered together, and were newly landed, there; the rest of them entered *Berwick* to strengthen that Garrison. But the *English*, who were, but unwillingly, under the Command of the *Danes*, (as being Men of a different Religion from them), gave Admission to the *Scots* in the Night-time, by which means all the *Danes* were put to the Sword. From thence *Gregory* marched into *Northumberland*, and fought a prosperous Battle against *Hardnute*, where he made so great a Slaughter of them, that their Numbers, which were lately formidable to all *Britain*, were mightily diminished, partly by *Gregory* of *Scotland*, and partly by *Alfrid* of *England*. *Gregory* took in all *Northumberland*, and gave free Leave to those *English* that had a mind, to depart; and he very courteously distributed Lands among the rest, who chose to remain there. The greatest Part of the *English* stayed behind; partly out of Love to their native Soil, partly by reason of the King's Bounty to them, and partly also for Fear of their Enemies. For, as they had, for several Years then past, entered into several cruel Engagements with the *Danes*, the Victory being many times uncertain, many of the *English* chose rather to be under the Dominion of the *Scots*, who, though formerly Enemies, were

were yet *Christians*, than either to fall into the Power of the bloody *Danes*, or to hope for uncertain Aids from their own Countrymen; especially since Things were in such a general Confusion over all *Britain*, that the *English* knew not which Party to succour first. After *Gregory* had chastised the *Danes*, to so smart a Degree, that he expected no more Trouble from them, he turned his Arms upon the *Britons*, who as yet held some of the *Scottish* Dominions; but he made Peace with them too, upon their restoring the said Lands, and promising to assist him against the *Danes*, if they should return; and upon that, he disbanded his Army. But the *Britons*, after their Return home, repented of the Peace they had made; and entering *Scotland* again in an hostile Manner, they were driving away a great Booty; but *Gregory* met them at *Lochmaben*, and after a bloody Fight overthrew them, and *Constantine* their King fell in the Field. The *Britons*, having received this Fruit of their ill Counsel, made *Herbert*, the Brother of *Constantine*, King; and then began to think in what a dangerous Case they were, having both the *Scots* and *Danes* their Enemies; and their Alliance with the *English* seldom long-lived. Upon this Consideration they sent Ambassadors to the *Scots* for Peace, who would not hearken to any such Thing, unless *Cumberland* and *Westmorland* were restored to them, which was accordingly done, and the Peace made on those Conditions. About the same time, there came also Ambassadors from *Alured* of *England*, partly to congratulate the Victory over the *Danes*, which ought (said they) to be justly acceptable to all *Christians*; and partly to enter into a new League against all the Enemies of the *Christian* Faith. Peace was concluded on these Conditions; “That they should
“ oppose foreign Enemies with their joint Forces, if they
“ made a Descent on the Borders of either People; and
“ that the *Scots* should quietly enjoy for ever the Land
“ which they had got from the *Danes*.” Peace being thus obtained by Arms on every Side, and a League made and established, Word was brought *Gregory* upon his Return, that the *Irish* had made an Irruption into *Galway*. The Cause of the War was pretended to be, because the Men of *Galway* had, in a hostile Manner, seized upon, and plundered some Gallies driven on their Coasts, belonging to the Inhabitants of *Dublin*, a City of *Ireland*. The *Irish*, hearing of *Gregory*’s Coming, in great Consternation retired presently with their Prey to their Ships; and *Gregory*, with a good Navy, and strong Army, as soon as he could with Conveniency, transported himself into *Ireland* also. *Duncan*, or *Donatus*, or rather *Dunathus*, was at that time their King; but being under Age,

Brienus

Brienus and *Cornelius*, two of the most powerful of the Nobility next to him, had divided the whole Land into two Factions. But patching up a Truce at the Arrival of a foreign Enemy, they pitched and fortified their Camps apart, near the River *Bann*, a Place which seemed convenient enough for that Purpose. Their End in so doing was, to take off the Edge of *Gregory's* Valour by Delay, and to force him to withdraw his Army from a foreign harassed Country, for want of Provision. *Gregory* smell'd out their Design, and therefore very secretly in the Night, he sent Part of his Army to seize upon an Hill, which was, as it were, over *Brienus's* Head. The Day after, when the Battle was joined, in the Heat of the Fight, they threw down mighty Stones into his Camp, which crushed many of his Men to Pieces, and so terrified the rest, that their Ranks were broken; and they fled away in great Disorder and Confusion. *Cornelius*, hearing of the Event of this Fight, withdrew his Army, without striking a Blow, into Places of greater Safety. *Brienus* was slain in his Camp; the rest had as much Quarter given them as possible, by *Gregory's* Command. He then marched over the Country without any Depopulation at all, which Lenity occasioned many rather to submit themselves to the Mercy of the King, than to try it out by Force. The fortified Towns were strengthened with Garrisons. *Gregory* reduced *Dundalk* and *Drogheda*, two strong Places, made so both by Art and Nature; and then determined to march directly to *Dublin*. But hearing that *Cornelius*, General of all the *Irish Forces*, was coming against him with a great Army, he turned aside, fought with him, and overthrew him, following the Chace as far as *Dublin*, which he besieged. But there was not Provision enough in the City for so many People as had fled thither; so that in a short time it was surrendered to him by *Cormachus*, the Bishop of the City. *Gregory*, at his Entrance into it, did no Prejudice at all to any of the Inhabitants; but visited King *Duncan*, his Kinsman, and protested that he came not thither out of an ambitious Desire to take away the Kingdom from him, or to amass up Riches for himself, but only to revenge the Injuries he had received. Accordingly he committed the Care of the young King to such of his old Counsellors, as he judged most faithful to him; and himself bore the Name of his Tutor or Guardian, till he came to be of Age: He also put Garrisons into the Forts, and exacted an Oath from the Nobility, that they should admit neither *English*, *Dane*, nor *Briton* into the Island, without his Permission: He appointed Judges in convenient Places, who were to judge betwixt Man and Man in Matters of

of Controversy, according to the Laws of the Country; and receiving sixty Hostages for the Performance of those Conditions, he returned home in Triumph. The Fame of his Justice made the Peace firmer for the future, than any Terror of Arms could have done. Having thus managed Matters both at home and abroad, he departed this Life in the eighteenth Year of his Reign, being no less eminent for his Justice and Temperance, than for his Valour and Magnanimity. So that he was justly surnamed, by his Countrymen, *Gregory the Great*. He died *anno Christi* 892.

DONALDUS VI. *the seventy fourth King.*

DONALD, the sixth of that Name, the Son of *Constantine II.* was made King next after *Gregory*, having been recommended by his great Predecessor, before his Death, to the Nobility. He deceived not the Opinion, which Men had conceived of him, *i. e.* that he was a very prudent Prince; for he so maintained Peace, as to be always prepared for War. And when for a long time he had no Enemy to encounter with, yet he took Care that the Soldiery should not grow too luxurious, or by being corrupted by Ease and Rest, grow inclinable to run, as it had often happened, into all manner of evil Practices. When a new Army of *Danes* drew near to the Coasts of *Northumberland*, and lay at Anchor there for some Days, without prejudicing any body, *Donaldus* gathered an Army together, and being watchful of all Opportunities, went to guard that Province. But hearing that the *Danes* had made a Descent upon the Country of the *English*, he sent Aid to King *Alured*, who fought a bloody Battle with the *Danes*. Yet, though he got the Victory, he was content to admit them into Part of his Dominions, provided they would turn *Christians*. Peace was made on those Terms, the Army disbanded, and a new home-bred Commotion entertained *Donaldus* at his Return. There happened so great a Feud betwixt the *Rossians* and the *Merch Men*, caused by some small Robberies at first, that more were slain by occasional Combats, than if they had met in a pitched Battle. *Donald* marched thither, and having slain the Heads of the Factions, restored Peace to the rest. *Johannes Fordonus*, a *Scottish* Chronologer, says, that in this Expedition he died at *Forres*, not without the Suspicion of Poison; but *Boëtius* affirms, that he returned to *Northumberland*, to see what became of the Peace he had made with the *Danes*, of whom he was always suspicious; and that he died there, after he had reigned eleven Years. His Memory was precious both to rich and poor. His Death was *A. C.* 903.

CONSTANTINE III. *the seventy fifth King.*

CONSTANTINE III. the Son of *Ethus*, was substituted King in his Room; a Man of no ill Disposition, yet could he not be truly said to be firmly and constantly good. The *Danes*, who could by no Promises, by no Persuasions whatsoever, incline *Gregory* and *Donald*, the two last Kings of the *Scots*, to take up Arms against the *English*, who were then *Christians*, easily wrought upon *Constantine* by Gifts, and by the vain Hope of enlarging his Dominions, to make a League with them; which lasted scarce two Years, but the *Danes*, deserting the *Scots*, struck up a League with the *English*. This League had scarce continued four Years, before *Edward* of *England* gathered an Army speedily together, and spoiled the Country of the *Danes*; by which they were reduced to such Straits, that they were forced to return to the *Scots*, whom they had lately deserted: To whom they swore most religiously, that they would for ever after observe the Amity, most inviolably, betwixt them. This second League is reported to have been entered into, with great Ceremony, in the tenth Year of *Constantine's* Reign. He gave, the same Year, *Cumberland* to *Malcolm*, Son of the last King, which was an honourable Omen to him, that the next Reign should be his own. And afterwards the same Custom was observed, by some succeeding Kings, to the manifest disannulling of the old Way of convening the Estates, whose free Suffrages ought not to have been thus abridged; but this was like the Designation of the Consuls by the *Cæsars*, which put an End to the *Roman Liberty*. A War being now commenced between *Edward* the Son of *Alured*, and the *Danes*; *Constantine* sent Aids to the *Danes*, under the Conduct of *Malcolm*. He joined his Army with the *Danes*, and being superior in Number, they harassed the adjoining Countries of the *English*, and made great Devastation, wheresoever they came; to the end that they might force the *English*, who had a far less numerous Army, to fight: Nay, they were so arrogantly confident of their Numbers, that they thought their Enemy would never so much as look them in the Face; so that now, as secure of the Victory, they began to talk of dividing the Spoil. But, *as Prosperity doth blind the Eyes of the wise; so Adversity, and the Foresight of Danger, is a good Schoolmaster, even to the weaker Side*; what the *English* wanted in Strength, they supplied with Art, Skill, and Stratagem. Their Army was well seconded with Reserves, and so they began the Fight; the first Ranks being commanded so to do, gave ground, and under the pretence of being discomfited, made a Feint as if they were flying, that so, their Enemies pursuing them in Disorder, they

they might again return upon them in that straggling Posture : *Athelstan*, the base-born Son of *Edward*, was General of all the *English* Forces, as our Writers affirm ; and *Grafton* also says the same Thing. They make this *Athelstan* guilty of Parricide, in killing his Father, and his two Brothers *Edred* and *Edwin*, whose Right it was immediately to succeed their Father in the Kingdom : Fame increases the Suspicion, that *Edward* was violently put to Death, because it attributes to him the Title of a Martyr. For that Fact *Athelstan* being hated, to recover the Favour of the People, he resolved upon some eminent Enterprize, and accordingly determined at last to expiate the Blood of his Kindred, by shedding that of his Enemies : In pursuance of this Resolution, when he had fought stoutly for a time, he gave ground by little and little ; but afterward retreated with more Precipitation, and in greater Fear and Confusion, as if he intended absolutely to run away. The *Danes* and *Scots*, supposing themselves Conquerors, were unwilling to make any brisk Pursuit, lest the cowardliest of the Soldiers should enjoy all the Booty, and therefore they returned to plunder the Camp. Upon that *Athelstan* gave a Signal, and the *English* returning to their Colours, set upon them as they were scattered and laden with Spoil, and killed them like Dogs. The greatest Part of the *Scottish* Nobility was lost in this Fight, who chose rather to die on the Spot, than to undergo the Ignominy of deserting their Companions of the War. *Malcolm* being much wounded, was carried off the Field by his own Men, and sent the doleful Tidings of the Loss of his Army to King *Constantine* ; neither was the Face of Things more pleasant amongst the *Danes*. *Athelstan*, during this Astonishment of his Enemies, took *Cumberland* and *Westmorland* from the *Scots*, and *Northumberland* from the *Danes*. *Constantine* having not Force enough either to wage War, or to carry on Matters in Peace, called a Convention of the Estates at *Abernethy*, and willingly resigned the Kingdom, and betook himself to the *Culdei*, Worshipers of God, (for so the Monks of that Age were called), as to a Sanctuary, amongst whom he spent the remaining five Years of his Life at *St. Andrews*, in the Year of Christ 943, and the fortieth Year from the Beginning of his Reign. Here the *English* Writers, who are profuse in their own Praises, do affirm, that *Athelstan* was the sole Monarch of all *Britain*, and that the rest, who had the Names of Kings in *Albium*, were but precariously so, and his Feudataries only, as taking an Oath of Fidelity to him, as the supreme Lord. And they introduce many ignoble *English* Authors as Favourers of that Opinion ; and to procure them a greater Credit, they add also

Marianus Scotus, who was indeed an illustrious Writer. But here I desire the Reader to take notice, that there is not the least Mention of any such thing in that Edition of *Marianus*, which was printed in *Germany*; but if they have another *Marianus*, different from him who is publicly read, and interpolated or forged by themselves, let them produce him if they can. Besides, they being Men generally unlearned, do not in some Places sufficiently understand their own Writers, neither do they take notice, that *Bede*, *William of Malmſbury*, and *Geoffry of Monmouth*, do commonly call that Part *Britain* over which the *Britons* ruled, *i. e.* that within the Wall of *Adrian*; or, when they stretched their Dominions farthest, within the Wall of *Severus*; so that the *Scots* and *Picts* are oftentimes reckoned by them to be out of *Britain*, and are accounted as *transmarine* People. And therefore, when they read, that the *English* sometime reigned over all *Britain*, they understand the Authors so, as if they included *Albion* or *Albion*; whereas they do often circumscribe *Britain* within narrower Limits, as I have said before: But of this I have spoken more largely in another Place. To return then to the Affairs of *Scotland*.

MALCOLM I. the seventy sixth King.

CONSTANTINE having retired himself into the Cloyster of the Monks, *Malcolm*, the Son of *Donald*, was declared King. *Athelstan* being dead, and his Brother *Edward* reigning, *Cumberland* and *Westmorland* revolted from the *English*, and returned to their old Masters. Moreover the *Danes*, who remained in *Northumberland*, sent for *Avalassus*, their Countryman, of the Royal Progeny, who was banished into *Ireland*, to make him King; *Edmund*, foreseeing what Clouds of War were gathering over his Head, yielded up *Cumberland* and *Westmorland* to *Malcolm*, upon this Condition, That he who should next succeed in the *Scottish* Kingdom, should take an Oath to the King of *England*, as the Lord Paramount of that Country. Afterwards he easily reduced the *Danes*, who had been afflicted with various Calamities; neither did he long survive his Victory. The *English* chose his Brother *Edred* King after him; against whom the *Danes*, who possessed *Northumberland*, and never cordially observed any Peace made with the *English*, rebelled, and whilst he was incumbered with other Affairs at a distance, they took from him many strong and well-fortified Places, particularly *York*; but he overcame them by the Assistance of 10000 *Scots*. *Malcolm*, returning home, gave himself wholly up to the Arts of Peace; and, to cure the Distempers occa-

occasioned by the Wars, especially Luxury and lawless Living, he himself usually visited all the *Scots* Courts of Judicature once in two Years, and administered Justice with great Equity. At length, whilst he was busy in punishing Robbers, and in restraining the lewd Manners of the younger Sort, he was slain by some Conspirators of *Murray-Land*, in the Night, in the fifteenth Year of his Reign. The Perpetrators of that Villany were, with great Diligence, sought after, and found out by the Nobles; and, being apprehended, were put to several exquisite Deaths, according to every one's Share of Guilt, in committing the Parricide.

INDULPHUS, *the seventy seventh King.*

INDULPHUS reigned after him, who, having settled Things in Peace at home, passed the next seven Years in great Tranquillity; but in the eighth Year of his Reign the *Danes*, taking it amiss that the Alliance with the *English* was preferred before theirs, and that a perpetual League was made between the two Kings against them, came with a Navy of fifty Ships into the Firth of *Forth*, when the *Scots* little expected any such Thing; insomuch that they had like to have given them an universal Overthrow by way of Surprize. In such a sudden Invasion all were full of Fear and Amazement; some carried their Goods into the midland Country, as a Place of more Safety; others ran to the Sea-side, to hinder the Enemy's Landing. *Hago* and *Helricus* were the two Admirals of the *Danish* Fleet, they endeavoured first to land in *Lothian*, and afterwards in *Fife*, but in vain; they then essayed to enter the Firth of the River *Tay*, but there also they were hindered from making any Descent on Land; so that they coasted about the Shores of *Æneia* or *Angus*, of *Mern*, *Marr*, and *Buchan*; but in all Places being hindered from landing, they hoisted their Sails and went into the main Ocean, as if they intended to return home. But within a few Days, when all was secure, they came back again, and having gotten a convenient Place in *Boyn*, at the Mouth of the River *Cullen*, they there landed their Men without Opposition, before the Country People could give any Alarm of their Arrival. When *Indulphus* heard of their Landing, he marched towards them before they could well have any Notice of his Coming; and first he set upon the straggling Plunderers, and drove them to the rest of their Army, but made no great Slaughter of them, because the Camp of the *Danes* was near, to which they might make their Retreat. When the Armies came in Sight of each other, they both drew up in Battle Array, and fell to it with equal Force and

and Courage: Whilst they were thus fiercely fighting, *Græme* and *Dumbar*, with some Troops of *Lothian*-men, appeared on the Rear of the *Danes*; which put them in such a Consternation, that they all ran away, some to their Ships, others to unknown Places, whithersoever the Fear of the Enemy drove them: But the greater Part of them drew up in a round close Body, in a woody Vale, and there waited an Occasion of acting with Valour, or dying with the last Resolution. *Indulphus*, as if his Enemies had been wholly overcome, rode up and down with a few Attendants, and casually lighting into their Hands, was slain, at the Beginning of the tenth Year of his Reign. Some say that he was killed by an Arrow shot out of a Ship, having put off his Armour, that he might be more nimble in the Pursuit, and press the more eagerly upon them, as they were going a Ship-board.

DUFFUS, the seventy eighth King.

AFTER his Death, *Duffus*, the Son of *Malcolm* obtained the Kingdom; in the Beginning of his Reign he made *Culenus*, Son of King *Indulphus*, Governor of *Cumberland*, and sent him into the *Æbudæ*, which were then in War and Disorder, to restrain the frequent Robberies committed there. For the young Soldiers of the Nobility, having got a great many Companions about them, made the common People tributary to them, imposing a pecuniary Mulct on every Family, besides Free-quarter: and yet *Culenus* dealt not more harshly with them, than with the very Governors themselves of the Island, who ought to have restrained such Outrages. He commanded that, for the future, they, by whose Negligence these Disorders should happen, should make Satisfaction to the Commonalty, and also pay a Fine to the King. This Injunction struck such a Terror into these idle paultry Fellows, that many of them went over into *Ireland*, and there got their Living by their daily Labour. As this Matter was acceptable to the Commons, so it was as offensive to the noble Allies of those who were banished, and to many of the younger Sort, who were in love with that idle Kind of Life. These Men, in all their Meetings and Assemblies, did first secretly, and afterwards in the Presence of a Multitude of such as applauded them, begin openly to revile their King; alledging, That he despised the Nobility, and was drawn away and seduced by the Counsel of sorry Priests: That he degraded and put Men of genteel Extraction to servile Offices: That he advanced the most abject of the People to the highest Honours: That, in fine, he made such Medleys, as to turn every Thing upside down.

They

They added farther, That if things should continue at that Pass, either the Nobility must transport themselves into other Countries; or else must make them a new King, who might govern the People by those antient Laws, by which the Kingdom had arrived to the Height of Grandeur from such a small Beginning. Amidst these Confusions the King was seized with a new and unusual Disease, and no evident Cause of it appearing, when all Remedies had been tried in vain, a Rumour was spread abroad, by I know not whom, that he was bewitched: The Suspicion of this Witchcraft arose either from some Indications of his Disease, or else because his Body wasted and pined away by continual Sweating, and his Strength was so much decayed, that the Physicians, who were sent for far and near, not knowing what to apply for his Relief; when no *common* Causes of the Disease discovering themselves, they even laid it to the Charge of a *secret* one. And whilst all were intent on the King's Malady, at last News was brought, that nightly Assemblies and Conspiracies were made against him at *Forres*, a Town in *Murray*: The Report was taken for Truth, there being nothing to contradict it; therefore some faithful Messengers were sent to *Donald*, Governor of the Castle, in whom the King confided much, even in his greatest Affairs, to find out the Truth of the Matter. He, from a Discovery made by a certain Harlot, whose Mother was noted for a Witch, detected the whole Conspiracy. For the young Girl having blabbed out, a few Days before, some Words concerning the Sickness and Death of the King; being apprehended and brought to the Rack to be tortured, at the very first Sight of it she presently declared what was designed against the Life of the King. Upon this some Soldiers were sent, who found the Maid's Mother, and some other Gossips, roasting the King's Picture, made in Wax, by a soft Fire; their Design was, that as the Wax did leisurely melt, so the King, being dissolved into a Sweat, should pine away by Degrees; and, when the Wax was quite consumed, then, his Breath failing him, he should presently die. When this Picture of Wax was broken, and the Witches punished; in the same Month (as some say) the King was free'd from his Disease. These Things I deliver as I have heard them from our Ancestors; what to think of this sort of Witchcraft, I leave to the Judgment of the Reader, only minding him, that this Story was not found amongst our antient Records. Amidst these Things, the Fear of the King being laid aside, because they hoped he would shortly die, many Robberies and Murders were committed every where. *Duffus*, having recovered

ed his Strength, pursued the Robbers through *Murray, Ross* and *Caithness*, and killed many of them at several Skirmishes, as Occasion would permit; but he brought the chief of them to *Forres*, that their Punishment might be the more conspicuous in that Town. There *Donaldus*, Governor of the Town and Castle, petitioned the King to pardon some of his Relations, who were of the Gang; but, being denied, he fell into a mighty Indignation, as if he had been highly wronged: His whole Mind was taken up with the Thoughts of Revenge; for he judged that his Services done to the King were so great, that he ought, let him have asked what he would, not to be denied: And besides, the Wife of *Donald* finding that some of her Kindred too were like to suffer, did further inflame the already disaffected Heart of her Husband, by artful and bitter Expressions, moreover exciting him to contrive the King's Death, affirming, That since he was Governor of the Castle, the King's Life and Death were in his Power; and, having that Power, he might not only perpetrate the Fact, but conceal it, after it was committed. Accordingly, when the King, fatigued and wearied out with Business, was found asleep than ordinary, and his Attendants, made drunk by *Donald*, were laid fast in a dead Sleep also; he sent in *Affassins*, of which no Soul was aware, and after they had murdered the King, they carried him out so cunningly a back Way, that not so much as a Drop of Blood appeared; and so he was buried two Miles from the Abbey of *Kinloss*, under a little Bridge, in a blind Place, having the green Turf laid over him so, that there might be no Sign of any Ground which was digged up. This seems a more likely Story to me, than what others write, that the Course of the River being turned, his Body was cast into a Hole at Bottom; but when the Waters were returned again to their own Channel, then his Grave, such as it was, was covered: Besides, the Executioners of that bloody Fact were sent out of the way by *Donald*, because there is an Opinion, received from our Ancestors, which as yet obtains amongst the Vulgar, *That Blood will issue from a dead Body many Days after the Party's being murdered, if the Murderer be present, just as if the Fact had been but newly committed.* The Day after, when the Report was spread abroad that the King was missing, and that his Bed was all sprinkled over with Blood; *Donald*, as if he had been surpris'd at the Atrocity of the Fact, flies into the King's Bed-chamber, and as if he had been mad with Anger and Revenge, he slew the Officers appointed to attend him; after that, he presently made diligent Inquiry every where, if any Discovery of the dead Body could be

be made. The rest being amazed at the heinous Villany, and afraid too of their own Lives, returned every one to his own House. Thus this good King was most inhumanly and impiously murdered in the Flower of his Age, after he had reigned four Years and six Months; and as soon as they conveniently could, the Estates assembled to create a new King.

CULENUS, the seventy ninth King.

CULENUS, the Son of *Indulphus*, being made King by the Assembly of the Estates, the next Thing that was done, was to inquire into the Murder of King *Duffus*; and they made the more Haste to examine that Affair, because of some Prodigies that had happened, one of which seem'd particularly to regard the Murder. An Hawk was slain, truss'd by an Owl, and his Throat cut by him. The other Prodigy was also refer'd to the same thing, by the Interpretation of the Vulgar. For six whole Months after the Murder was committed, extraordinary Fires appeared in the Element; the Air was agitated with extraordinary Winds; nay, the Heavens were so colour'd and defac'd with Clouds, that neither Sun nor Moon could be seen in *Scotland* all that Time. This made all Mankind intent upon revenging the Death of the good King; and to that purpose, *Culenus* went into *Murray*, hoping to find some surer Discoveries of the Murder upon the Spot where it was committed. *Donald* hearing of his Coming, and conscious to himself of his nefarious Cruelty and Parricide, of which also his over-curious, and seemingly wild Inquisitiveness, made in Search after the Authors thereof, render'd him still more suspected, procured a Ship at the Mouth of the River *Spey*; where, with some others, he embarked himself, unknown even to his Wife and Children. This he did out of Fear, lest the Truth should have been extorted from him by the Rack. His hasty Flight, his dejected Countenance, (as it was observed), his few Attendants, his Trembling at his Entrance into the Ship, which was but casually riding there, without any Preparation for his Voyage, rais'd so great a Suspicion of him in the Minds of all who were present, that they forbore not to vent all manner of Contumelies against him, calling him an impious, sacrilegious Fellow, and a Parricide, and what other black Terms of Reproach their inflamed Anger could suggest. They added also, That though he had prevented the Coming of the King, yet he could never avoid the vindictive Providence, and the avenging Judgment of Almighty God. In a word, they pursued him with all the Execrations which the highest Indignation could excite in Minds thoroughly provoked, even till the

the Ship was quite out of Sight. When *Culenius* heard of his hasty Flight, he marched to the Castle of *Forres* with all Speed, where he apprehended the Wife of *Donaldus*, and his three Children; and by shewing them the Rack, compelled them to discover the whole Series of the Conspiracy; as also how, by whom, and where the Body was buried; and that she herself was not only privy to the Murder, nor merely accessory to it, but the Person who persuaded her Husband to the bloody Deed. When the People heard this, (for she was publicly tried), the Magistrates could hardly keep them from tearing her to pieces. The Day after, *Donaldus*, having been tossed some Days at Sea, was shipwreck'd and cast ashore, and being brought to the King, he and all his underwent the Punishments they so richly deserved. They who brought him to the King were liberally rewarded; his Castle was burnt, and all that were in it were killed upon the Spot. The Body of *Duffus* was honourably interr'd amongst his Ancestors. As these Things very highly ingratiated *Culenius* to those who were good, so the remaining Part of his Life accumulated so much *Odium* upon him, as never any King before him ever laboured under: For, whether induced by his own Nature, or urged for Fear of Danger, (as he would have it thought), he suffered the Severity of the Discipline, used under *Indulphus* and *Duffus*, to grow cold and remiss; and permitted the younger Tribe, being given up to unseasonable Debauchery, and foreign Delights, to run into those licentious Practices which were forbid by the Laws; till at last they broke forth into open Violence and Robbery. And when he saw the greatest Part of the young Nobility addicted to these Vices, he plunged himself in the like wicked Courses; so that he abstained not from corrupting noble Matrons, and even debauching religious Nuns, (which in that Age, on the account of their special Care to preserve their Chastity, were had in great Veneration), no, nor from his own Sisters or Daughters neither; nay, he kept whole Coveys of other Harlots, hired by his Panders, and kept them too in his own Court, and turned his Palace into Stews. When he was admonished and put in mind of these Things, by Persons of Prudence and Wisdom; on the behalf of the young Nobility he answered, That something was to be allowed to their Age; and as for himself, though he confessed, that some Things were amiss, yet he was forced out of Fear to tolerate them: For I remember, said he, what great Calamity the unseasonable Severity of the former King brought, not only on himself, but on the whole Kingdom: That the Nobility were the Stay and Prop of the Throne: That it was not true, that the martial Spirits of Men were always broken by this free kind

kind of Life, or made low and abject; nor, that the Thoughts of Arms were so neglected by them in Peace, as if they expected that there would never more be a Return of War. 'Tis true, (proceeded he), the Luxury of youthful Age is so far to be restrained, that it may not proceed too far, for Fear the good Seed of Ingenuity be choked (as it were) in the very Bud, and lost in too much Licentiousness; yet it is not *wholly* to be abridged, or taken away, lest the Seeds of Virtue should suffer in common with the Vices, and be both plucked up together. When the Nobles heard this Plea, which he urged in his own Defence, and perceived they could do no Good with him, by their Persuasions; but that they should more probably create Trouble to themselves, if they used the same Liberty of Speech to him in their Rejoinders, they withdrew from Court, fearing lest they should be compelled to be Witnesses; nay, and not only that, but even Partakers of these facinorous Practices, the very Sight and Hearing of which they detested and abhorred. The King, freed from such troublesome Imposers, gave himself wholly up to Wine and Women. He proposed Rewards to those who could invent any new kind of Pleasure, though never so filthy, never so detestable; his whole Court rung all the Night, and all the Day, with the lewd Songs of Debauchees, and the Huzza's of Drunkards. Thus Intemperance and Impudence were as much applauded by him, as Modesty and Chastity are wont to be esteemed by good and pious Princes. Those Vices which, though allowed or connived at by the Law, in other Men, are, notwithstanding the Impunity, acted by them in *secret*, were here *openly* committed without Shame. The young Nobility, thus grown effeminate with Pleasure, and a Multitude of Parasites and Flatterers with them, extol the King to the Skies, as if he were the very *first* of their Kings, who had joined Splendor and Magnificence with Authority; as tempering the Severity of his Government with Lenity, and easing the Burdens of Care and Labour with some Relaxation of Spirits, and Allowance of Delight.

Now, to continue these luxuriant Courses, there was need of great Expence, and therefore the wealthier Sort were fined upon feign'd Accusations; and the *Plebeians* were suffered to be made a perfect Prey, and harassed with all sorts of servile Offices. He that was not pleased with the present State of Things, was accounted no better than a rustick Clown, or a mere Savage; or, if he seemed to be of an higher Spirit than ordinary, he was presently accused by a Pack of Informers, as if he studied Innovation in the State. After three Years spent in this flagitious Licence; when Men were silent,

out of Fear or Sloth, Luxury began to grow its own Punishment: For when the King's Strength was exhausted by immoderate venereal Lust, and his Body had contracted Deformity by the Excesses of riotous luxurious Feasts, those Diseases followed which are the usual and almost the constant Companions of such Vices; so that there only remained a rotten Carcass, fit for nothing but to bear the Punishment of its former mispent Time. The King thus disabled for all the Duties and Functions of Life, the Strength both of his Body and Mind being enervated and weakened by Intemperance; and his Courtiers also following the same Practices, some *audacious* Fellows, being encouraged by Hopes of Prey and Impunity, committed publick Robberies and Murders, regarding neither the *Plebeians*, as being Men of poor servile Spirits; nor the Courtiers, as Persons enfeebled by all kinds of Debauchery.

THE founder of the Nobility, finding themselves surrounded with these manifold Mischiefs, and now at the very Brink of Destruction, called an Assembly of the States at *Scone*. The King also was desired to be present, that he might consult in common with the rest, in such a dangerous Juncture of Affairs, for the publick Safety. He, inwardly struck at this Summons, and awaken'd, as it were, from his drowsy Sloth, began to advise with his Confederates, What a Man, in such Straits, had best to do? And, though he knew not either how to resist, or how to fly, and his Mind presaged no Good to him; yet he resolved to go to the Assembly. And, as miserable Men are wont to flatter themselves in Adversity, so he did not altogether despair, that he, either out of Pity, or out of Respect to his Father's Memory, should procure some Favour, and not be suddenly hurl'd down from so high a Dignity, to the lowest Abyss of Misery and Wretchedness. In his Journey to *Scone*, having a Train big enough, but unarm'd and dispirited, about him, he was slain at a neighbouring Village called *Methvin*, by the *Thane*, or Sheriff of that Country, for having ravished his Daughter. When his Death came to be publickly known, though all Men were heartily pleased at being got free from such a Monster, with less Trouble than they supposed they should, yet the Perpetration of the Fact by *Robardus*, or *Radardus*, the *Thane*, was very much disliked by all People. He reigned, as the former King did, four Years and six Months.

KENNETHUS III. *the eightieth King.*

KENNETHUS, the Brother of *Duffus*, and third of that Name, succeeded *Culenus*: He being contrary to the foregoing King, in his Disposition, Manners, and the whole Course of his Life, used as much Diligence in reforming the Lives of the younger Sort, as the other had done in corrupting them; though in this, his Task was the greater, that Men are carried down headlong into Vice, with a great Propensity of Mind; but the Way to Virtue is by a steep Ascent. And indeed this was the Thing that gave the chief Occasion to the Opinions of some Philosophers, who contended, *That Man was naturally made to enjoy Pleasure, but that he was baled to Virtue, as it were, violently, and against his own Inclination.* I grant both Parts of this Assertion are false; but perhaps the Original of the Mistake was from hence, that seeing there is a double Power of Nature in Man, one of his Body, the other of his Mind; the Vigour of the Body seems to exert itself sooner and quicker than that of the Mind; and, as Plants do first send forth Stalks, Leaves and Flowers, pleasant to behold, before the Seed begins to be formed in its proper Pod and Receptacle; but when the Seed ripens, all those other Things fade away, and at last quite wither and decay; so do our Bodies grow youthful betimes, and before the Virtue of our Mind (which is then but weak and tender) can exert its Force; but as the Members grow old by Degrees, so the Strength of the Mind and of the Judgment expands and discloses itself more and more: And therefore, as in Corn, we restrain the luxuriant Growth of it either by causing it to be eaten up, or by cutting its over-rank Blade down; so in young Men the Law supposes, that the Forwardness of Wit, which over-hastens to shew itself, should be restrained by careful Culture, until growing Reason may be able, of itself, to repress the Violence of the yet infirm Body. But to return to *Kennethus*.

HE well knowing, *That the Commonalty do usually comply with the Humour of the Prince, and diligently imitate what he loves*; first formed a good Discipline in his own Court and Family, that so he might express in Deeds what he commanded in Words; and, as he propounded his own Life to be an Example to his Household, so he would have the Manners of his Domesticks be the Patterns for other People. He first purged his Court from all the vile Ministers of Lust and Wickedness, that he might be the better justified, when he undertook to do the same in other Parts of his Kingdom: For this good End he resolved to travel over the whole Country, to call together Assemblies, for the preventing and punishing of Thefts, Murders

ders and Robberies, for the encouraging of Men to Labour by Rewards, and for exhorting them to Concord by winning Speeches, that so the antient Discipline might be restored. But, in the Execution of this his Purpose, he found greater Difficulty than he imagined; for the major Part of the Nobility either had guilty Consciences themselves, and so feared their own personal Punishments; or else were allied in Blood to those who were guilty: And therefore the first Assembly being called at *Lanerick*, a Town of *Clydesdale*, they who were summoned to appear, being forewarned of their Danger by their Relations, some of them fled into the *Æbudæ* Isles; others to other Parts, infamously famous for Robberies. The King understanding the Cheat, and being not ignorant of the Authors of it, dissembled his Anger, and dissolved the Assembly; and so passed with a few of his familiar Attendants, into *Galway*, as if he were to perform a Vow he had made to *St. Ninian*. Being come thither, he consulted with those whom he judged most faithful to him, What was to be done in such a Case. The Result was, That a Convention of all the Nobility should, the next Year, be held at *Scone*, upon pretence of some considerable Matters to be advised upon, concerning the Good of the whole Nation in general; that there the Heads of the Factions might be apprehended without any Tumult; and when they were imprisoned, their Clans and Tenants might be made to bring in the Malefactors to the King. This Project was judged most adviseable, but it was kept secret, and communicated but to few, until the Meeting at *Scone* came. There the King had caused his Servants to prepare Soldiers, and to keep them privately in the next House to his Palace, the Day before the Estates assembled; and at the opening of it the Nobility, being very numerous, came, where they were courteously treated by the King; but upon a Sign given, they were immediately beset with armed Men. They were all in a Surprise, and overwhelmed with Fear, at this sudden Face of Things; but the King encouraged them by a gentle Speech, telling them, *That they need not be afraid, for he intended no Hurt to any good or innocent Man, and those Arms were not provided for their Destruction but for their Defence.* He farther alledged, how they could not be ignorant, that all his Endeavours, since he first came to the Crown, tended to this, *That wicked and debauched Persons might be punished, and the good enjoy the Estates, either left them by their Ancestors, or acquired by their own Industry; and besides, might have the quiet Enjoyment of those Rewards, which the King bountifully had bestowed or might bestow upon them, according to every one's Worth and Merit; and that these Things might easily be brought to pass, if they would* lend

lend their helping Hands. The last Year (said he) when I summoned some of the Offenders to appear on a certain Day, none at all came; that Failure (as he understood by common Report) was not made, so much out of Confidence of their own Strength, as of the Assistance of some of their Relations and Friends; which, if true, was both dangerous to the Publick, and a great Reflexion upon such Families. Now was the Time when they might redeem both themselves from Imputations, and the Kingdom from being molested by Robberies. This was easy to be done, if those who were most powerful in every County, would cause the Malefactors to be apprehended and brought to condign Punishment; and who those Malefactors were, was visible to all: But if they made Excuses, and having so fair Opportunity to deserve well of their Country, were deficient in improving it, the King, to whose Care the Safety of the whole People was committed, could not be excused, if he set them at Liberty, before the Offenders were brought to Punishment; and that this was the End why he had taken them into Custody: And if any one thought his long Confinement would be a Trouble to him, he might thank himself, seeing it was in his own Power, not only to procure his Liberty, but also to obtain Honour, Reward, and the Praise of all good Men into the Bargain. The Nobles having heard this Harangue, after Advice had, one with another, answered, That they had rather assert their Innocency by Deeds, than Words. Accordingly they promised him their Assistance, and desired him to lay aside all Suspicion, if he had conceived a sinister Opinion of any of them. Upon this their solemn Engagement, the King told them the Names of the Offenders. The Nobles, by their Friends, made diligent Search after them, and, in a short time, they were brought to the King, and punished according to Law. After that the Nobles were dismissed, having received some Gifts, and many large Promises, from the King; and the Commonalty also prayed heartily for his Majesty and the Nobility.

MATTERS being thus composed at home, he faithfully observed the League made by some former Kings with the English. But this great Tranquillity of all Britain was soon disturbed by the Danes, who appeared with a great Fleet, and anchored near the Red-Promontory, or Red-Head, a Place in Æneia, or Angus. There they staid some Days in Consultation, Whether they should land in that Place, or direct their Course towards England, as they intended at first: Many of them were of Opinion, That it was most adviseable to make for England, an opulent Country, where they might have both Provision enough for their Army, and also some Hopes of Auxiliaries and Recruits, in regard that many who were derived from Danish Ancestors, were yet alive amongst them, and many others stood obliged

obliged to them for old Courtesies and Friendships ; and that these, upon the first Notice of their Arrival, would presently flock in to them, as they had usually done in Times before ; but, as for the *Scots*, they were a fierce Nation, and very hardy, as those use to be who are bred in barren and hungry Soils : That they never attempted them, without some great and remarkable Loss ; and, in the present Case, if they overcame them, it would hardly be worth their Labour : But if they were overcome by them, they must endure the utmost Extremity and Rigour. Others were of a different Opinion, alledging, that if they made their Descent on the Coasts of *England*, then they should be obliged to fight both Nations at once ; but if the *Scots* were first overcome, the War against the *English* would be easy, when they were bereft of foreign Aids, and also terrified with the Loss of their Friends. They farther urged, That it was not the Part of great and magnanimous Spirits, to be intent on Prey and Booty only, they should rather call to Mind the Blood of their Kindred and Ancestors, who had been so often cruelly slain in *Scotland* ; and that now, especially, having a great Army, and being furnished also with Things necessary for War, they ought to take that Revenge, which might punish the savage Cruelty of the *Scots*, according to their Deserts, and might also carry the Terror of the *Danish* Name to all the Neighbouring Nations.

THIS last Opinion prevailed, and they sailed with their Navy to the Mouth of the River *Eske*, and there landed their Forces. They plundered the Town next to them, destroying all with Fire and Sword ; as for the Castle they levelled it to the Ground ; they slaughtered all the Inhabitants of the Town, without Distinction of Age or Sex. They made the like Desolation too all over *Angus*, even to the *Firth* of the River *Tay*. The News of it was brought to the King, then residing at *Stirling*, those who had escaped the Fury of the Enemy, made Things worse in their Relations, than they were in Reality. He, by the Advice of those Nobles that were present, propounded a short Day to such as dwelt near, to come in to him. Those who dwelt farther off, he charged by Letters to hasten up with their Forces ; but, with such Force as he had at present about him, he drew towards the Enemy, both to make what Discovery he could of their Posture, and likewise to prevent their Plundering. In a short time, a great Multitude came into his Camp, which was pitched at the Confluence of the Rivers *Tay* and *Earn*. As he was there ordering his Forces, News was brought him, that the Enemy had passed over the *Tay*, and were besieging *Perth*. The King, concerned at the Danger of a Town so near him, marches directly to it. As soon

soon as the *Danes* were in Sight, the *Scots*, eager of Revenge, made haste to fight them, and pitching upon a very convenient Place for their Army, they approached the Enemy. But the *Danes* having seated themselves on an opposite Hill, where they could not, without much Hazard, be attacked; the Archers and Darts-men compelled them to come down, insomuch that a most cruel Fight began at the Bottom of the Hill; much Blood was spilt, and the Victory uncertain, when the *Danes* gave forth a Word through their whole Army, *That no Man must ever hope to return again to their Camp, unless as a Conqueror*. Then after a great and universal Shout, they made such a brisk Charge and Assault upon the *Scots*, that they routed both their Wings, and eagerly followed the Pursuit. That Day had been certainly most ruinous to the *Scots*, unless Aid had been afforded by one Man, sent, as it were, from Heaven, in so desperate a Posture of Affairs! There was a certain Commoner whose Name was *Hay*, who was casually plowing in the Field, over which the *Scots* Fugitives were making the best of their Way, and his two Sons with him; they were able-bodied Men, stout and courageous, and also great Lovers of their Country. The Father took a Yoke, the Sons what Instruments they could catch, and stood in a narrow Pass, where the *Scots* flew the thickest; there, first by Reproaches, then by Menaces, they endeavoured to stop them, but not prevailing by either, they fell upon those that pressed on them, saying, *That they would be as so many Danes to them who thus ran away*. Hereupon those who were of more dastardly Spirits, made an Halt, and the stouter, who were rather carried away by the Rout, than fled for Fear, joined with them, crying out, *Help was at hand*; so that the whole Company turn'd back again on the Enemy, and forced the *Danes* to as dreadful and as precipitate a Flight as they themselves had been lately guilty of. This Trepidation of the *Danes* occasioned a great Shout among the Baggage-men, and Country People, as if a new Army had been coming. This Accident gave so great Encouragement to the *Scots*, and struck such a Terror into the *Danes*, that it raised the Spirits of the former, who were almost upon the point of Desperation; and occasioned to the other a certain Overthrow, instead of an hoped-for Victory. This is the Victory, obtain'd at the Village of *Loncarty*, celebrated for that and some Days after, and transmitted down to Posterity with great Rejoicings. When the Conquerors were dividing the Spoils, the Name of *Hay* was in all their Mouths; many creditable Persons affirmed, that they saw, where-ever he or his Sons made an Onset, there our Ranks were restored, and the *Danes* broken: In fine, they all unanimously ascribed the Prey, the Victory,

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the Honour of the Day, and their own Lives, to him. When *Hay* was brought to the King, he spoke very modestly of himself, and having rich and splendid Garments offered him and his Sons, that he and they might be the more taken notice of, at their Entrance into *Perth*; he refused them, only he wiped away the Dust off his Coat which he wore every Day, and carried the Yoke, which he used in the Fight, and so he entered the City; a great Train being commanded by the King to follow him at a distance, as well as some to go before him: Such a Confluence of People there was at this new Spectacle, that he alone took up almost the whole Solemnity of the Day. After the Departure of the *Danes*, and so sudden and unexpected a Calm, in an Assembly of the Estates, shortly after held at *Scone*, the first Debate they went upon was, What Honours and Rewards should be bestowed on *Hay* and his Sons. Lands were allotted him, almost the fruitfullest in all *Scotland*, which his Posterity enjoy to this Day, and their Family is happily increased into many opulent Branches, and they were then promoted from the Rank of the *Plebeians* to the Order of the Nobility: And a Coat of Arms was assigned them according to the Custom of Noble Houses, viz. *Argent 3 Escutcheons Gules*; which Bearing shews (in my Opinion) that the publick Safety was procured by the eminent Fortitude of those three Persons in that Fight.

AFTER this Battle, Peace seemed to have been settled for many Years, when, behold, some troublesome Matters at home disturbed this Calm: As for the Commotion of the *Islanders*, who, in a plundering Way, ranged all over *Ross*; that was quickly suppressed: Some of the Robbers being slain in Fight, some taken in Pursuit, and after executed. But *Crathilinthus*, the Son of *Penella*, or (as some call her) *Fina-bella*, gave far greater Disturbance: He was then the Chief of all *Mern*, both in Descent and Wealth. *Cruthinetus*, his Grandfather by the Mother-side, was made Governor by the King over that Part of *Angus* which lies between the two Rivers, each of them having the Name of *Eske*, where he gathered the King's Taxes and Revenues; his Grandson coming with a great Train to visit him, a sudden Quarrel arose amongst their Servants, so that two of *Crathilinthus's* Attendants were slain: He complained of it to his Grandfather, who laid the Blame of the Tumult upon his Grandson's rude Retinue and Company; and after a sharp Reproof he was dismissed by him, but not without Contumelies from his Servants and Domesticks: So that, returning home, he in great Wrath complained of the Affront to his Mother; who was so far from endeavouring to allay his Rage, and quiet the Mind of the incensed

censured Youth, by grave and wholesome Counsel, that she provoked him with Exclamations even to commit Parricide upon her own Father and his Grandfather. Not long after, *Crathilinthus*, having gathered an armed Company together, fit for his purpose, comes by Night into *Angus*, to his Grandfather's Castle: He, with some few Followers, were admitted in without Suspicion; and being once entered, he gave the Word to the rest, who lay in Ambush, and let them in also; so that he slew his Grandfather with his whole Family, plundered the Castle, depopulated the Country adjacent; and, as if he had done a famous Exploit, he returned pompously with a great Booty into *Mern*. But the *Angusians* did not suffer this Injury to pass long unrevenged; for soon after, gathering a great many of their Faction together, they made great Havock in the District of *Mern*. From that time forward Slaughters and Rapines were occasionally committed on both sides. *Kennethus* hearing of it, published a Proclamation, That the Chiefs of either Faction should appear at *Scone*, within fifteen Days, to answer what should be objected against them; for he feared, that if a greater Number should resort together, farther Tumults might arise: Some few being terrified by this threatening Edict, made their Appearance accordingly; but the greatest Part, of whom *Crathilinthus* was Chief, being conscious of their own Demerits, made the most convenient Escape they could. The King made diligent Search after them, and the greatest Part of them were taken in *Loch-Abyr*, and some elsewhere. *Crathilinthus*, and the Chief of the Faction, were punished with Death; others, according to the Degree of their Crimes, had less Punishments; and those who were but a little guilty, had none at all inflicted on them.

THIS Moderation and Temperament procured to the King Fear from the Bad, but great Love from the Good; and settled Peace in all his Kingdom, till the twenty second Year of his Reign. From whence, if he had persisted in that Course of Life which he had begun, he might well have been reckoned amongst the best of Princes; for he so performed all the Offices both of Peace and War, that he got great Renown upon the account of his Equity, Constancy, and Valour. But the Excellency of his former Life was blemished by one wicked Act that he committed, which seem'd to be of a more heinous Nature in him, in regard it was incredible and unexpected to proceed from his Disposition, who had before so severely punished grand Offenders. The Occasion of it was this; the King being now grown somewhat antient, had a Son named *Malcolm*, a Prince of great Ingenuity; but in point of Age, not yet mature to govern so fierce a People, if his Fa-

ther should die. Farther, the Custom of our Ancestors was then against it, that he should reign next after his Father; for they were wont to chuse, not the *next*, but the *fittest*, of the deceased King's Relations, provided he were descended from *Fergus* the first King of the *Scots*. Besides, the Favour of the Nobility was inclined to another *Malcolm*, the Son of King *Duffus*, the most praise-worthy Prince of all the *Scottish* Royal Race: He was then Governor of *Cumberland*, which County the *Scots* held as Feudataries of the Kings of *England*, on such Terms, that the Government of *Cumberland* was always looked upon as previous to the Throne of *Scotland*; for it had been so observed for some Ages past. The King, perceiving that this *Malcolm*, for the Reasons aforementioned, would be an Hindrance to his Son's Succession, not daring to destroy him openly, caused him privately to be made away by Poison. Thus died that excellent young Man, much lamented, and near to his greatest Hope; some Signs of Poison appeared in his Body, but it entered into no Man's Heart to suspect the King. Nay, his Deportment was such, as to avert all Suspicion; for he mourned and wept for his Death, and made an honourable mention of his Name, whenever Occasion offered: He caused him magnificently to be interred, no Ceremony being omitted, which could be invented for the Honour of the Deceas'd. But this superlative Diligence of the King to remove the Suspicion from himself, gave a shrewd Jealousy to the more sagacious. Yet they forbore to speak out, for the Reverence all bore to, and had conceived of, the King's Sanctity. But soon after, the King himself scattered some Words abroad, to try the Minds of Men, how they would bear the abrogating of an *old* Law, and the enacting a *new*, concerning the Succession of their Kings, *viz. That according to the Custom of many Nations, if a King died, his Son should succeed him; and if he were under Age, then to have a Protector or Tutor assigned to him, so that the kingly Name might rest in the Child; but the Power of Government in the Tutors or Guardians, till he came of Age.* Though a great Part of the Nobles praised his Speech, as being willing to gratify him; yet the Suspicion concerning the Death of *Malcolm* prevailed upon the major Part, and especially upon the Nobility, and those of the Blood-royal, who were afraid of the King.

MENS Minds being thus affected, Ambassadors came from *England*, to comfort the King upon the Loss of his Kinsman; and withal desiring, That in substituting another Governor, he would remember, that *Cumberland* being the Bond of Concord betwixt the two Nations, he would set such a Person over it, who might be an indifferent Arbiter of Peace, and that
would

would maintain the antient Alliance betwixt the two Nations, for the Good of them both; and who, if any new Suspicions or Jealousies should arise, would labour to extinguish them. The King judged this Embassy fit for his purpose; so that having conven'd the Nobility at *Scone*, he made a grave Harangue to them, against the antient Custom of the Assemblies of Estates in this Point; wherein he recited all the Seditions which had happen'd on that account, and with how great Impiety some of the surviving Kindred had treated the Children of former Kings; and what Wars, Rapines, Slaughters, and Banishments, had been the fatal Consequences. On the other side, he put them in mind, how much more peaceable, and less turbulent, the parliamentary Assemblies of other Countries were; and what great Reverence was borne to the Blood-royal; when without canvassing for Succession, Children succeeded their Parents in the Throne. Having thus spoken, he referred the Matter to that great Council, to determine something in this Case: He acquainted them also with the Demands of the *English* Ambassador; and, to give a greater and more manifest Proof of his Condescension and Civility, whereas it was in the King's Power alone to appoint a Governor of *Cumberland*, he left it to them to nominate one; supposing, that by this his Moderation he might the more easily obtain his Desire concerning the Succession to the Crown: For if he himself had nominated his Son for a Governor, he thought he should have prejudiced his other Request; because, as I said before, the Government or Prefecture over *Cumberland* was looked upon as the Designation of the Person to be the next succeeding King of *Scotland*. *Constantine*, the Son of *Culenus*, and *Grimus*, the Son of *Mogal*, Brother to King *Duffus*, who were thought most likely to oppose both Requests, were first asked their Opinions in this Case; who, partly for Fear of Danger, and partly that they might not run counter to the major Part of the Nobility, who had been prepossessed and influenced by the King, gave their Vote, *That it was in the King's Power to correct and amend Laws, which were inconvenient to the Publick; and also to appoint what Governor he pleased over Cumberland.* The rest, though they knew that they had spoken contrary to their own Sense, yet consented to what they said. And by this Means *Malcolm*, the King's Son, though not of Age, but immature for Government, was declared Governor of *Cumberland*, and also Prince of *Scotland*; which Title signifies in *Scotland* as much as *Dauphin* doth in *France*, and *Cæsar* amongst the old *Roman* Emperors, and the King of the *Romans* amongst the modern *Germans*; whereby the Successor to the preceding Magistrate is understood. Other Laws were also made, viz. *That as the*
King's

King's eldest Son should succeed his Father, so, if the Son died before the Father, the Grandson should succeed the Grandfather: That when the King was under Age, a Tutor or Protector should be chosen; some eminent Man for Interest and Power, to govern in the King's Name and Stead, till he came to fourteen Years of Age, and then he had Liberty to chuse Guardians for himself. And besides, many other Things were enacted concerning the legitimate Succession of Heirs, which ran in common to the whole Nobility, as well as to the King. The King having thus, by indirect and evil Practices, settled the Kingdom on his Posterity, as he thought, yet his Mind was not at rest: For, though he was very courteous to all, and highly beneficial and obliging to a great many, and managed the Kingdom, that no one Part of a good King was wanting in him; yet his Mind being disquieted with the Guilt of his Offence, suffered him to enjoy no sincere or solid Mirth; but in the Day he was vexed with the corroding Thoughts of that foul Wickedness, which would always force themselves into his Mind, and in the Night terrible Apparitions disturbed his Rest. At last, a Voice was heard from Heaven, either a true one, as some think; or else such an one, as his disquieted Mind suggested, (as it commonly happens to guilty Consciences), speaking to him in his Bed to this Effect. *Dost thou think, that the Murder of Malcolm, an innocent Man, secretly and most impiously committed by thee, is either unknown to me, or that thou shalt longer go unpunished for the same? There are already Plots laid against thy Life, which thou canst not avoid; neither shalt thou leave a firm and stable Kingdom to thy Posterity, as thou thinkest to do, but a tumultuous one, and full of Storms and Tempests.* The King terrified by this dreadful Apparition, hastened betimes in the Morning to the Bishops and Monks, to whom he declared the Confusion of his Mind, and his Repentance for his Impiety. They, instead of prescribing him a true Remedy, according to the Doctrine of Christ, (being then degenerated themselves from the Piety and Simplicity of their Ancestors) enjoined him those absurd and fallacious ones, which evil and selfish Men had devis'd for their own Gain, and unwary People had as greedily received; which were, To bestow Gifts on Temples and holy Places, to visit the Sepulchres of holy Men, to kiss their Relicks, and to expiate his Sin by Masses and Alms; and withal, they enjoined him to respect and reverence Monks and Priests, more than he had done before. Neither did the King omit to perform all that they enjoined him, thinking to be healed in his Conscience by these Expiations. At length, when he came to *Mern* to do reverence to the Bones of *Palladius*, a very holy Person, he turned a little out of his Way to go and
take

take a View of a neighbouring Castle, called *Fethercarn*; which was then, as 'tis reported, very pleasant with shady Groves, and Piles of curious Buildings, of which there remain almost no Footsteps at this Day. The Lady of that Castle was called *Fenella*, of whom Mention is made before; who bore the King a mortal Grudge, not only for the Punishment of her Son *Crathilinthus*, but also upon the account of her Kinsmen, *Constantinus* and *Grimus*; who, by his new Law, were excluded from the Succession to the Crown. But, dissembling her Anger, she entertained the King very splendidly, and with great Magnificence; and after Dinner she carried him out to view the Pleasantness of the Place, and the Structure of the Castle; and among the rest, she led him into a privy Parlour, to see a brass Statue, most curiously and artificially cast, which was made with so much Ingenuity, as they say, that when a String or Cord, which was secretly bent therein, was remitted and let go, it would shoot out Arrows of its own accord; and whilst the King was intent in viewing this Engine, an Arrow darted out from it, and slew him. *Johannes Major*, and *Hector Boëtius*, do both say, that the King came thus to his End; though, in my Judgment, it seems not at all probable. For it is not credible, that after the Decay of noble Arts amongst other Nations, so curious a Statue should be then made, and that in the remotest Part of *Britain* too; though *John Major* writes, That *Edmond*, the Son of *Eldred*, was slain by the same Artifice; but I cannot bring myself to think any otherwise than that both Stories are fabulous: Neither can I easily persuade myself, that all *Scotland* together had so many Jewels in Possession, as *Boëtius* affirms that one Lady was Owner of. And therefore I rather incline to the Opinion of some others, (amongst whom is *Winton*) who write, That the King was slain by some Horsemen, placed in Ambush at the Command of *Fenella*. He died in the twenty fifth Year of his Reign; a Prince eminent for all other Things, if the Murder of *Malcolm*, and his too great Affection to his Kindred, had not made such a foul Blot in his Escutcheon. He reigned twenty five Years, and deceased in the Year of Christ 994.

CONSTANTINE IV. the eighty first King.

AFTER *Kenneth* his Death, *Constantine*, the Son of *Culen*, surnamed *The Bald*, used so much Diligence in canvassing to get the Kingdom, as never any Man did before him. For he insinuated himself into all Sorts of People, complaining, That he and others of the Royal Blood, were circumvented by the Fraud of *Kennethus*, and so excluded from the Hopes of the Kingdom,

Kingdom, upon the Pretence of a most unjust Law; to which he, with others of the Blood, were forced by Fear to consent. He farther alledged, That the Inconvenience of the Law was very manifest and visible in itself. For, What, said he, can be more imprudent and foolish, than to take away one of the greatest Concerns in Government, from the Suffrage of the Wise, and to leave it to the Liberty of Fortune? and to bind themselves to obey a Child, because casually born of a King; who, perhaps, might be ruled by some Woman; and in the mean time, to exclude brave and virtuous Men from sitting at the Helm? He added farther, What if the Children of the King should have some Defect, either of Mind or Body, which made them unfit for Government? What if Children (proceeded he) had enjoyed the Kingdom in those Days, when we fought so many Battles with the *Romans, Britons, Picts, English, and Danes*, not so much for Dominion, as for a mere Being and Subsistence in the World? Nay, what can border more upon Madness, than to bring that upon ourselves by a Law, which God threatens as the severest Judgment to the Rebellious; and by this Means, either to despise the Threatnings and Predictions of the Almighty, or to run into them of their own accord? Neither (said he) is that true, which the Flatterers of *Kennethus* please themselves with urging, *i. e.* That the Slaughters and Avarice of the King's Kindred may, by this Means, be avoided; for the King's Children, whilst under Age, have as much Reason to fear the Frauds of their Guardians, as before they did the Plots of their Kindred. And therefore, now the Tyrant is removed, (said he), let us valiantly recover the Liberty he took away; and, abrogating that Law, which was enacted by Force, and submitted to, out of Fear, (if it may be called a Law, and not rather a publick enslaving of us, and a Prostitution of our Liberties): Let us, I say, return to the antient Institutions and Customs, by which this Kingdom arose almost out of nothing; and, which, from small Beginnings, have advanced it to that Splendor, that it is inferior to none of its Neighbours: Nay, and which have erected it again to a fresh high Tide of Glory, when it was at a low Ebb. Therefore, let us not neglect, or slip over, this present Opportunity, which offers itself, lest hereafter we seek it in vain. By these, and the like Harangues, with diligent Applications to the great ones, he drew a great Multitude to his Party, who assembled at *Scone*, twelve Days after the Funeral of *Kennethus*, and declared him King.

In the mean time *Malcolm*, who was busy about his Father's Funeral, hearing that *Constantine* was made King, called his Friends together, to deliberate what was proper to be done.

Some

Some were of Opinion, that before he proceeded any farther, he should sound how the Minds of the Nobles stood affected, so that he might know what Strength he was able to raise against a popular Man, supported by so many Factions and Alliances; and then, to form a Resolution according to the Number of his Forces. But those who were young and headstrong, despised this Course, as slow and dilatory; alledging, That it was best to obviate the Danger at its first Rise, and to proceed against the Enemy before he was settled in his new Kingdom. The King being young, embraced the latter Opinion, as the more specious of the two; and having gathered an Army of about ten thousand Men together, marches towards the Enemy. Neither was *Constantine* defective in his Preparations; for in a short time he levied so great an Army, that *Malcolm*, at the News of his Approach, disbanded his Soldiers, and retired himself into *Cumberland*. But *Kennethus*, his natural Brother, begot on a Concubine, judging that Course to be very dishonourable, persuaded some of the most valiant Troops to stay behind, and so to stop the Enemy at the River *Forth*, near *Stirling*, which was the Boundary to both Armies. There both Camps lay idle on the high Banks of the River, which was fordable but in few Places; by which Means they were so afflicted with Pestilence and Famine, (both which Calamities raged very much that Year) that each Army was forced to disband. Thus the Kingdom being divided into two Factions, the Commonalty was miserably afflicted with Hunger, Pestilence, and frequent Robberies. In the mean time, during the Absence of *Malcolm*, who according to his League was assisting the *English* against the *Danes*, *Constantine*, thinking he had now got a convenient Opportunity to subdue the adverse Faction, marches with great Forces into *Lothian*. *Kennethus*, who was left by his Brother to observe all *Constantine's* Motions, gave him an Halt at the Mouth of the River *Almon*. And because he was inferior in Number, he supplied that Defect by Stratagem; for he so managed his Army, that he got the Advantage both of the Sun and Wind; and, besides, his Army was flanked, as much as it could, with the River, which was the chief Cause of his Victory. For those on the Side of *Constantine*, trusting to their Numbers, rushed violently into the Battle, having the Sun-beams darting into their very Faces; and besides, a Storm suddenly arising, drove so much Dust into their Eyes, that they could scarce lift up their Heads against their Enemies. A great Slaughter was made in both Armies, and both the Generals themselves, upon a Charge, wounded and slew one another; after *Constantine* had invaded the Kingdom a Year and six Months.

GRIMUS, the eighty second King.

GRIMUS, the Son of King *Duffus*; or, as others say, of his Brother *Mogallus*, after *Constantine's* Death, was brought to *Scone*; and there, by the Men of his own Faction, was made King. He, perceiving that some Nobles of his Party were already corrupted by Messengers sent from *Malcolm*, and more of them were solicited by him, to a Defection; took some of those Messengers and committed them to Prison: *Malcolm*, being much incensed at the Imprisonment of his Ambassadors, as being done against the Law of Nations, breaks forth into open War. As *Grimus* was making Head against him, a sudden Rumour was dispersed through all *Malcolm's* Army, of the vast and prodigious Strength of the Army coming against them; So that all *Malcolm's* Measures were broken, many of his Soldiers deserted by Stealth, and many others making frivolous Pretences, publickly desired to be dismissed. This Fear first arose from the Merchants, who, preferring their private concerns before the publick Good, scattered the Report throughout the whole Army. And besides, there were some among them, who privately favoured *Grimus* his Party; for indeed, there were many Things in him very attractive of the Vulgar, as the Tallness of his Stature, his great Beauty, accompanied with a singular Courtesy, and a comely Mein in all his Actions: Besides, as there was occasion, he was severe in punishing Offenders, and he managed Matters with great Prudence and Dispatch; so that many promised themselves an happy and honourable Calm under his Government. In this Diversity and Combustion of Mens Spirits, *Malcolm*, not daring to trust any thing to the Hazard of a Battle, by the Advice of his Friends dismissed the greatest Part of his Army; and, with some select Troops, resolved to stop the Enemies Passage over the *Forth*.

In the mean time, the Bishop of that Diocese, *Fothadus* by Name, of whom all had an high Opinion, for his Sanctity, endeavoured to compose Matters by his Authority; and interposing betwixt both Parties, he at length brought Matters to this Pass, That a Truce was made for three Months; *Grimus* being to go into *Angus*, and *Malcolm* into *Cumberland*: And Arbitrators were likewise to be chosen by both Parties, by Consent, who were to determine the main Controversy in dispute. Neither did *Fothadus* give over his Endeavours, till they concluded a Peace on these Conditions: “ That *Grimus* should retain the Name of King, as long as he lived: “ And that after his Decease, the Kingdom should return to “ *Malcolm*: And for the future, the Law of *Kennethus*, for “ establishing

“ establishing the Succession in the King’s Children, should
“ be observed as sacred and inviolable. In the mean time,
“ the Wall of *Severus* was to be the Boundary to them both.
“ That which was within the Wall was to belong to *Malcolm*,
“ and that without to *Grimus*. Both of them were to be
“ contented with those Limits, neither being to invade each
“ other, or to assist the Enemies of one another.” Thus
Peace was made, to the great Joy of all Men, which was religiously observed for almost eight Years. *Grimus* was the first Occasion of the Breach; for, whereas, since the Beginning of his Reign, in turbulent Times he had carried himself as a good Prince, his Industry being slackened by the Quiet he enjoyed, he wholly plunged himself in voluptuous Courses; and that Kind of Life being, as usually it is, a Life of Expence, he was reduced to some Necessity, and so was forced to pretend Crimes against the richer Sort, that he might satisfy his own Avarice, and enjoy their Estates. Being told of the Danger of this Course by his grave Counsellors, he was so far from reforming it, or from abating any thing of his former Injustice, that he resolved to put his Monitors in Prison, and terrified others by their Punishment, from using the like Freedom in reproving Kings. In order to this he invited them kindly to his Court, but they, having Notice of his Design by their Friends, thought fit to retire; at which *Grimus* was so enraged, that he gathered a Band of Men together, and pursued them, wasting their Lands more than any foreign Enemy could have done; he spared neither Men, Houses, Cattle nor Corn; and that which he could not carry away, he spoiled, that so it might be rendered useless to the Owners. Thus he made a promiscuous Havock of all Things (whether sacred or profane) by Fire and Sword. Complaint of this being made to *Malcolm*, who was then busy in helping the *English* against the *Danes*, he presently returned home; for he was incensed, not only at the undeserved Sufferings of so many brave and innocent Persons, but much more at the Indignity offered him by *Grimus*; who, knowing that the Lands were shortly to pass over to another, without any Respect to future Times, had ravaged and swept away the Fruits, as if it had been an Enemy’s Country. There was a great Resort to *Malcolm* at his Return, insomuch that though *Grimus* had for a Time been dear to, and beloved by, the People; yet now the greatest Part of the Nobles forsook and abandoned him. However, he got what Forces he could, and with those he made Head against his Enemy. When their Camps were near one another, *Grimus*, knowing that *Malcolm* would religiously observe *Ascension-day*, resolved then to attack him, hoping to find him unprepared.

Malcolm, having Notice of his Design, kept his Men in Arms; and though he did hope well, as to the Victory, in so good a Cause; yet he sent to *Grimus*, to advise him to defer fighting for that Day, that so they, being *Christians*, might not pollute so holy a Day with shedding the Blood of their Countrymen: Yet he was nevertheless resolved to fight, alledging to his Soldiers, That the Fear the Enemy was in, though pretended to be out of Reverence to so holy a Feast, was a good Omen of their Victory. Then a fierce and eager Fight began; and *Grimus*, deserted by his Men, was wounded in the Head, taken Prisoner, and soon after had his Eyes put out; and in a short time, partly out of Grief, partly through the Anguish of his Wounds, he died in the tenth Year of his Reign. *Malcolm* carried it nobly towards the Conquered, and caused *Grimus* to be interred in the Sepulchres of his Ancestors: He received the Faction that followed him into his Grace and Favour, and blotted out the Memory of all past Offences; then going to the Assembly of Estates at *Scone*, before he would take the Government upon him he caused the Law, made by his Father, concerning the Succession to the Crown, to be publickly ratified by the Votes of the whole Parliament.

MALCOLM II. the eighty third King.

AT the Entrance into his Government, he laboured to restore the State of the Kingdom, which was sorely shaken by Factions. And as he forgave all former Offences to himself, so he took care that the Seeds of Faction and Discord amongst all different Parties might be rooted out. After this, he sent Governors, chosen out of the Nobility, into all Provinces (just and pious Men) to restrain the Licentiousness of Robbers; who, in former Times, had taken great Liberty to themselves to steal and plunder. By them also the common People were encouraged to Tillage and Husbandry; so that Provisions grew cheaper, Commerce between Man and Man safer, and the publick Peace better secured. Amidst these Transactions, *Sueno*, the Son of *Harald*, King of the *Danes*, being banished from home, came into *Scotland*. He was oftentimes overcome, made Prisoner by, and ransomed from, the *Vandals*; and having sought for Aid in vain from *Olavus*, King of the *Scandians*, and *Edward* King of *England*, at last he came into *Scotland*, and being converted to Christianity, of which before he was a most bitter Enemy, he received some small Forces there, and so returned into his own Country; from whence soon after he passed over with a great Army into *England*. First, he overthrew the *English* alone, and afterwards

wards he had the same Success against them, when the *Scots* assisted them, whom he grievously threatened, because they would not forsake the *English*, and return into their own Country. Neither were his Menaces in vain; for *Olavus* of *Scandia*, and *Enecus*, General of the *Danes*, were sent by him with a great Army into *Scotland*; they ranged over all *Murray*, killed whomsoever they met, took away all they could catch, whether sacred or profane; at last, gathering into a Body, they assaulted Castles, and other strong Places. While they were besieging these Fortresses, *Malcolm* had raised an Army out of the neighbouring Countries, and pitched his Camp not far from them. The Day after the *Scots*, perceiving the Multitude of the *Danes*, and their warlike Preparations, were struck with great Terror: The King endeavoured to encourage them, but to little Purpose; at last, a Clamour was raised in the Camp, by those who were willing to seem more valiant than the rest; and when it was raised, others received, and seconded it; so that presently, as if they had been wild, they ran in upon the *Danes*, without the Command of their Leaders, and rushed upon the Points of their Swords, who were ready to receive them. After the forwardest were slain, the rest fled back, faster then ever they came on. The King was wounded in the Head, and had much ado to be carried off the Field into an adjacent Wood, where he was put on Horseback, and so escaped with his Life. After this Victory the Castle of *Nairn* was surrendered to the *Danes*, the Garrison being dismayed at the Event of the unhappy Fight; yet they put them to Death after the Surrender. They strongly fortified the Castle, because it was seated in a convenient Pass; and, of a *Peninsula*, made it an Isle, by cutting through a narrow Neck of Land, for the Sea to surround it; and then they called it, by a *Danish* Name, *Burgus*. The other Castles, which were *Elgin* and *Forres*, were deserted, for Fear of the Cruelty of the *Danes*. The *Danes*, upon this good Success, resolved to fix their Habitations in *Murray*, and sent home their Ships to bring over their Wives and Children, in the mean time exercising all Manner of cruel Hardships over the captive *Scots*. *Malcolm*, in order to prevent their farther Progress, got a stronger and more compact Army together; and when they were gone into *Marr*, he met them at a Place called *Mortlach*, both Armies being in great Fear; the *Scots* being afraid of the Cruelty of the *Danes*, and the *Danes* fearing the Places, which they did not know, (as being far from the Sea, and fit for Ambushes) more than their Enemies. In the Beginning of the Fight, the *Scots* were much discouraged at the Slaughter of three of their valiant Worthies, viz. of *Kennethus*, Thane of the Islands; of *Grimus*,

mus, Thane of *Strathearn*; and of *Dumbar*, Thane of *Lothian*, who all fell presently one after another; so that they were forced to retreat, and to retire into their old Fastness, which was behind their Backs: There, fencing their Camp with a Trench, Ditch, and large Trees, which they cut down in a narrow Place, they fronted and stopped the Enemy; nay, they slew some, who, as if they had fully carried the Victory, did carelessly assault them, amongst whom *Enecus*, one of their Generals, fell. His Loss, as it made the *Danes* less forward to fight, so it gave new Courage to the *Scots*, who were intimidated before. So that, almost in a Moment of Time, the Scene was quite altered: the *Danes* were put to Flight, and the *Scots* pursued them. *Olavus*, the other of their Generals, got some to guide him, and bent his Course that Night towards *Murray*. Though *Malcolm* knew it, yet, having slain the forwardest of his Enemies, and wounded many more, he desisted from following the Chace. When News of this Overthrow was brought to *Swain*, in *England*, he bore it with undaunted Bravery, and sent some of his old Soldiers, and some that were newly come to him from his own Country, under *Camus*, their General, to recruit his old and shattered Army in *Scotland*. He first came into the *Firth* of *Forth*, but being hindered by the Country People (who observed all his Motions) from landing, he set sail, and made for the *Red-Promontory* of *Angus*. There he landed his Men, and attempted to take some Places, but being disappointed, he fell to plundering. Having pitched his Tents at *Balbridum*, i. e. the Village of *St. Bride*, Word was brought him by his Spies, that the *Scots* Forces were scarce two Miles distant from him; upon that, both Generals, according to the Exigence of the Time, exhorted their Men to fight; and the next Day they were all ready at their Arms, almost at one Time. The third Day they fought with so great Eagerness and Fury, as either new Hopes or old Animosities, could occasion and suggest; at last the *Scots* prevailed, and *Camus*, endeavouring to secure the Remainder of his Army, by flying to the Mountains towards *Murray*, before he had gone two Miles, was overtaken by the Pursuers, and he and all his Men were cut off. There are still extant some Monuments of this Victory, in an Obelisk, and a Neighbouring Village, which as yet retains the memorable Name of *Camus*. Another Band of them were cut off, not far from the Town of *Brechin*, where also another Obelisk was erected; the Remainder, being few in Number, under the Covert of the Night, made to their Ships; these last were tossed up and down several Days in the raging Sea by cross Winds; at length coming to the inhospitable Shore of *Buchan*, they rode there so long at Anchor, till

till they were necessitated, for Want, to send about 500 of their Men ashore, to get some Relief out of the neighbouring Country; *Mernanus*, the *Thane* of the Place, stopped them from returning to their Ships, and compelled them to retire to a steep Hill, where, being assisted by the Conveniency of the Place, they defended themselves with Stones, and slew many of the *Scots*, who rashly attempted them. At last the *Scots* encouraged one another, and in several Parties, in great Numbers, got up the Hill, and put every Man of the *Danes* to the Sword. There also, as well as at *Balbridum*, when the Wind blows up the Sand, there are Bones discovered of a greater Magnitude than can well suit with the Stature of the Men of our Times.

YET *Sueno* was not discouraged, no not even with this new Overthrow, but sent his Son *Canutus* with new Levies into *Scotland*. He landed his Soldiers in *Buchan*, and so plundered the Country round. *Malcolm*, though he had hardly recovered his Loss sustained in former Battles, yet made Head against him; and being not willing to hazard all by fighting a pitched Battle, he thought it best to weary the Enemy with light Skirmishes, and to keep him from plundering; for by this Means he hoped, in a short time, to reduce him to a great Want of Provisions, as being in an Enemy's Country, almost quite wasted and desolated by the Miseries of War before. He followed this Design for some Days, but at last, when the *Scots* had got a full Understanding of their Enemy's Strength, they less diffided in their own; and both Armies, being equally pressed with Want, unanimously desired a Signal to the Battle; pretending, unless it was given, they would fall to it, even without the Consent of their Generals. Upon that *Malcolm* drew up his Army in Battle-array, and the Fight was carried on with such desperate Rage and Fury, that neither Party came off in Triumph. And though the mere Name of the Victory fell to the *Scots* Side, yet a great Part of the Nobility being slain, the rest, wearied and depressed in their Spirits, returned to their Camp, giving the *Danes* Liberty to retreat, without any Pursuit: The next Day, when both Parties mustered their Men, they found so great a Slaughter to have been made, that they willingly admitted some Priests to be Intercessors of Peace between them. Accordingly Peace was made on these Conditions, *That the Danes should leave Murray and Buchan, and depart; and that as long as Malcolm and Sueno lived, neither of them should wage War with one another any more, nor help one another's Enemies; that the Field in which the Battle was fought, should be set apart and consecrated for the Burial of the Dead.* Upon this,
the

the *Danes* withdrew, and *Malcolm* gave Orders for the Interment of the Slain.

A while after he called an Assembly of the Estates at *Scone*; and that he might reward those who had deserved well of their Country, he divided all the King's Lands between them: On the other side, the Nobility granted to the King, "That
" when any of them died, their Children should be under the
" Wardship of the King, till they arrived at the Age of 21
" Years; and that the King should receive all their Revenue, except what was expended for the Education of the
" Ward; and besides, that he should have the Power to give
" them in Marriage; or, otherwise to dispose of them, when
" they were grown up, and should also receive their Dowry." I judge this Custom came rather from the *English* and *Danes*; because it yet continues throughout all *England*, and in Part of *Normandy*. Afterwards the King turned his Thoughts to repair the Damages sustained by the War; he rebuilt many Churches and Places applied to sacred Uses, that had been demolished by the Enemy; he built new Castles, or repaired the old, in every Town. Having thus restored Peace to the Kingdom by his great Valour, he endeavoured farther to adorn it with Laws and Ordinances; and annexed new Titles to certain Magistracies (I believe, such as he borrowed from his Neighbours) which served rather for vain Ambition, than for any real Use. For, in former Times, there was no Name superior in Honour to that of a *Knight*, except that of *Thane*, *i. e.* Governor, or Sheriff, of a Province or County, which Custom, as I hear, is yet observed amongst the *Danes*. But now a-days Princes observe no *Medium* in instituting new Names, or Titles of Honour; though there be no Use at all of those Names, but the bare Sound. Thus *Malcolm*, having finished his toilsome Wars, reigned some Years in great Splendor and Glory. But in the Progress of his Age, he sully'd the Beauty of his former Life with the Deformity of Avarice. That Vice, being incident to old Men, partly grew up in him with his Age, and partly arose from that Want, which his exorbitant Grants had driven him to. So that those Lands which he had unadvisedly distributed amongst the Nobility, he did as unjustly and wickedly labour to resume; and by exorbitant Fines laid upon the Possessors, he broke the Hearts of some, and reduced others to great Penury. The present Sense of Suffering, though sometimes just, blotted out the Memory of all former Favours; so that the Injury reaching to a few, but the Fear to many, the Friends and Kindred of those who were slain and impoverished, bent all their Thoughts to revenge their Relations, and to secure themselves. And at last, bribing
the

the King's Domesticks, at *Glammes* in *Angus*, they were admitted at Night into the King's Bed-chamber, where they murdered him. When they had committed the bloody Deed, those bribed Domesticks, together with the Parricides, took Horse, which they had ready bridled and saddled for all Events; and, being not able to find the Way, for that a deep Snow had covered all the Tracts, they were confounded, and wandered in the Fields, till they arrived at a Lake by the Town of *Forfar*; where endeavouring to pass over, the Ice being not very firm, their own Weight sunk them, and they were every Soul of them drowned. Their Bodies lay undiscovered for a time, by reason the Ice closed again; but when a Thaw came, they were found, and taken up, and being discovered who they were, their Bodies were hung upon Gibbets in the High-ways, there to rot for a Terror to the Living; and in Reproach to them after they were dead. This is the common Report about *Malcolm's* End; though some write, that he was slain by an Ambush, which was laid by the Relations of *Grimus* and *Constantinus*, the former Kings, after a bloody Battle joined and fought betwixt them. Others say, that he was killed by the Friends of a noble Virgin, whom he had ravished; but all agree, that he came to a violent Death. *Malcolm* reign'd so justly above thirty Years, that if Avarice had not corrupted his Mind in his old Age, he might well have been numbered amongst the best of Princes. The Year in which he died was a Year of Prodigies; for in the Winter the Rivers did mightily overflow; and in Spring there were great Inundations of the Sea. And moreover, a few Days after the Summer Solstice, there were very severe Frosts, and deep Snows, which quite spoiled the Fruits of the Earth, and thereupon followed a grievous Famine.

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THE

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND. BOOK VII.

I HAVE declared in the former Book, how eagerly *Kennethus*, and his Son *Malcolm*, strove to settle the Succession to the Crown in their Families, *That the eldest Son might succeed the Father*: But what the Success of it was, will appear in the Sequel. This is certain, that neither the publick Benefit which was promised to the whole Kingdom, nor yet the private Advantage, alledged to arise to our Kings from it, were at all obtained by this new Law. An universal Good to all was pretended, in thus settling the Succession, that Seditions, Murders, and Treacheries, might be prevented amongst those of the Blood-Royal; and also, that Ambition, with the other Mischiefs accompanying it, might be rooted out from amongst the Nobles. But, on the contrary, when I inquire into the Causes of publick Grievances, and compare the *old* with the *modern*, it seems to me, that all those Mischiefs, which we would have avoided, are so far from being extinguished by the abolishing of the old, that they rather receive a great Increase from this new Law. For, not to speak of the Plots of *their* Kindred against those who are actually on the Throne; nor of a present King's evil Suspicions of those, whom Nature and the Law would have accounted as most dear to him; I say, omitting these Things, which in the Series of our History will be farther explained, all the Miseries of former Ages may seem

seem light and tolerable, if compared with those Calamities, which followed upon the Death of *Alexander III.* Neither will I insist upon the Particulars following, *viz.* that this Law doth enervate the Force of all publick Counsels, without which no lawful Government can subsist: That by it we do willingly, and by Consent, create those Evils to ourselves, which others who have Interest in publick Governments, do chiefly deprecate, *viz.* to have Kings, over whom other Governors must be appointed; and so the People are to be committed to their Power who have no Power over themselves; insomuch that those who are hardly brought to obey wise, prudent, and experienced Kings, are now required to yield Obedience, as it were, to the very Shadow of a Prince: By which means we willingly precipitate ourselves into those Punishments, which God threatens to those who despise and contemn his holy Majesty; namely, that we should be in Subjection to Children, Male or Female, whom the Law of Nations, and even Nature itself, (the Mother of all Laws) hath subjected to the Rule of others. As for the private Benefit that Kings aim at by this Law, *i. e.* that they may perpetuate their Name and Family, how vain and fallacious this Pretence is, the Examples of the Antients, nay, even Nature itself, might inform them, if they had but considered by how many Laws and Rewards the *Romans* endeavoured to perpetuate the splendid Names of their Families; of which yet no one Footstep remains at this Day, no not in any Part of the World, which they had conquered. This Disappointment most deservedly attends those who fight against Nature itself, by endeavouring to clothe a fading, frail Thing, subject to momentary Alterations, and Blasts of Fortune, with a sort of Perpetuity; and to endow it with a kind of Eternity which they themselves neither are Partakers of, nor can be; nay, they strive to effect it by those *Mediums* which are most cross to their Purpose; For what is less conducive to Perpetuity than Tyranny? Yet this new Law makes a great Step towards it; for a Tyrant is, as it were, the *White, or Mark*, exposed to the Hatred of all Men, insomuch that *he* cannot long subsist; and when *he* falls, all *his* fall with him. It seems to me that God doth sometimes gently chastise and disappoint this Endeavour of foolish Men; and sometimes he doth expose it even to publick Scorn, as if it were set up in Emulation of his own Power. Of which divine Will I know not any fitter or plainer Instance, than that which we have now under our Hands. For *Malcolm*, who so much laboured to confirm the Law, which was almost forcibly enacted by his Father, by common Suffrage and Consent, *That the King's Children should be substituted in the room of their deceased Pa-*

rents,

rents, even he left no Male-child behind him ; but he had two Daughters, one called *Beatrix*, whom he married to a Nobleman named *Crinus*, the *Thane* of the *Western* Islands, and the Chief of the other *Thanes*, and therefore styled in that Age *Abthane* ; the other named *Doaca*, married to the *Thane* of *Angus*, was Mother of *Macbeth*, or *Macbeda*, of whom in his Place.

DUNCAN I. the eighty fourth King.

MALCOLM being slain, as hath been related, *Duncan*, his Grandson by his Daughter *Beatrix*, succeeded him, A Prince of great Courtesy, and of more Indulgence to his own Kindred than became a King ; for he was of a mild Disposition, and from his Youth gave notable Tokens of his Popularity : For in the most difficult Times, when he was made Governor of *Cumberland* by his Grandfather, and could not come to the King (by reason of the *Danish* Troops, which swarmed over the Country, and stopped all Passages), to swear to the Laws, yet he faithfully took Part with the *English*, till *Canutus*, having the rest of *England* surrendered to him, made an Expedition against him ; and then he submitted himself to the *Danes*, on the same Conditions under which he obeyed the *English* before. This also was popular in him, that he administered Justice with great Equity, and every Year he visited the Provinces, to hear the Complaints of the Poor, and, as much as lay in his Power, he hindered the great Men from oppressing the little ones. But as these Virtues endeared him to the good, so they lessened his Authority amongst the Lovers of Sedition ; and his Clemency to the former encouraged the latter to grow audacious. The Beginning of the Lessening and Contempt of his Government, happened in *Loch-Abyr*, upon the account of one *Bancho*, *Thane* of that Country, a strict Lover of impartial Justice ; some ill Men not enduring his Severity in Punishments, made a Conspiracy against him, plundered him of his Goods, and drove him away wounded, and almost dead. As soon as ever his Wounds permitted him to endure the jogging of his Body, he took a Journey and complained to the King ; the King sent a publick Officer to do Justice upon the Offenders ; but he was grievously affronted, and afterwards murdered by them ; so great Security did they fancy to themselves, by reason of the Lenity (but as they interpreted it, Sloth) of a good King. The Chief of the Faction, which raised this Disturbance, was named *Macduald* ; who, despairing of Pardon, prepares himself for open War. He called in the *Islanders* to his Assistance, (who were always prone to Sedition), and also the forwardest

forwardest of the *Irish*, in hopes of Booty. He told them that under an effeminate and slothful King, who was fitter to rule Monks than Warriors, there was no Fear of Punishment, but there might be great Hopes of Advantage; and that he did not doubt but the *Scots*, who were in a manner fettered with the Chains of a long Peace under the former King, when an Alarm was sounded to War, would come in to recover their ancient Liberty. These Exhortations were seconded with a successful Beginning, which much heartened the Party. There was one *Malcolm*, of the prime Nobility, sent by the King against them with some Forces; but his Army was presently overthrown by them, and he himself, being taken Prisoner, had his Head cut off. The King, troubled at this Overthrow, called a Council to consult of what was fit to be done. Some were very slow in delivering their Opinions, but *Macbeth*, the King's Mother's Sister's Son, laid the Blame of the Misfortune on the Decay of military Virtue; promising withal, that if the Command or Generalship were bestowed on him and *Bancho*, who was well acquainted with that Country, he would quickly subdue all of them, and bring Things into a State of Tranquillity. This *Macbeth* was of a sharp Wit, and a very lofty Spirit; and if Moderation had accompanied it, he had been worthy of a Command, though never so eminent; but in punishing Offenders of that Severity, which, without legal Restraints, seemed likely to degenerate very soon into Cruelty. When the chief Command of the Army was conferred upon him, many were so terrified, that laying aside their Hopes, which they had conceived by reason of the King's slothful Temper, they hid themselves in Holes and Corners. The *Islanders* and the *Irish*, their Flight being stopped, were driven to the last Despair, and stoutly fighting, were every one of them slain; *Macduald* himself, with a few others, flying into a neighbouring Castle, being past all Hopes of Pardon, redeemed himself and his from the Insults of his Enemies by a voluntary Death. *Macbeth*, not content with that Punishment, cut off his Head, and sent it to the King at *Perth*, and hung up the rest of his Body in a conspicuous Place, for Show. Those of the *Redshanks* which he took, he caused to be hanged.

THIS domestick Sedition being appeased, a far greater Terror succeeded, occasioned by the *Danes*: For *Sueno*, their most powerful King, dying, left three Kingdoms to his three Sons; *England* to *Harald*, *Norway* to *Sueno*, and *Denmark* to *Canutus*. *Harald* dying soon after, *Canutus* succeeded him in the Kingdom of *England*. *Sueno* (or *Swain*) King of *Norway*, emulous of his Brother's Glory, crossed the Seas with a great Navy,

Navy, and landed in *Fife*; upon the News of his Coming, *Macbeth* was sent to levy an Army; *Bancho*, the other General, staying with the King. *Duncanus*, or *Donald*, as if just roused from a Slumber of Indolence, was forced to go meet the Enemy. They fought near *Culrofs* with such obstinate Courage, that as one Party was scarce able to fly, so the other had no Heart to pursue. The *Scots*, who looked upon themselves as overcome, rather by the Incommodiousness of the Place, than by the Valour of their Enemies, retreated to *Perth*, and there stayed with the Remains of their conquered Forces, waiting for the Motions of the Enemy. *Swain* thinking that if he pressed eagerly on them, all *Scotland* would speedily be his own, marched towards *Perth* with all his Forces to besiege *Duncan*; his Ships he sent about by the *Tay*, to meet him there: *Duncan*, though he much confided in the present Posture of Affairs, because *Macbeth* was very near him with a new Supply of Force; yet being counselled by *Bancho* to piece out his Force by Stratagem, he sent Messengers, one to *Macbeth*, to desire him to stop where he was, and another to *Swain*, to treat about the Surrender of the Town. The *Scots* desired, that upon the Surrender they and theirs might have Liberty to depart in Safety; *Swain* supposing their Request proceeded from the very Bottom of Despair, would hear of nothing but surrendering at Mercy; upon this he sent other Messengers with unlimited Instructions, and a Command to delay Time in making Conditions; who, to ingratiate themselves the more, told the *Norwegians*, that whilst the Conditions of Peace were propounding and settling, their King would send Abundance of Provisions into their Camp, as knowing that they were not over-stocked with Victualling for the Army. That Gift was acceptable to the *Norwegians*, not so much on the account of the *Scots* Bounty, or their own Penury, as that they thought it was a Sign their Spirits were cowed, quite spent and broken. Whereupon a great deal of Bread and Wine was sent them, both Wine pressed out of the Grape, and also strong Drink made of Barley-malt, mixed with the Juice of a poisonous Herb, Abundance of which grows in *Scotland*, called *Sleepy Night-shade*. The Stalk of it is above two Foot long, and in its upper Part spreads into Branches; the Leaves are broadish, acuminate at the Extremities, and faintly green. The Berries are great, and of a black Colour when they are ripe, which proceed out of the Stalk under the Bottom of the Leaves; their Taste is sweetish, and almost insipid; it hath a very small Seed, as little as the Grains of a Fig. The Virtue of the Fruit, Root, and especially of the Seed, is *soporiferous*, and will make Men mad, if they be taken in too great Quantities.

Quantities. With this Herb all the Provision was infected, and they that carried it, to prevent all Suspicion of Fraud, tasted of it before, and invited the *Danes* to drink huge Draughts of it. *Swain* himself, in Token of Good-will, did the same, according to the Custom of his Nation. But *Duncan*, knowing that the Force of the Potion would reach to their very Vitals, whilst they were asleep, had in great Silence admitted *Macbeth* with his Forces into the City, by a Gate which was farthest off from the Enemy's Camp; and understanding by his Spies that the Enemy was fast asleep and full of Wine, he sent *Bancho* before, who well knew all the Avenues both of that Place and of the Enemy's Camp, with the greatest Part of the Army, placing the rest in Ambush. He, entering their Camp, and making a great shout, found all Things more neglected than he imagined. Some few roused at the Shout, running up and down like Madmen, were slain as they were met, the others were killed sleeping. The King, who was dead drunk, wanting not only Strength, but Sense also, was snatched up by some few, who were not so much overcome with Wine as the rest, and laid like a Log or Beast upon an Horse which they casually lighted on, and so carried to the Ships. There the Case was almost as bad as in the Camp, for almost all the Seamen were slain ashore; so that there could scarce be got together so many of them as were sufficient to guide one Ship; yet by this Means the King escaped to his Country. The rest of the Ships, by Strefs of Weather, fell foul upon one another, and were sunk; and by the Hills and Mountains of Sand, and other Slime and Weeds which the Water carries, meeting together in one great Heap, thence grew a Place of great Danger to Sailors, which is commonly called *Drumilaw Sands*.

WHILE the *Scots* were rejoicing for this Victory obtained without Blood, News was brought that a Fleet of *Danes* rode at *Kinghorn*, which was sent by *Canutus* to help *Swain*. The Soldiers and Passengers landing, seized upon and carried away the Goods of the People of *Fife* without any Resistance. *Bancho* was sent with Forces against them, who assaulting the foremost, made a great Slaughter among them. These were the principal Men of the Nation, the rest were easily driven back to their Ships. *Bancho* is reported to have sold the Burying Places for the slain, for a great deal of Money. Their Sepulchres, they say, are yet to be seen in the Isle *Æmona*.

'T is reported that the *Danes*, having made so many unlucky Expeditions into *Scotland*, bound themselves by a solemn Oath never to return as Enemies thither any more. When Matters thus prosperously succeeded with the *Scots* both at home and abroad,

broad, and all Things flourished in Peace, *Macbeth*, who had always a Disgust at the unactive Slothfulness of his Cousin-german, and had from thence conceived a secret Hope of the Kingdom in his Mind, was farther encouraged in his ambitious Thoughts by a Dream which he had: For one Night, when he was far distant from the King, he seemed to see three Women, of a more majestick Stature than Mortals usually are; of which one saluted him *Thane of Angus*; another, *Thane of Murray*; and a third King of *Scotland*. His Mind, which was before affected with Hope and Desire, was mightily encouraged by this Dream; so that he contrived all possible Ways by which he might obtain the Kingdom; in order to which a just Occasion was offered him, as he thought. *Duncan* had two Sons by the Daughter of *Sibert*, a petty King of *Northumberland*; *Malcolm* surnamed *Cammorus*, (which is as much as *Folt-Head*) and *Donaldus* surnamed *Banus*, i. e. *White*. Of these he made *Malcolm*, scarce yet out of his Childhood, Governor of *Cumberland*. *Macbeth* took this Matter incredibly ill, in regard he looked upon it as an Obstacle to him, in his obtaining the Kingdom; for having arrived at the Enjoyment of his other Honours promised him by his Dream, he thought this would prove the Means that either he should be secluded altogether from the Kingdom, or else should be much retarded in the Enjoyment of it; for that the Government of *Cumberland* was always looked upon as the first Step to the Kingdom of *Scotland*. Besides, his Mind, which was fierce enough of itself, was spurred on by the daily Importunities of his Wife, who was privy to all his Councils. At length communicating the Matter to his most intimate Friends, amongst whom *Bancho* was one, he got a fit Opportunity at *Inverness* to way-lay the King, and so slew him, in the seventh Year of his Reign; and, gathering a Company together, went to *Scone*, and by the Favour of the People made himself King. *Duncan's* Children were astonished at this sudden Disaster; they saw their Father was slain, the Author of the Murder on the Throne, and Snares laid for them to take away their Lives, that so by their Death the Kingdom might be confirmed to *Macbeth*. They therefore shifted up and down, and hid themselves, and so for a time escaped his Fury; but perceiving that no Place could long secure them from his Rage, and that being of a fierce and unforgiving Nature, there was no Hope of Clemency to be expected from him, they fled several Ways; *Malcolm* into *Cumberland*, and *Donald* to his Father's Relations in the *Æbuda* Islands.

MACBETH, *the eighty fifth King.*

MACBETH, to confirm the ill-gotten Throne to himself, won the Favour of the Nobles by great Gifts, being secure of the King's Children because of their Age; and of his neighbouring Princes, in regard of their mutual Animosities and Discords. Thus having engaged the great Men, he determined to procure the Favour of the Vulgar by Justice and Equity, and to retain it by Severity, if nothing else would do. Accordingly he determined with himself to punish the Freebooters or Thieves, who had taken Courage from the Lenity of *Duncan*; but foreseeing that this could not be done without great Tumults and much ado, he advised this Project, which was, to sow the Seeds of Discord amongst them by some fit Men for that Purpose, that they might be put upon challenging one another; and so some of them might fight in equal and divided Numbers one with another. All this was to be done on one and the same Day, and that in the most remote Parts of *Scotland*. When they all met at the Time appointed, they were taken by the King's Men which he had posted conveniently for that Purpose. Their Punishment struck a Terror into the rest; Besides, he put to Death the *Thanes* of *Caithness*, *Ross*, *Sutherland* and *Nairn*, and some other Chiefs of the Clans, by those Feuds the Commonalty were miserably harassed. Afterwards he went into the *Æbudæ* Islands, and exercised severe Justice there. After his Return from thence, he once or twice summoned *Macgil*, or *Macgild*, the most powerful Man in all *Galway*, to appear; but he refused so to do, rather out of Fear for being of *Malcolm's* Faction, than for the Guilt of the Crimes objected to him; upon his Refusal he sent Forces against him, who overthrew him in Battle, and cut off his Head.

THE publick Peace being thus restored, he applied his Mind to make Laws, (a Thing almost wholly neglected by former Kings) and indeed he enacted many good and useful ones, which now are either wholly unknown, or else ly unobserved, to the great Damage of the Publick. In a word, he so managed the Government for ten Years, that if he had not obtained it by Violence, he might have been accounted inferior to none of the former Kings. But when he had thus strengthened himself with the Aid and Favour of the Multitude, that he feared no Force to disturb him; the Murder of the King (as 'tis very probable) hurried his Mind into dangerous Precipices, so that he converted his Government, got by Treachery, into a cruel Tyranny. He vented the first Shock of his Inhumanity upon *Bancho*, who was his Accomplice in the King's Parricide. Some ill Men had spread a kind of Prophecy

phesy abroad among the Vulgar, *That Bancho's Posterity should enjoy the Kingdom*; whereupon fearing lest he being a powerful and active Man, and having dipt his Hands in the Blood-Royal, should imitate the Example that had been lately set him, he played the smiling Assassin, and very courteously and humanely invited him and his Son to Supper; but in his Return he caused him to be slain, as in a casual Fray or Encounter. His Son *Fleanchus* happening not to be known in the dark escaped the Ambush, and being informed by his Friends how his Father was treacherously slain by the King, and that his Life was also sought after, he fled secretly into *Wales*. Upon that Murder, so cruelly and perfidiously committed, the Nobles were afraid of themselves, insomuch that they all departed to their own Homes, and came but few of them, and those very seldom, to Court: So that the King's Cruelty being on the one hand plainly discovered by some, and on the other vehemently suspected by all Sorts of Persons, mutual Fear and Hatred sprung up betwixt him and the Nobility; which being impossible to be concealed any longer, he grew an open, a professed and compleat Tyrant; and the rich and powerful were for light, frivolous, nay, many times, but mere pretended Causes, publickly executed. Their confiscated Goods helped to maintain a Band of *Debauchees*, which he had about him under the Name of a Guard. And yet he thought that his Life was not sufficiently secured by them neither, so that he resolved to build a Castle on the Top of the Hill *Dunsinane*, where there was a large Prospect all over the Country; which Work proceeding but slowly, by reason of the Difficulty of the Carriage of Materials thither, he laid it upon all the *Thanes* of the Kingdom, and so dividing the Task amongst them, they were to find Workmen and Carriages, and to see that the Labourers did their Duty. At that time *Macduff* was the *Thane* of *Fife*, a very powerful Man in his Country; he, loth to venture his Life in the King's Hands, went not in Person, but sent thither many Workmen, and some of them his intimate Friends, to press on the Work. The King, either out of a Desire (as was pretended) to see how the Building proceeded, or else to apprehend *Macduff*, (as he himself feared) came to view the Structure, and by chance spying a Yoke of *Macduff's* Oxen not able to draw up their Load against a steep Hill, he willingly laid hold of that Occasion to vent his Passion against the *Thane*, saying, *That he knew well enough before his disobedient Temper, and therefore was resolved to punish it; and to make him an Example, he threatened to lay the Yoke upon his own Neck instead of his Oxen.* *Macduff* hearing of it, commended the Care of his Family

Family to his Wife, and without any Delay fitted up a small Vessel, as well as the short Time would permit, and so pass-ed over into *Lothian*, and from thence into *England*. The King hearing that he intended to fly, made haste into *Fife* with a strong Band of Men to prevent him; but he being departed before, the King was presently admitted into his Castle, where he poured out all his Fury upon the *Thane's* Wife and Children, who were there present. His Goods were confiscated, he himself was proclaimed a Traitor; and a greivous Punishment was threatened to any who dared to converse with, or entertain him. He exercised also great Cruelty against others, if they were either noble or rich, without Distinction. And from henceforth neglecting the Nobility, he managed the Government by his own Counsels. In the mean time *Macduff*, arriving in *England*, found *Malcolm* there, royally treated by King *Edward*: For *Edward*, when the *Danes* Power was broken in *England*, being recalled from Banishment, favoured *Malcolm*, who was brought to him by *Sibert*, (his Grandfather by the Mother's Side) for many Reasons; as either because his Father and Grandfather, when Governors of *Cumberland*, had always favoured the Interest of *Edward's* Ancestors as much as the Times would permit them to do; or else because the *Similitude of Events, and the Remembrance of Dangers gave them a Likeness of Disposition in their Minds*, for each King had been unjustly banished by Tyrants; or, lastly, because *the Affliction of Kings doth conciliate and move the Minds, even of the greatest Strangers, to pity and favour them*. Whereupon the *Thane*, as soon as he had Opportunity to speak with *Malcolm*, in a long Discourse declared to him the unhappy Necessity of his Flight, the Cruelty of *Macbeth* against all Ranks of Men, with the universal Hatred conceived against him; he advised *Malcolm*, in an accurate Harangue, to endeavour the Recovery of his Father's Kingdom; especially seeing he could not, without incurring a great deal of Guilt, let the Murder of his Father pass unrevenge'd; nor neglect the Miseries of the People which God had committed to his Charge; nor, finally, ought he to shut his Ears, against the just Petitions of his Friends. Besides, he told him that King *Edward* was so gracious a Prince, that he would not be wanting to him, his Friend and Suppliant; That the People did also favour him, and hated the Tyrant: In fine, *That God's Favour would attend the good against the impious, if he would not be wanting to himself*. But *Malcolm*, who had often before been solicited to return, by Messengers insidiously sent to him from *Macbeth*; that he might not be insnared, before he committed so great a Concern to Fortune, resolved to try the Faithfulness of *Macduff*, and therefore

he framed his Answer thus: "I know (says he) that all you
 " have said is true; but I am afraid that you, who invite me
 " to undertake the regal Government, do not at all know my
 " Disposition; for those Vices which have already destroyed ma-
 " ny Kings, *viz.* Lust and Avarice, do almost reign even in me
 " too; and though now my private Fortune may hide and dis-
 " guise them, yet the Liberty of a Kingdom will let loose
 " the Reins of them both: And therefore, said he, pray
 " have a care that you invite me not rather to my Ruin
 " than a Throne." When *Macduff* had replied to this, "That
 " the Lust and Desire of many Concubines might be pre-
 " vented by a lawful Marriage, and that Avarice might be
 " also bounded and forborne, when the Fear of Penury is
 " removed." *Malcolm* subjoined, "That he had rather now
 " make an ingenious Confession to him, as his Friend, than
 " to be found guilty hereafter, to the great Damage of them
 " both: For myself, to deal plainly with you, said he,
 " there is no Truth nor Sincerity in me; I confide in no
 " body living, but I change my Designs and Counsels upon
 " every Blast of Suspicion; and thus, from the Inconstan-
 " cy of my own Disposition, I use to make a Judgment of
 " other Mens." Then *Macduff* replied, "Avaunt, says he,
 " thou Disgrace and Prodigy of thy Royal Name and Stock,
 " worthier to be sent into the remotest Desert than to be
 " called to a Throne;" and in a great Anger he was a-
 " bout to fling away. Then *Malcolm* took him by the Hand,
 and declared the Cause of this his Dissimulation to him, tel-
 ling him, That he had been so often assaulted by the Wiles of
Macbeth, that he did not dare lightly to trust every body; but
 now he saw no Cause to suspect any Fraud in *Macduff*, in re-
 spect either of his Lineage, his Manners, Fame, or Fortune.

THUS they plighting their Faith to one another, consult-
 ed how to compass the Destruction of the Tyrant, and advised
 their Friends of it by secret Messages. King *Edward* assisted
 them with ten thousand Men, over whom *Sibert*, *Malcolm's*
 Grandfather by the Mother's Side, was made General. At the
 Report of this Army's March, there was a great Combustion
 in *Scotland*, and many flocked in daily to the new King; *Mac-*
beth being deserted by almost all his Men in so sudden a Revolt,
 and not knowing what better Course to take, shut himself up
 in the Castle of *Dunfinane*, and sent his Friends into the *Æbu-*
dæ, and into *Ireland*, with Money to hire Soldiers. *Malcolm*,
 understanding his Design, makes up directly towards him, the
 People praying for him all along as he went, and with joyful
 Acclamations wishing him good Success. His Soldiers took this
 as an *Omen* of Victory, and presently stuck green Boughs in
 their

their Helmets, representing an Army coming back in Triumph, rather than going to the Battle. *Macbeth* terrified at the Confidence of his Enemy, immediately fled, and his Soldiers forsaken by their Leader, surrendered themselves to *Malcolm*. Some of our Writers do here record many Fables which are like *Milesian* Tales, and fitter for the Stage than an History, and therefore I omit them. *Macbeth* reigned seventeen Years. In the first ten he performed the Duty of a very good King, in the last seven he equalled the Cruelty of the worst of Tyrants.

MALCOLM III. the eighty sixth King.

MALCOLM having thus recovered his Father's Kingdom, was declared King at *Scone* the 25th Day of *April*, in the Year of our Redemption 1057. At the very Beginning of his Reign he convened an Assembly of the Estates at *Forfar*; where the first Thing he did was to restore to the Children their Father's Estates, who had been put to Death by *Macbeth*. He is thought by some to have been the first that introduced new and foreign Names, as Distinctions of Degrees in Honour, which he borrowed from neighbouring Nations, and no less barbarous than the former were; such as are *Dukes*, *Marquesses*, *Earls*, *Barons*, *Riders* or *Knights*. *Macduff*, the *Thane* of *Fife*, was the first who had the Title of *Earl* conferred upon him, and many others afterwards, according to their respective Merits, were honoured with new Titles. Some write, That at that time Noblemen began to be surnamed by their Lands, which I think is false, for that Custom is not yet received amongst the *antient Scots*; and besides, then all *Scotland* used their antient Language and Customs, but instead of a Surname, they added their Father's Name after their own, like the *Greeks* of old; or else adjoined a Word taken from some Event, or from some Mark of Body or Mind; and that this Custom did then obtain amongst the *French* is plain, by those Royal Surnames of *le Gros*, the Fat, *le Chauve*, the Bald, *le Begue*, the Stammerer; and also by the Surnames of many noble Families in *England*, especially such as followed *William* the Conqueror, and fixed their Habitations there: For the Custom of taking Surnames from Lands was received but lately amongst the other *French*, as appears by the History of *Froissard*, no mean Author. “*Macduff* had three Requests granted him as a Reward for his Service: One, That his Posterity should place the King, who was to be crowned, in the Chair of State: Another, That they should lead the Van of the King's Armies: And a third, That if any of his Family were guilty of the unpremeditated Slaughter of a Gentleman, he

“ should

“ should pay four and twenty Merks of Silver as a Fine; if of
 “ a *Plebeian*, twelve Merks:” Which last Law was observed
 till the Days of our Fathers, as long as any Man of that Fa-
 mily was in Being.

WHILST these Things were transacted at *Forfar*, they who
 remained of the Faction of *Macbeth*, carried his Son *Luthlac*
 to *Scone*, (who was surnamed *Fatuus* from his Want of Wit),
 and there he was saluted King. *Malcolm* assaulted him in the
Valley Bogian, where he was slain, three Months after he had
 usurped the Name of King; yet out of Respect to his kingly
 Race, his and his Father's Body were buried in the Royal Se-
 pulchres in *Jona*. After this he reigned four Years in perfect
 Peace; then Word was brought him, that a great Troop of
 Robbers were nested in *Cockburn-Forest*, and that they infested
Lothian and *Merch*, to the great Damage of the Husbandmen.
Patrick Dunbar, with some Trouble, overcame them, losing
 forty of his own Men in the Onset, and killing six hundred of
 them; forty more of them were taken Prisoners and hanged.
Patrick for this Exploit was made Earl of *Merch*.

THE Kingdom was now so settled, that no open Force could
 hurt the King; but he was attempted by private Conspiracy.
 The whole Plot was discovered to him, whereupon he sent
 for the Head of the Faction, who suspected nothing of the Bu-
 siness, and after much familiar Discourse he led him aside into
 a lonely Valley, commanding his Followers to stay behind.
 There he upbraided him with the former Benefits bestowed on
 him, and declared to him the Plot he had contrived against
 his Life; adding further, “ If thou hast Courage enough, why
 “ dost thou not *now* set upon me, seeing that we are both arm-
 “ ed, that so thou may'st obtain thy Desire by Valour, not by
 “ Treachery?” The Plotter being amazed at this sudden Dis-
 covery, fell down on his Knees, and asked Pardon of the King,
 who being a merciful as well as a valiant Prince, easily forgave
 him. *Matthew Paris* makes mention of this Passage.

IN the mean time *Edgar*, to whom after *Edward*, the
 Crown of *England* belonged, being driven by contrary Winds,
 came into *Scotland* with his whole Family. That which I am
 to speak concerning this Person, may not be well understood,
 except I fetch Things a little higher.

EDMOND, King of *England*, being slain by the Treachery of
 his Subjects, *Canutus the Dane*, who reigned over Part of the
 Island, presently seized upon the *whole*. At first he nobly treat-
 ed *Edward* and *Edmond*, the Sons of the deceased *Edmond*,
 when they were brought to him. Afterwards instigated by
 wicked Ambition, and desirous to confirm the Kingdom to his
 own Posterity by their Destruction, he sent them away private-
 ly

ly to *Valgar*, Governor of *Swedeland*, to be murdered there. *Valgar* understanding their noble Birth, and considering their Age and Innocence, and taking withal Compassion of their Condition and Fortune, sent them to *Hungary* to King *Solomon*, pretending to *Canutus* that he had put them to Death. There they were royally educated, and so much grateful Towardliness appeared in *Edward*, that *Solomon* chose him out from among all the young Nobles, to give him his Daughter *Agatha* to Wife. By her he had *Edgar*, *Margaret*, and *Christian*. In the mean time *Canutus* dying, *Hardicanute* succeeded him. When he was slain, *Edward* was recalled from *Normandy*, whither he was before banished, together with his Brother *Alured*; Earl *Godwyn*, a powerful Man of *English* Blood, but who had married the Daughter of *Canutus*, was sent to fetch them home. He, desirous to transfer the Kingdom into his own Family, caused *Alured* to be poisoned: As for *Edward*, he was preserved rather by God's Providence than by any human Forefight, and reigned most devoutly in *England*: But wanting Children, his chief Care was to recal his Kinsmen out of *Hungary* to undertake the Government, affirming, That when *Edgar* returned, he would willingly surrender up all to him; but his Modesty out-did the King's Piety, for he refused to accept of the Kingdom as long as he was alive.

At length, upon *Edward's* Death, *Harald*, *Godwyn's* Son, invaded the Throne, yet he dealt kindly with *Agatha* the *Hungarian* and her Children: But he being also overthrown by *William* the *Norman*, *Edgar*, to avoid *William's* Cruelty, resolved with his Mother and Sisters to return into *Hungary*, but by a Tempest he was driven into *Scotland*; there he was courteously entertained by *Malcolm*, who made him his Kinsman also by the Marriage of his Sister *Margaret*. *William* then reigning in *England*, upon every light Occasion was very cruel against the Nobles either of *English* or *Danish* Extraction; but understanding what was a-doing in *Scotland*, and fearing that a Tempest might arise from thence, he sent an Herald to demand *Edgar*, denouncing War against *Scotland* unless he were surrendered up. *Malcolm* looked upon it as a cruel and faithless Thing to deliver up his Suppliant, Guest, and Kinsman (and one against whom his very Enemies could object no Crime) to his capital Foe to be put to Death, and therefore resolved to suffer any thing rather than do it; and accordingly he not only detained and harbour'd *Edgar*, but also gave Admission to his Friends, who in great Numbers were banished from their own Homes, and gave them Lands to live upon; whose Posterities were there propagated into many rich and opulent Families. Upon this Occasion a War ensued betwixt the *Scots* and *English*,

lish, where *Sibert* King of *Northumberland* favouring *Edgar*, joined his Forces with the *Scots*. The *Norman*, puffed up with the good Success of his Affairs, made light of the *Scottish* War, and thinking to end it in a short time, he sent one *Rogen*, a Nobleman of his own Country, with Forces into *Northumberland*; but he being overcome and put to Flight, was at last slain by his own Men.

THEN *Richard*, Earl of *Gloucester*, was sent with a greater Army, but he could do but little Good neither; for *Patrick Dunbar* wearied him out with light Skirmishes, so that his Men could not so much as straggle abroad for Booty; at last *Odo*, *William's* Brother, and Bishop of *Bayon*, being made Earl of *Kent*, came down with a much greater Strength; he made great Spoil in *Northumberland*, and slew some who thought to stop him from plundering; but as he was returning with a great Booty, *Malcolm* and *Sibert* set upon him, slew and took many of his Army, and recovered the Prey. When his Army was recruited, *Robert*, *William's* Son, was sent down thither, but he made no great Earnings of it neither, only he pitched his Camp at the River *Tine*, and rather defended himself, than carried on the War. In the mean time he repaired *Newcastle*, which was almost decayed by reason of its Antiquity. *William*, being thus wearied with a War, more tedious than profitable, his Courage being somewhat cool'd, applied himself to Thoughts of Peace; which was made on these Conditions, That in *Stannmore*, i. e. a *stony Heath*, (a Name given it for that very Cause), lying between *Richmondshire* and *Cumberland*, the Bounds of both Kingdoms should be fixed; and, in the Boundary a Cross of Stone should be erected, which should contain the Statues and Arms of the Kings of both Sides; (that Cross, as long as it stood, was called *King's Cross* :) That *Malcolm* should enjoy *Cumberland* upon the same Terms as his Ancestors had held it. *Edgar* was also received into *William's* Favour, and endowed with large Revenues; and that he might prevent all Occasion of Suspicion of his innovating Things, he never departed from the Court. *Voldiosus* also, the Son of *Sibert*, was to have his Father's Estate restored to him; and besides, he was admitted into Affinity with the King by marrying a Niece of his, born of his Daughter.

TUMULTS at home succeeded Peace abroad; for the Men of *Galway*, and of the *Æbudaë*, did ravage and commit Murders over all their neighbouring Parts; and the *Murray*-Men, with those of *Ross*, *Caithness*, and their Allies, made a Conspiracy, and taking in their neighbouring Islanders to their Aid, threatened the Government with a dangerous War. *Walter* the Nephew of *Bancho*, by his Son *Fleanchus*, who was before received

received into Favour with the King, was sent against the *Galway-Men*, and *Macduff* against the other Rebels, whilst the King himself was gathering greater Forces. *Walter* slew the Head of that Faction, and so quell'd the common Soldiers, that the King at his Return made him Lord Steward of all *Scotland* for his good Service.

THIS Officer was to gather in all the King's Revenues; also he had a Jurisdiction, such as the Sheriffs of Counties have, and he is altogether the same with that which our Ancestors called a *Thane*. But now a-days the *English* Speech getting the better of our Country Language, the *Thanes* of Counties are in many Places called *Stewards*; and he which was antiently called *Abthane*, is now the *Lord High Steward of Scotland*; though in some few Places the Name of *Thane* doth yet remain. From this *Walter* the Family of the *Stuarts*, who have so long reigned over *Scotland*, took its Beginning.

MACDUFF warring in the other Province, when he came to the Borders of *Marr*, the *Marrians* promised him a Sum of Money if he would not enter into their Lands; and he fearing the Multitude of the Enemy, protracted the Time in Proposals and Terms of a pretended Peace, till the King arrived with greater Forces. When they came to the Village *Monimuss* they joined Camps, and the King being troubled at the Report of the Enemy's Numbers, promised to devote the Village, whither he was going, to *St. Andrew* the Apostle, the tutelary Saint of *Scotland*, if he returned Victor from that Expedition. After a few Removes, he came to the River *Spey*, the most violent Current in all *Scotland*; where he beheld a greater Number of Soldiers than he thought could have been levied out of those Countries, standing on the other Side of the River, to hinder his Passage. Upon that the Standard-bearer making an Halt, and delaying to enter the River, he snatched the Standard out of his Hand, and gave it to one *Alexander Carron*, a Knight of known Valour, whose Posterity had ever afterwards the Honour of carrying the King's Standard in the Wars; and instead of *Carron* the Name of *Scrimger* was afterwards given him, because he, full of true Valour, though ignorant of the Modes and Niceties of Fencing, had conquered one who was a Master in handling of Arms, and who valued himself highly upon that account. As the King was entering the River, the Priests, with the Mitres on their Heads, prevented him; who, by his Permission, passing over to the Enemy before, ended the War without Blood. The Nobles surrendered themselves upon Quarter for Life; those who were the most seditious, and the Authors of the Rising, were tried, had their Goods confiscated, and themselves condemned to perpetual Imprisonment.

PEACE being thus by his great Industry obtained both at home and abroad, he turned his Pains and Industry towards the Reformation of the publick Manners; for he lived devoutly and piously himself, and invited others, by his Example, to a modest, just, and sober Life. It is thought that he was assisted in this by the Counsel and Monitions of his Wife, a singular good Woman, and eminent for Piety. She omitted no Office of Humanity towards the Poor, or the Priests; neither did *Agatha* the Mother, or *Christiana* the Sister, come behind the Queen in any religious Duty: For because a Nun's Life was then accounted the great Nourisher and Maintainer of Piety, both of them leaving the toilsome Cares of the World, shut themselves up in Monasteries appointed for Virgins. The King to the four former Bishops of *St. Andrew's*, *Glasgow*, *Whitehorn* and *Mortlach*, (where the old Discipline, by the Bishop's Sloth and Default, was either remitted or laid quite aside), added that of *Murray* and *Caithness*, procuring Men pious and learned, as Times went then, to fill the *Sees*. And whereas Luxury began likewise to abound in those Days, in regard many *English* came in, and great Commerce was carried on with foreign Nations; and also many *English* Exiles were entertained and scattered almost all over the Kingdom, he laboured, though to little Purpose, to restrain it. But he had the hardest Task of all with the Nobles, whom he endeavoured to reclaim to the Practice of their antient Parsimony; for they, having once swallowed the Bait of Pleasure, did not only grow worse and worse, but even ran headlong into Debauchery: Nay, they laboured to cover that foul Vice under the false Name of Neatness, Bravery and Gallantry. *Malcolm*, foreseeing that such Courses would be the Ruin, not only of Religion, but also of Military Discipline, did first of all reform his own Family very exactly; afterwards he made most severe sumptuary Laws, denouncing great Punishment against the Violators of them: Yet by those Remedies he rather stopped than cured the Disease, nevertheless, as long as he lived, he employed all his Endeavours to work a thorough Reformation. It is also reported that his Wife obtained of him, that whereas certain Degrees and Ranks of the Nobility had obtained a Privilege to ly the first Night with a new married Bride, by the Law of *Eugenius*; That Custom should be altered, and the Husband have Liberty to redeem it by paying half a Merk of Silver, which Payment is yet called *Marcheta Mulierum*.

WHILST *Malcolm* was thus busied in reforming the publick Manners, *William*, King of *England*, dies: His Son, *William Rufus*, succeeded him. Peace could not long be continued between two Kings of such different Dispositions; for the King
of

of the *Scots* chose that Time to build two Temples or Cathedrals, one at *Durham* in *England*, the other at *Dumfermline* in *Scotland*; upon both which Piles he bestowed great Cost, so that he endeavoured to retrieve Church Affairs, which then began to flag and decay: And, withal, he translated *Turgot*, Abbot of the Monks at *Durham*, to the Bishoprick of *St. Andrew's*. This he did, whilst *Rufus* was plucking down Towns and Monasteries, and planting and making Forests, that he might have the more Room to hunt in. And when *Anselme* the *Norman*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, did with Freedom rebuke him for the same, he banished him the Land: He also sought for an Occasion of War against the *Scots*, and so surpris'd the Castle of *Alnwick* in *Northumberland*, and slew the Garrison there: *Malcolm*, having demanded Restitution, but in vain, besieged the Castle with a great Army: They within, being reduced to great Extremity and Want, talked of surrendering it, and desired the King to come, and receive the Keys with his own Hand; which, as he was adoin'g, being tendered to him on the Point of a Spear, the Soldier run him into the Eye and killed him. And his Son *Edward* also being very forward to revenge his Father's Death, and, accordingly the more negligent of his own Safety, made an unwary Assault upon the Enemy, wherein he received a Wound, of which he died soon after. The *Scots* being afflicted and troubled at this double Slaughter of Two of their Kings, broke up the Siege, and returned home. *Margaret* did not long survive her Husband and Son, but died of Grief. The Bodies of these Kings which at first were buried at *Tinmouth*, (a Monastery at the Mouth of *Tine*) were afterwards brought back to *Dumfermline*: *Malcolm* held the Kingdom thirty and six Years, being noted for no Vice, but famous to Posterity for his great and many Virtues; he had six Sons by his Wife *Margaret*, of whom *Edward* was slain by the *English* in the Siege of *Alnwick* Castle: *Edmond* and *Etheldred* were banished into *England* by their Uncle *Donald*, where they died; the other three, *Edgar*, *Atheldred* and *David* succeeded in the Kingdom one after another; He also had two Daughters, the elder *Maud*, surnamed the Good, married *Henry*, King of *England*; the younger named *Mary*, had *Eustace*, Earl of *Bologne* for her Husband. Several Prodigies happened in those Days, and in particular there was such an unusual Inundation of the *German* Ocean, that it did not only drown the Fields and Country, and choaked them up with Sand, but also overthrew Villages, Towns and Castles; and besides, there were great and terrible Thunders, and more were killed with Thunderbolts than were ever recorded to have perished by that Death in *Britain* before.

DONALDUS VII. *surnamed BANUS, the eighty seventh King. (A. C. 1093)*

UPON the Death of *Malcolm*, *Donaldus (Banus) i. e. the White*, his Brother, who, for Fear of *Macbeth*, had fled into the *Æbudæ* was, without meeting with the least Difficulty or Opposition, at first declared King; for he had promised all the Islands to *Magnus* King of *Norway*, if, by his Assistance he might enjoy the Kingdom of *Scotland*. And, in this his obtaining of the Kingdom, those were most assistant to him, who did falsely accuse the former King for corrupting the Discipline of his Ancestors; and, withal, who stomached it that the banished *English* should enjoy the Estates of *Scots* in *Scotland*. *Edgar*, in such a sudden Change of Affairs, being afraid and solicitous for his Sister's Children, which were yet but young, caused them to be brought over to him into *England*. But this Piety of the good Man was calumniated by some; for *Orgarus*, an *Englishman*, seeking to win Favour with King *Rufus*, accused him that he had secretly boasted, *That he and his Kindred were lawful Heirs of the Crown*. The Accuser was not able to make good his Allegation by any Witnesses; and therefore the Matter was adjudged to be decided by a Duel; wherein the Accuser was overcome by another *Englishman*, who offered him the Combat instead of *Edgar*, who was now grown old and also sickly. All good Men who had a Veneration for the Memory of *Malcolm* and *Margaret*, hated *Donald*; who, by foreign Aid, in Conjunction with those of his own Faction, had seized on the Kingdom: And he, by his Rashness, did much increase the Hatred conceived against him, and by severe Threats which he uttered amongst his Familiars against the Nobles who would not swear Allegiance to him. And therefore they sent for *Duncan*, a base-born Son of *Malcolm's*, who had served long with Credit in the Wars under *William Rufus*, to oppose *Donald*. At his Coming many revolted from *Donald*, so that he was diffident of his own State, and therefore fled into the *Æbudæ* about six Months after he had usurped the Throne.

DUNCAN II. *the eighty eighth King.*

NEITHER did *Duncan* reign long; for he being a military Man, and not so skilful in the Arts of Peace, carried it more imperiously than a peaceable and civil Government required; so that he quickly got the Hatred of the Majority of his Subjects. When *Donaldus*, who observed all his Motions, heard of it in his Banishment, he corrupted *Macpendir*,
Earl

Earl of *Mern*, and by him caused *Duncan* to be slain in the Night at *Monteath*, a Year and six Months after he began to reign. As for *Donald*, he governed a troublesome Kingdom for about three Years; good Men rather tolerating him, (for Want of a better) than approving him. The *English* on the one Side, and the Islanders on the other, in his Time much molested *Scotland*. The Envy also against him was heightened, in that *Magnus*, King of *Norway*, had seized on the *Western* Islands; which though he seemed to have done by Force, yet all Men smelled out the Cheat, in regard *Donald* did not so much as stir at so great an Affront. And at last the publick Indignation grew warmer and warmer against him, when the Vulgar understood that it was done by a secret Agreement betwixt him and *Magnus*.

EDGAR, the eighty ninth King.

UPON these Disgusts secret Messengers were dispatched to *Edgar*, *Malcolm's* Son, That he would come over and be General, in order to obtain the Kingdom; and as soon as he appeared upon the Borders they promised to flock in to him. And they were as good as their Word; for *Edgar* being assisted with a small Force by *Rufus*, at the Instance of *Edgar* his Uncle, had scarce entered *Scotland* before *Donald*, being abandoned by his Men, fled away; but he was pursued, taken, and brought back to *Edgar*, who committed him to Prison, where he died soon after. *Edgar* having recovered the Kingdom by the general Suffrage of all the Estates, he in the first place made Peace with *William*, King of *England*, and when he died without Children, he renewed it with *Henry* his Brother. He gave him *Maud*, his Sister, to Wife, surnamed the *Good*, from her virtuous Manners (as I said before). By whom he had *William*, *Richard*, *Euphemia* and *Maud*. *Edgar* reigned nine Years and six Months in great Peace, revered and beloved by good Men; and so formidable to the *bad*, that in all his Reign there were no civil Tumults or Seditions, nor any Fear of a foreign Enemy. One Monument of his publick Works, was the Monastery of *Goldingham*, dedicated to St. *Ebb* the Virgin, which he built in the seventh Year of his Reign; though afterwards it was changed into the Name of *Cuthbert*.

ALEXANDER I. the ninetieth King.

EDGAR dying without Issue, his Brother *Alexander*, surnamed *Acer*, or the *Sharp*, succeeded him. In the very Beginning of his Reign, some young Men that loved to be fishing

ing in troubled Waters, imagining that he would be a peaceable (or as they interpreted it a *sluggish*) King, as his Brother was, conspired to take away his Life, that they might rob and plunder with the greater Freedom: But the Matter was discovered to him, and he pursued the Conspirators to the farthest Part of *Ross*; when they came to the River *Spey*, they thought to stop the King's Pursuit, by reason of the Rapidity of the River; and besides, the King's Friends would not suffer him to attempt the River, because the Tide coming in, they judged it unpassable, yet he set Spurs to his Horse and was about to pass over. The rest, lest they might seem to forsake their King in a Danger so great, were his Followers; but his own Men (as I said) drew him back, so that he sent over Part of his Army, under the Command of *Alexander Carron*, the Son of that *Alexander* I mentioned before, whose miraculous Boldness in passing the River with his Forces, struck such a Terror into the Enemy, that they presently betook themselves to Flight. Many were slain in the Pursuit, their Leaders were then taken, or else afterwards brought to the King, and were all executed at a Gallows.

THIS Expedition procured him Peace, even to the End of his Life. As he was returning through *Mern*, a poor Woman met him, grievously complaining that her Husband had been scourged with a Whip of Thongs, by the Earl of *Mern's* Son, because he had sued him for a Debt. The King hearing it, presently, in great Disdain, leap'd from his Horse, and would not stir from the Place till the Offender had received condign Punishment, and so he returned to *Invergoury*, or as some write, to *Baledgary*, *Edgar's* Town. Some write, that the Surname of *Acer* was given him for those Exploits; but others say, it had a more tragick Original, *viz.* That some Thieves having corrupted one of his Bed-chamber, were privately admitted in whilst he was asleep; and that awakened by their sudden rushing in, he first slew his treacherous Servant, and afterwards six of the Thieves. This raised a great Clamour in the Court, and the rest fled, but *Alexander* pursued them so fiercely that most of them were slain. Afterwards he turned his Thoughts to the Works of Peace; he built *St. Michael's* Church in *Scone* from the very Ground: The College of Priests which was there, he turned into a Monastery for *Monks*. Being once surprised in a Tempest, and driven into the Isle *Æmona*, he was there reduced to great Want and Hunger; for neither he nor his Companions could procure any Food for some Days, but what they got from one of those that lived solitary Lives, commonly called *Hermites*. He built also a Church there, in memory of *St. Columb*, supplying it with Canons, as they

they call them, and Lands to maintain them. He also gave great Gifts and Largeſſes, and ſettled Lands on *St. Andrew's*, which was rich enough before. He finiſhed the Church at *Dumfermline*, which his Father had begun, and endowed it with Revenues.

AFTER theſe Tranſactions in Peace and War, when he had reigned ſeventeen Years, he departed this Life, leaving no Children by *Sibyl* his Wife, Daughter of *William* the Norman.

DAVID I. *the ninety firſt King.*

HIS Brother *David* ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, in the Year of Chriſt 1124. He ſeeing that his Brothers reigned ſucceſſively, one after another in *Scotland*, ſtayed with his Siſter *Maud* in *England*. There he married his Couſin *Maud*, a Woman of great Beauty, Wealth and Nobility; for *Voldioſus* Earl of *Northumberland* was her Father, and her Mother was *Judith*, Niece to *William* the Norman. He had a Son by her named *Henry*, in whom both his Father's and Mother's Diſpoſition did preſently appear. Upon this Marriage his Revenues were much increaſed by the Acceſſion of *Northumberland* and *Huntingtonſhire* to the Lands he enjoyed before. Thus, with the univerſal Gratulation of his Subjects, he came into *Scotland* to poſſeſs the Kingdom. 'Tis true, the Memory of his Parents was of great Force to procure him the Favour of the People; yet his own Virtue was ſuch, that he ſtood in no Need of any adventitious Help: For, as in other Virtues, he equalled other good Kings, ſo in his Condeſcenſion to hear the Cauſes of the Poor, he was much ſuperior to them. As for the Complaints of the Rich, he heard them himſelf, and if a falſe Judgment had been given he would not ſet it aſide, but compelled the Judge himſelf to pay the Damages awarded. He reſtrained Luxury, which then begun to ſpread, according to the Example of his Father. He baniſhed *Epicures*, and ſuch as ſtudied Arts to provoke the Appetite, out of the Kingdom. He far exceeded the Beneficence of his Parents and Kindred, (which were worthy rather of Pardon than Praise) in increaſing the Revenues of the Church. He repaired Monafteries, whether decayed by Age, or ruined by the Wars, and he alſo built new ones from the Ground: To the ſix Biſhopricks which he found, he added four more, *Roſs*, *Brechin*, *Dunkelden*, and *Dunblain*. He almoſt impoveriſhed the ſucceeding Kings to endow them, for he beſtowed upon them a great Part of the Crown Lands. *Johannes Major*, who, when I was but a Youth, was famous for his theological Studies, having highly praiſed this King for his other Actions; yet he blames his profuſe Lavifhneſs

vishness in endowing Monasteries in a solemn (and I wish it had been an undeserved) Oration. And I the more wonder at this immoderate Profusion of the publick Money and Patrimony; because in those very Times *St. Bernard* sharply reproves the *Priests* and *Monks* in his severe Sermons for their excessive Luxury and Expence; which yet, if compared with that of our Age, seems but moderate. The Fruits which followed these *Donations*, shew that the Design was not well grounded: For as in Bodies too corpulent, the Use of all the Members ceases; so the Sparks of Wit, oppressed by Luxury, languished in the Abbies. The Study of Learning was quite left off, Piety degenerated into Superstition, and the Seeds of all Vices sprung up in them, as in an uncultivated Field. All the Time of his Reign he had but one domestick Commotion, and that was rather a Tumult than a civil War; and it was quickly ended in the Slaughter of *Æneas*, Earl of *Murray*, with a great Number of his Followers. *Malcolm Macbeth* endeavouring to raise a new Sedition, was committed Prisoner to the Castle of *Roxburgh*. Other Matters succeeded according to his Desire, but yet a double Calamity fell upon him. One from the untimely Death of his Wife, the other, of his Son. As for his Wife *Maud*, she was a Woman of high Descent, of exquisite Beauty, and most accomplished Manners: He loved her passionately whilst she lived, and the Loss of her in the Flower of her Age did so affect him, that, for twenty Years after, he lived a Widower, neither did he touch any other Woman all that while; and yet the Greatness of his Sorrow was no Hinderance to him from managing the publick Offices and Concerns both of Peace and War. Concerning his Son I will speak in due Place.

DAVID thus addicted himself to the Arts of Peace, but some troublesome Matters in *England* drew him unwillingly into a War. The Occasion was this: All the Off-spring of King *Henry* of *England*, except his Daughter *Maud*, were drowned in their Passage from *France* into *England*; which Misfortune so grieved him, that (it is reported) he was never seen to laugh after that Time. *Maud*, who only survived and escaped that Calamity, married the Emperor *Henry* the Fourth. Her Husband dying without Children, she returned into *England* to her Father. He was willing to settle the Succession on her, and in order to it, because she was a Widow and childless, and considering his own Mortality, he caused all the Nobility to swear an Oath of Fealty to her; and in hopes that she might have Children, he married her to *Geoffry Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*. Five Years after that Marriage, *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*,
and

and King *Henry* died, and *Geoffry* of *Anjou*, falling into a dangerous Disease, lay bedrid.

IN the mean time *Stephen*, Earl of *Bologne*, in this Want of Royal Issue, took Heart to assume the Crown of *England*: Neither did he look upon it as a Design of any great Difficulty, both by reason of the Weakness of the adverse Party, and also because he himself had some Royal Blood running in his Veins: For he was born of a Daughter of *William* the *Norman*, which had married the Earl of *Blois*. He himself had also married *Maud*, Daughter of the former Earl of *Bologne*, and Cousin-german to *Maud* the Empress, and born of *Mary*, Sister to *David*, King of *Scotland*. Upon the Confidence of so great Alliances, by reason of the Absence of *Maud* the Queen, and the Sickneſs of *Geoffry*, he thought he might easily obtain the Crown of *England*. And to make his Way clearer, without any Conscience or Regard of his Oath which he and the other Kindred had taken to Queen *Maud*, he drew in, by great Promises, the Bishops of *England*, who had also taken the same Oath, into his unlawful Design; and especially *William*, Archbishop of *York*, who was the first that swore Allegiance to Queen *Maud*; and *Roger*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, who had not only taken the Oath himself, but had also read the Words of it to the other Nobles when they took it.

UPON this Confidence, even before his Uncle *Henry* was buried, he stepped into the Throne, and the two first Years reigned peaceably enough; whereupon growing insolent, he began to neglect his Agreement made with the *English*, and also to deal arrogantly with his Neighbours. After he had compelled all the *English*, partly by Fear, and partly by fair Promises, to take an Oath of Allegiance to him, he sent Ambassadors to *David*, King of *Scots*, to put him in mind to take the same Oath, for the Counties of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland* and *Huntington*, which he held of him. *David* returned Answer, that he, together with *Stephen* himself, and the other Nobles of *England*, had, not long since, bound themselves by an Oath to obey *Maud*, their lawful Queen; and that he ought not, nor would acknowledge any other Monarch as long as she was alive. When this Answer was brought to *Stephen*, presently a War began. The *English* entered upon the adjacent *Scots* with Fire and Sword, the *Scots* doing as much for them. The next Year an Army of *Scots*, under the Conduct of the Earls of *Merch*, of *Monteith*, and of *Angus*, entered *England*, and met the *English* at the Town of *Allerton*, whose General was the Earl of *Gloucester*. A sharp Battle was there fought with equal Slaughter on both sides, as long as both Armies stood to it; at last, the *English* being overthrown, many perished in the Flight, and

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many of the Nobility were taken Prisoners, amongst whom was the Earl of *Gloucester* himself. *Stephen*, very much concerned at this Overthrow, and fearing it might otherwise alienate from him the Affections of the Friends and Kindred of the captive Nobles, refused no Conditions of Peace. The Terms were these, “That the *English* Prisoners should be released without Ransom; That *Stephen* should quit the Claim which, as chief Lord, he pretended to have over *Cumberland*.” But *Stephen* observed those Conditions no better than he did the Oath formerly taken to *Maud*, his Kinswoman; for before the Armies were quite disbanded, and the Prisoners released, he privately surprised some Castles in *Northumberland*, and, by driving away Booties from the *Scots* Countries, renewed the War. The *Scots*, gathering a sudden Army together of the neighbouring Provinces, and despising the *English*, whom they had overthrown in Battle the self same Year, run rashly on to the Conflict at the River *Tees*; where they paid for their Folly of undervaluing the Enemy, and received a signal Overthrow; they were likewise compelled to quit *Northumberland*. *David*, to retrieve this Loss and Ignominy, gathered as great an Army as ever he could together, and came to *Roxburgh*; thither *Turstan*, Archbishop of *York*, or (as *William* of *Newberry* calls him) *Trustinus* was sent by the *English* to treat concerning a Pacification, and there being some Hope of Agreement, a Truce was made for three Months upon Condition, “That *Northumberland* should be presently restored to the *Scots*.” But this Promise, which was made by *Stephen*, only to have the Army disbanded, was not performed; so that *David* drove away a great Booty out of that Part of *Northumberland* which obeyed *Stephen*; and *Stephen*, gathering a great Force together, pierced as far as *Roxburgh*; but understanding that the Nobility were averse, and complained that they were involved in an unjust and unnecessary War, without performing any memorable Exploit, he retired into the Heart of his Kingdom: And the next Year, fearing some intestine Sedition, he sent his Wife *Maud* to *David* her Uncle, to treat of Peace. Upon her Mediation it was accorded, that *David* from *Newcastle*, where he commonly resided, and *Stephen* from *Durham*, should send Arbitrators for composing of Matters to the Town of *Chester* in the Street, situate in the Midway, equally distant from both Places. *David* sent the Archbishops of *St. Andrew’s* and *Glasgow*; *Stephen*, the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*. Both Parties were the more inclinable to Peace, because *Stephen* feared War from abroad, and Seditions at home; and the *Scots* complained that they were forced to bear the Shock of a War made in the Behalf of another; whereas *Maud*, for whose Sake

it was commenced, did nothing at all in it. The Peace was made on these Conditions, “ That *Cumberland*, as by antient
 “ Right, should be possessed by *David*, and that *Northumber-*
 “ land unto the River *Tees*, (as *William of Newberry the En-*
 “ glishman writes) and *Huntingtonshire*, should be enjoyed by
 “ *Henry*, *David*’s Son, as his Mother’s Inheritance; and that
 “ he should do Homage to *Stephen* for the same.” When
 Things were thus composed, *David* retired into *Cumberland*,
 and *Stephen* into *Kent*. This Peace was made in the Year of
 our Lord 1139 in which Year *Maud* being returned to *England*,
 sent her Son *Henry*, afterward King of *England*, to *Carlisle*, to
David his great Uncle, that he might be instructed in Feats of
 Arms, and likewise advanced by him to the Dignity of Knight-
 hood; who, without Doubt, was the most excellent Knight of
 his Time; and that Dignity was, in those Days, conferred
 with a great deal of Ceremony.

AT that time there was so great Disturbance in *England*,
 by reason of domestick Discords, that no Part of it was free
 from civil War, but that which was in the Hands of *David*,
 King of *Scots*; and that he alone might not plead Exemption
 from the publick Calamity, within three Years after his Son,
 the only Heir (in hope) of so much Power and Felicity, died
 in the Flower of his Age, leaving three Sons and as many
 Daughters. He died so greatly in the Love and Affection both
 of the *Scots* and *English*, that, besides the publick Loss, every
 one lamented his Death as his own private Misfortune; for so
 great Sincerity and Moderation of Mind shone forth in him,
 even in that Age when Youth is accustomed to play the wan-
 ton, that every body expected most rare and singular Fruits
 from his Disposition when it was ripened by Age. His Father’s
 Grief was also farther increased, by reason of the tender Age
 of his Grandchildren, and the ambitious and restless Dispositi-
 on of *Stephen*; and if he died, he was concerned for the Fierce-
 ness of *Henry*’s Spirit, then in the Fervour of his Youth, who,
 being the Son of *Maud*, was to succeed in the Kingdom.
 When the Thoughts of so many foreseen Mischiefs assaulted
 his diseased and feeble Mind, insomuch that all Men imagined
 he would have sunk under them, yet he bore up so stoutly that
 he invited some of the prime Nobility (who were solicitous for
 him, lest he should be too much afflicted, as well they might)
 to Supper, and there he entertained them with a Discourse ra-
 ther like a Comforter than a Mourner. He told them, “ That
 “ no new Thing had happened to him, or to his Son. That he
 “ had long since learned from the Sermons of holy and learn-
 “ ed Men, that the World was governed by the Providence
 “ of Almighty God, whom it was a foolish and impious Thing

“ to endeavour to resist: That he was not ignorant his
 “ Son was born on no other Terms to live, but that he
 “ must as certainly die, and so pay that Debt to Nature which
 “ he owed even at his very Birth; and if Men were but al-
 “ ways ready to pay that Debt, it was no great Matter when
 “ God, their great Creditor, called upon them for it: That if
 “ only *wicked* Men were subject to Death, then a Man might
 “ justly grieve at the Decease of his Kindred; but when we
 “ see *good* Men also die, all Christians (said he) ought to be
 “ thoroughly settled in this Persuasion, *That no Evil can happen*
 “ *to the good, (either alive or dead)*; and therefore why should
 “ we be so much troubled at a short Separation, especially from
 “ our Kindred, who have not so much left us, as they are
 “ gone before us, to our common Country; whither we too,
 “ though we should live never so long, must yet at last fol-
 “ low? As for my Son, if he hath taken this Voyage before
 “ us, that so he might visit and enjoy the Fellowship of my
 “ Parents and Brethren, those precious Men, somewhat earlier
 “ than ourselves; if we are troubled at it, let us take heed that
 “ we seem not rather to envy his Happiness than to mourn for
 “ our own Loss. As for you, worthy Lords, as I am behold-
 “ ing to you for many Offices of Respect, so both I and my
 “ Son (for I shall undertake also for him) are much obliged
 “ for your Love to me, and your grateful and pious Memory
 “ of him.”

THIS Greatness of Mind in the King, as it added much
 to the Veneration that was paid to his Royal Person, so it in-
 creased the Sense of the Loss of his Son in the Minds of all,
 when they considered what a Prince they and their Children
 were deprived of. And *David*, that he might make use of the
 only way of Consolation which was left him, caused his Son's
 Children to be brought to him, and to be trained up in Court-
 discipline, which was *then* most pious. In fine, he provided for
 their Security as far as the Wit of Man, or human Foresight
 could provide. He commended *Malcolm*, the eldest of the
 three, to the Care of the whole Nobility, and particularly of
Macduff, Earl of *Fife*, a very powerful and prudent Man, and
 he caused him to carry him all over the Land, that so he might
 be received as the undoubted Heir of the Kingdom: *William*,
 the next Son, he constituted Earl of *Northumberland*, and put
 him into the immediate Possession of that County: He created
David, the third Son, Earl of *Huntington* in *England*, and of
Garioch in *Scotland*. He made the more Haste to prefer them,
 because lingering under a Disease that was judged to be mor-
 tal, he foresaw his Time could not be long in this World.
 He died in the Year of Christ 1153, the 24th Day of *May*. He

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was so well beloved, that all Men thought in him they had lost rather a Father, nay, rather the best of Fathers than a King: For though his whole Life was so devout, as no History records the like, yet some few Years before his Death he devoted himself particularly to the Preparation for his latter End; so that his Deportment *then* very much increased Mens Veneration for the former Part of his Life. For though he equalled his Royal Predecessors, who were most praise-worthy in the Art of War, and excelled them in the Study of Peace; yet now leaving off contending with others for Superiority in Virtue, he maintained a Combat with himself alone, wherein he advanced so much, that if the highest and most learned Wits should endeavour to give the Idea or Pattern of a good King, they could never comprehend in their Thoughts such an exemplary Prince as *David* shewed himself in his whole Life to be. He reigned twenty nine Years, two Months, and three Days.

MALCOLM IV. *the ninety second King.*

HIS Grandson *Malcolm* succeeded him, who though then under Age, gave great Hopes of his future Ingenuity. For he was so educated by his Father and Grandfather, that he seemed to resemble them as much in the Virtues of his Mind, as in the Lineaments of his Body. In the Beginning of his Reign a great Famine raged all over *Scotland*, by which great Numbers of Men and Cattle were destroyed. At that time, one *Somerled* was *Thane* of *Argyle*, whose Fortune was above his Family, and his Mind above his Fortune. He conceiving some Hopes to enjoy the Kingdom, by reason of the King's Nonage, and the present Calamity, gathered a Band of his Confidants together, and invaded the adjacent Countries. The mighty Havock he made was spoken of far and near, and the Fear of him spreading itself farther, many *bad* Men coming in to him, and some *good* being forced to join with him too, in a short time he made up a vast Army. Upon the Report of this Tumult, *Donald* also, the Son of *Malcolm Macbeth*, made another Commotion; but being taken at *Whitehorn* in *Galway*, and sent to the King, he was committed to the same Prison with his Father: But soon after the King was reconciled to them, and they were both released. *Gilchrist*, Earl of *Angus*, was sent with an Army against *Somerled*, who defeated and killed many of his Men, and caused him, with some few more, to fly into *Ireland*. This Victory, thus unexpectedly and suddenly obtained, produced Tranquillity at home, but Envy abroad: For *Henry*, King of *England*, an ambitious Prince, and desirous to enlarge his own Dominions, resolved with himself to curb the growing Greatness

Greatness and Power of *Malcolm*; but he could not well make open War upon him, out of Conscience of that Covenant and Oath which he had sworn to him: For when he received the military Girdle (as the Custom is) from King *David*, *Malcolm's* Grandfather, at *Carlisle*, he promised and took his Oath on it, (as *William* of *Newberry*, besides our own Writers, say), That he would never go about either to deprive *David* himself, or any of his Posterity, of any Part of those Possessions which *David* then held in *England*. He, being bound up by his Oath, that he might find out some Colour for his Calumnies, resolved to try the King's Patience in a less Affair. When *John*, Bishop of *Glasgow*, was dedicating Churches, shaving Priests, and performing the other Parts of his Episcopal Office, (as then they were judged to be), all over *Cumberland*; *Henry*, by *Turstan*, Archbishop of *York*, sent a new Bishop into that Country, called the Bishop of *Carlisle*. *John* was so moved at the Injury, that seeing no sufficient Safeguard, neither in the King nor in the Law, he left his Bishoprick and retired into the Monastery of *Tours* in *France*; whence he returned not until the Pope, at *Malcolm's* Request, drew him unwillingly out of his Cell, and made him return to his own Country. *Malcolm* bore the Wrong better than some hoped; so that not thinking it a sufficient Cause for a War, he went to *Chester* in the Street, there to quiet Suspicions, and to cut off Occasions of Discord. Being arrived there, by the Fraud of *Henry* he was circumvented, and made to take an Oath of Fidelity to him; whereas it was not the King himself, but his Brothers, who had Lands in *England*, according to an old Agreement, who were to take that Oath: But this was craftily and maliciously devised by the *English* King, to sow the Seed of Discord amongst Brethren; which the following Year did more fully appear, when he decoyed *Malcolm* out of *Northumberland*, which was his Brother *William's* Patrimony. For he sent for him to *London*, that according to the Examples of his Ancestors, he in a publick Assembly might acknowledge himself his Feudatary for the Lands which he held in *England*. He, under Covert of the publick Faith, came speedily thither, but without doing any thing of that for which his Journey was pretended, he was forced against his Will, with that little Retinue which he had, to accompany *Henry* into *France*: *Henry's* Design in this was partly that the *Scots* might not attempt any thing against him during his Absence, and partly to alienate the Mind of *Lewis* King of *France* from them. Thus *Malcolm* was compelled for Fear of a greater Mischief, to go against his old Friend, and was not suffered to come back to his own Country, till King *Henry*, having made no great Advantages of the *French* War, did likewise return home.

home. Then *Malcolm* obtained Leave to return to *Scotland*, where in a Convention of the Nobility he declared to them the Adventure of his Travels; but he found a great Part of them very much incensed, that he had joined with a *certain* Enemy against an old and trusty Friend, and did not foresee the Artifices by which *Henry* had gulled him. The King, on the other side, alledged, that he was haled unwillingly into *France*, by a King in whose Power he was, and to whom he dared to deny nothing at that time; and therefore he did not despair but the *French* would be satisfied and appeased when they understood he was hurried thither by Force, and carried none of his Country Forces along with him. This Harangue, with much ado, quieted the Sedition for the present, which was almost ready to break out.

BUT *Henry*, who had Spies everywhere, knew that the Tumult was rather suspended, than that the Minds of the People were reconciled to *Malcolm*, and therefore he summoned him to come to a Convention at *York*. There he was accused of a pretended Crime, that the *English* had been worsted in *France* principally by his Means; and therefore it was referred to the Assembly, Whether he ought not to lose all the Countries which he held in *England*. Though he answered all the objected Crimes, and fully cleared himself, yet he found all their Ears shut against him, as being prepossessed by the Fears or Favour of the King, so that a Decree was made in Favour of *Henry*; neither was he contented with this Injury, but he also suborned some Persons fit for his Purpose, to report it abroad, “That *Malcolm* had freely, and of his own accord, quitted his
“Interest in those Countries.” At which his Subjects the *Scots* were so incensed, that at his Return home they besieged him in *Perth*, and had almost taken him; but by the Intervention of some great Men their Anger was a little abated, when he had informed the Nobility how unjustly and fraudulently *Henry* had despoiled him of his antient Patrimony. This made them unanimously agree upon a War, that so he might recover by just Arms what was unlawfully taken from him by Force. Accordingly a War was resolved upon, declared, and actually begun, not without great Inconveniencies to both Nations. At last both Kings came to a Conference not far from *Carlisle*, and after much Dispute *pro* and *con*, *Henry* took away *Northumberland* from *Malcolm*, leaving him *Cumberland* and *Huntingtonshire*: *Henry* had no other Pretence for his ambitious Avarice but this, that he could not suffer so great a Diminution to be made of his Kingdom: But seeing no Respect to Justice and Right, no Agreements, no Covenants, no nor the Religion of an Oath, could restrain the unsatiable Avarice
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of *Henry*, *Malcolm* being a Man of low Spirit, and too desirous of Peace, upon any Conditions whatever, accepted of his Terms, though it went forely against the Grain among the *Scots* Nobility, and cut them to the quick; *They denying that the King could alienate any Part of his Dominions without the general Consent of the Estates.*

AFTER this the King began to be despised by his Subjects, as not having Fortitude or Prudence enough to weild the Scepter; neither did any thing bridle their fierce Minds from rising in Arms, but a greater Fear from *Henry*; who (they knew) aimed at the Conquest of the whole Island, being encouraged thereunto by the Simplicity of *Malcolm*; and the Hopes of foreign Aid. This general Disaffection to the King did much lessen the Reverence of his Government. A Rebellion was first begun by *Angustus*, or rather *Æneas*, of *Galway*, a potent Man, but yet who promised himself more from the King's Sloth than his own Power. *Gilchrist* was sent against him, who overthrew him in three Fights, and compelled him to take Sanctuary in the Monastery of *Whitehorn*, out of which it was not counted lawful to take him by Force; and therefore after a long Siege, being driven to the Want of all Necessaries, he was forced to capitulate: He was to lose Part of his Estate for his Punishment, and his Son was to be given as an Hostage for his good Behaviour for the future: But he, being of a lofty Spirit, and not able to endure this Abatement of his former Greatness, turned *Monk*, shaved himself, and shut himself up in a Monastery near *Edinburgh* to avoid the Shame and Scorn of Men. Neither was there Peace in other Parts of the Realm; for the *Murray*-men, being always given to mutinying, rose in Arms under *Gildo*, or rather *Gildominick*, their Captain; and did not only spoil all the Countries round about, but when Heralds of Arms were sent from the King, they most barbarously slew them. *Gilchrist* was sent out against them also, with a greater Army, but with unlike Success; for the Valour of an Adversary, which is wont to be a Terror to other Rebels, drove those wicked Persons, conscious of their own Demerits, to Desperation; and therefore endeavouring to sell their Lives as dear as they could, they routed the opposite Army and became Conquerors. *Malcolm* upon this Overthrow recruited his old Army, and marched into *Murray*, and met the *Murray*-men at the Mouth of the River *Spey*; who, though they knew that the King's Forces were increased, and theirs diminished in the late Fight; yet being encouraged by the Advantage of the Place, and their newly obtained Victory, they resolved to adventure a Battle. The Fight was carried on with great Reso-

lution,

lution, and no less Slaughter; for the *Moravians* gave not back till the King's Forces being wearied, had new Relief from Reserves sent them: Then the *Moravians* were broken, and there was no more fighting but killing. The Fury of the Soldiers spared no Age nor Rank of Men. In this Fight the old *Moravians* were almost all slain, which Punishment, though cruel, seemed not to be undeserved; and the Greatness of the Revenge was allayed and made excusable by the savage Cruelty of that perfidious People against others; hereupon new Colonies were sent into the Lands of the Slain.

NEITHER did *Somerled* in this Storm of Government think fit to sit still; he (as I said before) after his Overthrow fled into *Ireland*, and from that time forward exercised Piracy upon the Coasts of *Scotland*; but now judging that a great Part of the military Men being slain in Battle, he might either get a rich Booty from those who would shun the Hazard of fighting, or else a cheap and easy Victory from them who would stand to it, gathered a great Band of *Roysters* together, and arriving at the Firth or Bay of the River *Clyde*, there made a Descent on the left Side of it; and Fortune at first favouring his Design, he penetrated as far as *Renfrew*: But there, whilst he was more intent on Plunder than on the Safety of his Men, he was surprised by a far less Number than his own, and lost all his Soldiers, he himself being saved and brought alive to the King for farther Scorn and Punishment; though some say that both he and his Son were slain in the Battle. These Things were acted about the Year of Christ 1163.

THE Kingdom being thus freed from all Tumults, an Assembly of all the Estates was summoned at *Scone*, where many Things were decreed for the Confirmation of the State of the Kingdom; and amongst the rest the whole Assembly unanimously made it their Request to the King, That he would think of Marriage, in regard he was now fit for it, as being above twenty two Years of Age, that by that Means he might have Children to succeed him. They told him, it was a publick Debt due to the Kingdom, as well as a private one to his Family; and that he ought to mind not only the present time, but to have a Prospect to the Tranquillity of future Ages too. His Answer was, That ever since he had been capable to order and direct his own Life, he had solemnly vowed to God to live a continent, and a Batchelor's Life; which Vow, said he, I think, was the more acceptable to God, both because he gave me the Strength to perform it, and also, because he hath prepared Heirs already to succeed me; so that I am not compelled to break my Vow, neither by any Weakness of my own Spirit, nor by any other publick Necessity. Thus dismissing the Parliament, having Peace abroad, he applied his Mind to the

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Arts of his Forefathers, *i. e.* Building of Churches, and Donations to *Monks*, wherein he seemed likely to have far exceeded his Ancestors, if God had given him a longer Life: For he died not long after, on the ninth Day of *December*, in the the twenty fifth Year of his Age, and a little more than the twelfth Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Redemption 1165.

WILLIAM, the ninety third King.

HIS Brother *William* succeeded him, who entered upon the Kingdom fifteen Days after *Malcolm's* Death. He would transact no publick or private Business of any Weight, till he had craved of *Henry of England* the Restitution of *Northumberland*. *Henry* commanded him to come to *London* to do him Homage for the Counties of *Cumberland* and *Huntington*, according to Custom; which he did not unwillingly, yet desisted not from pressing to have *Northumberland* restored. *Henry* gave him an ambiguous Answer, saying, *That in regard Northumberland was taken away from Malcolm, and given to him by the States of the Kingdom, he could not part from it without their Consent; but he should come to the next Parliament, and there expect Justice to be done.* *William*, though he expected no Good from the Parliament, yet to cut off all Occasions of Calumny from his Adversary, resolved to wait in *England* for the convening and opening of it; and in the meantime, though with no very good Will, he accompanied *Henry* to the War in *France*. There he profited nothing by his daily Solicitations, and foreseeing that the King would not speedily return into *England*, with much ado he obtained a Convoy and returned into *Scotland*. After his Return, the first Thing he did was to repress the Insolencies of Thieves and Robbers, by punishing and clearing the Country of those Offenders; then he erected Castles, and placed Garrisons in convenient Places, to prevent sudden Invasions: At last he sent Ambassadors into *England*, to demand *Northumberland*, denouncing War in case of Refusal. *Henry* being entangled in the *French* War, yielded up to him that Part of *Northumberland* which *William's* great Grandfather held. *William* took it, but on this Condition, that he would not remit his Right in, or Claim to, the rest. The *English* King took this very heinously, and being sorry he had parted with any of *Northumberland* before the Controversy was decided, he made IncurSIONS into the *Scots* Borders, and thus sowed the Seeds of a new War; and by this means he hoped to have taken away also the other Lands, which he would have brought into Dispute. When Right was claimed by the Wardens of the Marches, according

according to Custom, the *English* complained that their Borders were molested by *Scottish* Robbers; so that the Ambassadors were sent away without obtaining the Thing they came for, nay almost without an Answer: The *Scots*, to obtain that by Force which they could not do by fair Means, levied an Army, and entered upon and wasted the bordering Lands of the *English* with Fire and Sword. This being about Harvest, the *English*, in the Absence of their King, were content only to stand upon the defensive what they could, but then levied no Army; yet the Winter following some Action passed, and many Incursions were made. The next Summer *William* lifted a great Army, and marched into the Enemy's Country; the *English* having few or no Forces ready to withstand them, sent Ambassadors to their Camp, proffering a great Sum of Money for a Truce; which if they could obtain, they gave Hopes that all Things would be accorded to Content. *William* being a plain hearted Man, and willing to preserve Peace, (if obtainable upon reasonable Conditions), before a War, though a just one, gave Credit to their fallacious Promises. The *English* spent all the Time of the Cessation in Preparations for War; but in the mean time they plied the *Scots* with Ambassadors, who made large Promises, though their true Errand was to discover their Enemy's Camp; and finding the *Scots*, on Confidence of the Truce, remiss and negligent, and the greatest Part of their Army scattered to get in Forage, they returned and gave their Army notice, that now was a fair Opportunity for Action, which they urged them not to omit; whereupon, placing the greatest Part of their Army in Ambush, about four hundred nimble Horsemen in the third Watch, a few Hours before Sun-rising, marched directly to *Alnwick*, where the *Scots* Camp was pitched; there finding greater Opportunity for Action than they expected, they set upon the King who was riding up and down, (with sixty Horse only, as if there had been a settled Peace), and before it could well be discerned whether they were Friends or Enemies, (for they disguised themselves with *Scots* Arms and Ensigns, that they might pass for *Scots*), they took him Prisoner in the ninth Year of his Reign; some few were rouzed up at the Report, and pursued in a scattered Manner; divers of them rushed amongst their Enemies, as not being willing to forsake their King, and so were made Prisoners themselves. *William* was carried to *Henry*, then warring in *France*. The *English*, elated with this unexpected Success, invaded *Cumberland*, thinking to carry it without Blows; but *Gilchrist* and *Rolland*, two *Scots* Commanders, did so entertain them, that being repulsed they made a Truce, and were content to enjoy *Northumberland* only, as

long as the Scots King was a Prisoner, and to leave *Cumberland* and *Huntingtonshire* to the free Possession of the Scots.

IN the mean time *David*, the Brother of *William*, Earl of *Huntington* in *England*, and *Garioch* in *Scotland*, who then fought under the *English* Banners, received a Convoy and returned into *Scotland*; where having settled Things for the present, he sent Ambassadors into *England* about the Redemption of his Brother, who was then kept Prisoner at *Falife*, a Town in *Normandy*. The King gave fifteen Hostages to the *English*, and surrendered up four Castles, viz. the Castle of *Roxburgh*, of *Berwick*, of *Edinburgh*, and of *Stirling*, and then he was permitted to return home on the first of *February*; but then he was called upon by the *English* to appear at *York*, with his Nobles and Bishops, on the fifteenth Day of *August*: Being arrived there, he and all his Followers (who were the chief Nobility) took an Oath of Obedience to King *Henry*, and gave up the Kingdom of *Scotland* into his Guardianship and Patronage. These Conditions, though very hard, yet the Scots were willing to accept of, that so they might have the best of Kings restored to them, as the *English* Writers say. *Thomas Walsingham* of *England* writes, that this Surrender was not made at *York*, but at *Constance*; yet some say that this Interview of both Kings was not in order to the Surrender of the Kingdom, but for the Payment of certain pecuniary Pensions; and that the Castles were put into the Hands of the *English* as Cautionaries only, till the Money was paid. This Opinion seems to me most probable, as appears by the League renewed with *Richard*, *Henry's* Son, of which in its due Place.

WILLIAM, at his Return, in a few Months, by *Gilchrist* his General, quelled the Insurrections made in his Absence in *Galway*. On the twenty eighth of *January* there was an Assembly summoned at *Norham* by *Tweed*, thither *William* came; where the *English* laboured extremely, that all the Scots Bishops should acknowledge the Bishop of *York* for their *Metropolitan*; the Pope's Legate also concurred with them in their Desire, and earnestly pressed that it might be so enacted. After a long Dispute the Scots answered, That at present few of their Countrymen were there, and that they could not bind the absent to obey their Decree, if they should consent to any. Upon this the Matter was deferred to another time, and shortly after the Scots Bishops sent Agents to *Rome*, to justify their Cause before *Alexander III.*, by whose Decree the Bishops of *Scotland* were freed from the Yoke of the *English*, and so the Messengers returned joyfully home. Not long after, *Gilchrist*, whom I have often mentioned before, slew his Wife, who was the King's Sister, because she had committed Adultery. He was summoned to

to appear on a certain Day, but, not coming, was banished for ever; his Houses were demolished, and his Goods confiscated. About the same time the Castle of *Edinburgh* was restored to the *Scots*, one of the Pensions having been paid; and to make the Concord between both Kings more firm, a Law was passed, *That neither King should harbour the other's Enemy*. Upon this Law *Gilchrist*, who lived banished in *England*, was forced to return, and shifting from Place to Place, as a Stranger, amongst Strangers, and unknown, he passed his miserable Life in great Penury and Want. In the interim, *William* prepared for an Expedition into *Murray*, to suppress the Thieves of the *Æbuda*, whose Captain was *Donald Bane*, i. e. the *White*, who derived his Pedigree from the Kings, and had also assumed the Name of *King*. He made his Descent from his Ships in many Places, and spoiled not only the maritime Parts, but, his Boldness increasing, by reason of Impunity, those Places also which were very remote from the Sea. The King sent out Ships to sail about and burn his Fleet, whilst he with a Land Army attacked them; and so doing, he put them almost all to the Sword. In his Return, as he was near *Perth*, he found three Countrymen, which yet seemed to be more than so, had it not been for their shabby and uncouth Habit, who looked as if they had a mind to avoid meeting any Company; but the King caused them to be brought to him, and viewing them intently, was very earnest to know what manner of Creatures they were. *Gilchrist* being the elder of them fell down at the King's Feet, and making a miserable Complaint of his Misfortunes, tells who he was; upon which the Memory of his former Life, which he had passed with so much Splendor, did so passionately affect all that were present, that they could not chuse but fall a-weeping: Whereupon the King commanded him to rise from the Ground, and restored him to his former Dignity, and the same Degree of Favour he had before.

THESE Things fell out about the Year 1190, at which Time *Richard*, who, the Year before, had succeeded *Henry* his Father in the Throne of *England*, prepared for an Expedition into *Syria*. He restored the Castles to the King of *Scots*, and sent back the Hostages, freeing him and his Posterity from all Covenants, either extorted by Force, or obtained by Fraud, made with the *English*, and suffered him to enjoy the Realm of *Scotland* by the same Right, and within the same Limits as *Malcolm*, or any former Kings had held it. *Matthew Paris* makes mention of these Conditions. *William*, on the other Side, that he might not be ungrateful to *Richard*, upon his going to War into a strange Country, gave him 10000 Merks of Silver, and commanded *David* his Brother, who was declared Earl of *Huntington*,

Huntington, to follow him into *Syria*. This *David*, in his Return from thence, had his Navy scattered by a Tempest, was taken Prisoner by the *Ægyptians*, and redeemed by the *Venetians*; and, at last, being known at *Constantinople* by an *English* Merchant, after four Years Time he returned into *Scotland*, and was received with the general Gratulation of all Men, especially of his Brother. *Boëtius* thinks that the Town where this *David* was landed in Safety, before named *Alectum*, was now called *Deidonum*; but because the Name of *Alectum* is found in no Author but only in *Hector Boëtius*, I rather think it was called *Tadunum*, a Word compounded of *Tay* and *Dun*, i. e. *Dundee*.

Not long after, *Richard*, after many Hazards and Misfortunes, returned also from the same Voyage. *William* and his Brother came to congratulate him upon his Return, and gave him 2000 Merks of Silver, as a Largeſs, being moved thereunto either out of Remembrance of his former Bounty to him, or on the Consideration of his present Want. Neither were ever the *Scots* and *English* more gracious to each other than at that Time, as many judge: There *William* fell very sick, and a Rumour of his Death being noised abroad, caused new Combustions in *Scotland*. *Harald*, Earl of the *Orcades*, and of *Caithness*, hated the Bishop of *Caithness*, because (as he alledged) he was the Obſtacle, that he could not obtain what he deſired of the King; and therefore he took him Prisoner, cut out his Tongue, and alſo put out his Eyes. The King returning home overthrew *Harald* in ſeveral Skirmiſhes, and deſtroyed moſt of his Forces. *Harald* himſelf was taken in his Flight, and brought back to the King; who, when his Eyes alſo were firſt put out, by Way of Retaliation, was afterwards hanged; his whole Male-ſtock were guelled, the reſt of his Kin, and Companions of his Wickedneſs, were deeply fined. Theſe Things are thus related by *Hector Boëtius*, and common Report confirms them; yea, the Hill receiving its Name from *Teſticles*, gives Credit to the Relation, ſo that it ſeems truer than what others write in this Matter. Theſe Things happened in the Year of our Salvation 1199, in which Year the King had a Son, named *Alexander*, born to him; and *Richard* of *England* dying, his Brother *John* ſucceeded him.

HEREUPON the King of *Scots* went into *England*, to take his Oath to him for the Lands which he held in *England*; and in the Beginning of *John's* new Reign his Coming was not more acceptable than his Departure diſpleaſing; becauſe he reſuſed to follow *John* in his Expedition into *France* againſt *Philip* his old Friend. So that as ſoon as *John* returned out of *France*, he ſought Occaſion for a War with the *Scots*, and began to build a Fort over againſt *Berwick*. *William* having in
vain

vain complained of the Injury by his Ambassadors, gathered a Company together, and demolished as much as was built of it. Upon which, Armies were levied on both sides, but when their Camps were near one another, Peace was made by the Intervention of the Nobles on these Terms, "That *William's* two Daughters should be given in Matrimony to *John's* two Sons, as soon as ever they were marriageable." A great Dowry was promised, and Caution made, that no Fort should be built, and Hostages also were given in the Case. *William*, at his Return, fell into an unexpected Danger; the greatest Part of the Town of *Berth* was swept away in the Night, by an Inundation of the River *Tay*; neither was the King's Palace exempted from the Calamity; but his Son, an Infant, with his Nurse, and fourteen more, were drowned, the rest hardly escaping; many also of the promiscuous Multitude lost their Lives. The King perceiving that the Water had overwhelmed the greatest Part of the Ground on which the City stood, and that almost every House in the Town had suffered by it, caused a new City to be built a little below in a more commodious Place, on the same River; and making some small Variation of the Name, called it *Perth*, in Memory (as some say) of one *Perth*, a Nobleman, who gave the King the Land on which the City was built. About the same time the King took *Gothred Makul*, Captain of the Rebels in the North, who was betrayed to him by his own Men. When he was Prisoner he constantly abstained from all Food, to prevent, as 'tis thought, a more heavy Punishment. This was, in a Manner, the last memorable Fact of *William's*, which yet, in regard of his unweildy Age, was acted by his Captains; for he died soon after in the 74th Year of his Age, and the 49th Year of his Reign, (A. D. 1214.).

Not long before his Death, Leagues were renewed with *John* King of *England* almost every Year; for he being a Man desirous to enlarge his Dominions, though he had War with the *French* abroad, with the *Romanists* at home, and moreover was never on sure Terms of Peace with the *Irish* or *Welsh*; yet did not break off his Inclination to invade *Scotland*, which had then an old Man for their King, and the next Heir to him a Child. Frequent Conferences happened on this Occasion, rather to try what might be obtained, than in hopes of any good Issue; at length the Matter broke out into open Suspicion; and after many Leagues made between them, at last *William* was called to *Newcastle upon Tyne*; whither he came, but there falling into a dangerous Disease, he returned without doing any Thing. In fine, a little before his Death he was invited to *Norham* on the *Tweed*, and when his Sickness would not permit him to go, his

his Son was desired to come in his Stead, which yet by the Advice of the Council was refused: The Leagues established in those Interviews I shall not particularly mention, for they almost all contain the same Things, having in them nothing new; save that in one of them it was articulated, that not the *Scottish* Kings, but only their Children, should swear, or be Feudatories to the Kings of *England*, for the *English* Lands they held. The Mention of these Things is wholly omitted by the *English* Writers, I believe, for this very Cause.

ALEXANDER II. *the ninety fourth King.*

WILLIAM was succeeded by *Alexander* his Son, begot on *Emergard*, who was Kinswoman to the King of *England*, and Daughter to the Earl of *Beaumont*. He was but sixteen Years of Age when he began to reign; entering upon the Government in troublesome Times, he composed and settled Things more prudently than could be expected from one of his Years. First of all he called a publick Convention of the Estates, and there, by a Decree, he confirmed all the Acts of his Father, that good and prudent Prince. His first Expedition was into *England*, not out of any private Ambition, but to bridle the Tyranny of *John*; and it was then said that he was invited by the *Ecclesiasticks* of that Kingdom. Having laid Siege to *Norham*, he left it upon certain Conditions, and penetrating farther into the Kingdom, he carried it very severely against all the Royalists. Upon his Return home, *John* invaded *Scotland* quickly after: He made a mighty Devastation in *Dunbar*, *Haddington*, and all the neighbouring Parts of *Lothian*; and to spread the War and Ruin farther, he determined to return another Way. *Alexander* being very desirous to decide it by a Battle, pitched his Tents between *Pentland Hills* and the River *Eske*, which Way, as it was reported, *John* would return; but he, to avoid fighting, marched along by the Sea-coast, and burnt the Monastery of *Coldingham*: He also took and burnt *Berwick*, which was then but meanly fortified. As he thus marched hastily back, *Alexander* followed him as fast as he could, and making great Havock all over *Northumberland*, came as far as *Richmond*: But *John* by speedy Marches having retreated into the Heart of *England*, *Alexander* returned by *Westmoreland*, and laid all waste to the very Gates of *Carlisle*; the City itself he took by Force, and fortified it. The next Year *Lewis*, the Son of *Philip* King of *France*, was sent for by those who favoured the *Ecclesiastical* Faction, to *London*; that so he, upon the Deposition of *John*, might possess the Kingdom. At the same time, *Alexander* likewise came thither

thither to aid his old Friend: But *John* being deserted by his Subjects, and invaded by foreign Arms, upon the Payment of a great Sum of Money at present, and the Promise of a perpetual Pension; and moreover, transferring the Right of the Kingdom of *England* to the *Pope*, so that the Kings of *England*, for the future, were to be his Feudataries, was received into Favour: Hereupon he obtained Letters from *Rome* by Cardinal *Galo*, a Man of known Avarice, wherein the *Scots* and *French* were, with great Threats, forbid to meddle with a People which were Tributaries to the *Holy See*.

UPON this sudden Change of Things *Lewis* returned into *France*, and *Alexander* into *Scotland*; but his Return home was not so quiet as his Entrance into *England*: For the *English* pressing upon the Rear of his retiring Army, took many of the stragglers Prisoners; and besides, *John* had broken down all the Bridges on the *Trent*, and had fastened sharp Pikes, or Palisades in all its Fords, removing away all Ships and Boats, which seemed such Obstacles to his Retreat, as must needs end in his Destruction. In the mean time *John* was poisoned by an *English* Monk at *Newark*, a Town seated on the *Trent*, and being carried in a Litter died in two Days. That Casualty opened the Way for *Alexander's* March; then blaming and punishing his Men for their former Carelessness, he marched on more circumspectly, but not without the great Damage of those through whose Countries he passed: For whatsoever could be driven away, or carried, he took with him, and so returned home with a great Booty. *Galo*, the *Pope's* Legate, when he had settled *Henry*, the Son of *John*, in the Throne, fined the Nobles of *England* in a great Sum of Money, and then received them into Favour. And to give them some Recompence for their Loss, by the like Calamity of their Enemies, he excommunicates *Lewis* of *France*, and *Alexander* of *Scotland*, in hopes to obtain some Booty from them into the Bargain. The *Scots* were interdicted all divine Offices; for he imagined that his thundering *Anathema's* would prevail more amongst the simple Vulgar than with the Kings: But at last Peace was made between the two Monarchs; the *Scots* were to restore *Carlisle*, and the *English* *Berwick*; and the antient Bounds at *Kings-cross* were to be observed by them both. *Alexander* and his Subjects were released from their Censures by the *English* Bishops, who were authorised for that Purpose. *Galo* was much enraged that so great a Prey should be taken out of his Hands, so that he turned his Anger on the Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy of *Scotland*, as his own peculiar, with whom Kings had nothing to do. He summoned them to appear at *Alnwick*, whither when they came, the more fearful appeared

his Wrath with Money, the more resolute were cited to *Rome*. But they having also received many Letters from some of the *English* Bishops and Abbots, directed to the Pope, concerning the fordid Spirit of the Legate, made grievous complaints against him, calling him the *Firebrand of all Mischief*, because he studied not the publick Good, but his own Avarice, and did chaffer for and sell Peace and War amongst Princes at his own Pleasure. *Galo* not being able to acquit himself of the Crimes laid to his Charge, was fined by the Pope in the Loss of the Money he had got, which was to be divided amongst his Accusers, who upon this returned home, with a whole Load of large Promises, but with empty Purses. A few Years after *Henry* of *England* being now grown ripe both in Years and Judgment, came to *York*: There he agreed with *Alexander*, in the Presence of *Pandulphus*, the Pope's Legate, to take *Joan*, *Henry's* Sister, to Wife; by whom, because of her untimely Death, he had no Children.

FROM that Time there was Peace between both Kings as long as they lived: there *Henry* also solemnly promised and swore before the same *Pandulphus*, That he would bestow the two Sisters of *Alexander* in honourable Marriages according to their Dignity, as his Father had promised before; but one of them returned home unmarried, one only being bestowed in Marriage. The next Year, viz. 1220, Cardinal *Giles* came into *England* to fish for Money for the *Holy War*; and accordingly having scraped together a great Sum in both Kingdoms, which, by his Impostures, he had gulled Persons of that were too credulous, he luxuriously spent it in his Journey; so that he came empty to *Rome*, falsely alledging that he was robbed by Thieves in the Way. Another Legate presently succeeded him, but Men, having been twice cheated by *Italian* Fraud, forbade him in a publick Decree, to set his Foot upon *English* Ground. *Alexander* was busied to suppress Vices at home, which sprung up by the Licentiousness of War, and he travelled over the whole Kingdom with his Queen to do Justice; whilst *Gilespy*, a *Rossian*, spoiled *Ross*, and the neighbouring Countries; for, passing over the River *Ness*, he took and burnt the Town of *Inverness*; and cruelly slew all those that refused to swear Obedience to him. *John Cumin*, Earl of *Buchan*, was sent against him, who took him and his two Sons as they were shifting up and down, and changing their Quarters to secure themselves, he cut off their Heads, and sent them for a Token to the King. About this Time the *Caithnessians* entered by Night into the Bedchamber of *Adam* their Bishop, and there killed a Monk, who was his usual Companion, (for he had been before Abbot of *Mulross*) and one of his Bedchamber; as for the Bishop himself

himself they grievously wounded him, and dragging him into the Kitchen, there they burnt him and the House he was in. The Cause of their great Cruelty was, (as 'tis reported) because the Bishop was more severe than usual in exacting his Tithes. The Offenders were diligently sought out, and most severely punished; the Earl of *Caithness*, though he was not present at the Fact, yet was somewhat suspected; but afterwards being brought privately to the King on the *Christmas* Holy-days, which are the *Scots Saturnalia*, he humbly begged his Pardon, and obtained it.

ABOUT this time *Alan* of *Galway*, the most powerful Man in *Scotland*, departed this Life. He left three Daughters behind him, of whom I shall speak hereafter. *Thomas*, his Bastard Son, despising their Age and Sex, sets up for himself as Lord of the Family, and not contented with that, he gathers 10000 Men together, kills all that oppose him, and drives Booties far and near from all the neighbouring Countries. At last the King sent an Army against him, who slew 5000 of the Rebels with their General. The same Year *Alexander*, with his Wife, went for *England* to allay the Tumults as much as he could, raised against *Henry*, and to reconcile him to the Nobility. Whilst he was busy about this at *York*, his Wife went with the Queen of *England* a Pilgrimage to *Canterbury*; but at her Return she fell sick, died, and was buried at *London*. Not long after her Death, the King being childless, married *Mary*, the Daughter of *Ingelram*, Earl of *Coucy* in *France*, in the Year of Christ 1239, by whom he had *Alexander*, who succeeded his Father in the Throne. Two Years after, viz. in 1242, whilst the King was hastening to *England* to visit that King newly returned from *France*, and refreshed himself a while at *Haddington* in *Lothian* with Horse-races; the Lodging or Inn of *Patrick* of *Galway*, Earl of *Athol*, was set on fire, where *Patrick* and two of his Servants were burnt, the Fire spreading itself a great Way farther: It was not thought to have casually happened, because of the noted Feuds between *Patrick* and the Family of the *Bissets*. And though *William*, the Chief of that Family, was at *Forfar*, above sixty Miles from *Haddington* the same Night that the Fire happened, as the Queen could testify in his Behalf; yet because the adverse Party, the Kindred of *Patrick*, pleaded that many of his Servants and Tenants were seen at *Haddington* at that time, *William* was summoned to appear: He came to *Edinburgh* at the Day prefixed, but not daring to stand to his Trial, because of the Power of his Adversaries, which were the *Cumins*, he would have tried the Matter in a Duel; but that being not accepted, he and some of his Friends banished themselves into *Ireland*,
P p 2 where

where he left a Noble Family of his Name and House. There was also another seditious Tumult in *Argyle*, raised by *Somerled*, Son of the former *Somerled*; but he being conquered in a few Days by *Patrick Dunbar*, and submitting to the King's Mercy, obtained Pardon for all his past Offences. The King, not long after, fell sick, and died in the fifty first Year of his Age, the thirty fifth of his Reign, and of our Lord 1249.

ALEXANDER III. *the ninety fifth King.*

ALEXANDER the Third, his Son, was crowned King at *Scone* the same Year, a Child not past eight Years old. The Power of all Things was mostly in the Faction of the *Cumins*; for they turned the publick Revenue to the Enrichment of themselves, oppressed the Poor, and by false Accusations cut off some of the Nobles who were averse to their Humours and Desires, and dared to speak freely of the State of the King; and being condemned, their Goods were confiscated, and brought into the King's Exchequer; from whence they (who rather commanded than obeyed the King) received them back again for their private Emolument. A Convention of the Estates being held, the chief Matter in Agitation was to keep Peace with the King of *England*, lest in such a troublesome Time he should make any Attempt upon them, and to do it more easily an Affinity was proposed. This way seemed more commodious to the *Anti-Cuminian* Party to undermine their Power, than openly to oppugn it. Accordingly Ambassadors were sent to *England*, who were kindly received, and munificently rewarded by that King, who granted them all their Desires. The next Year, which was 1251, both Kings met at *York* on the twenty fourth of *November*. There on *Christmas* Day *Alexander* was made Knight by the King of *England*; and, the Day after, the Match was concluded betwixt him and *Margaret*, *Henry's* Daughter. A Peace was also renewed betwixt them, which, as long as *Henry* lived, was inviolably observed. And because *Alexander* was yet but a Child, and under Age, it was decreed by the Advice of his Friends, That he should consult his Father-in-law, as a Guardian, in all Matters of Weight; some of the prime Men being accused by virtue of this Decree, secretly withdrew themselves. When the King returned home, *Robert*, Abbot of *Dumfermline*, Chancellor of the Kingdom, was accused, because he had legitimated the Wife of *Alan Durward*, who was but the natural or base-born Daughter of *Alexander II.*; that so, if the King died without Issue, she might come in as Heiress: Upon this Fear the Chancellor, as soon as ever he returned home, surrendered

rendered up the Seal to the Nobles. *Gamelin*, afterwards Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, succeeded him in his Office.

THE three next Years, they who were the King's Council, did, almost every one of them, carry themselves as Kings, whatever they caught was their own; so that the poor Commonalty was left destitute and miserably oppressed. The King of *England* being made acquainted with it, out of his paternal Affection to his Son-in-law, came to *Werk-Castle*, situate on the Borders of *Scotland*, and sent for his Son-in-law *Alexander* and his Nobles thither. There, by his Advice, many advantageous Alterations were made, especially of those Magistrates by whose Defaults Insurrections had been caused at home, and also many profitable Statutes were enacted for the future. The King returned to *Scotland* with his Wife, and having an *English* Guard to convey him home, he resolved to reside in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. *Walter Cumin*, Earl of *Monteith*, kept the Castle, who was disaffected because of the Change of the publick State, made by the King of *England*; yet he was compelled to surrender it by *Patrick Dunbar*, with the Assistance of the *English* Forces. The greatest Part of the Nobility, and of the Ecclesiasticks were offended, in regard their Power was somewhat abridged by those new Statutes, which they looked upon as a Yoke imposed upon them by the *English*, and a Beginning of their Servitude: Nay, they proceeded to that Height of Contumacy, that being summoned to give a legal Account of their Management of Affairs in former Times, they made light of the Summons; the same Persons, who were the principal Actors in disturbing Things before, were now the chief Encouragers to Disobedience. They were generally the Clans of the *Cumins*, *Walter* Earl of *Monteith*, *Alexander* Earl of *Buchan*, *John* Earl of *Athol*, *William* Earl of *Mar*, and other considerable Men of the same Faction. They did not dare to put their Cause on a legal Trial, as being conscious to themselves of the many Wrongs done to the Poor and meaner Sort, nay to the King himself; and therefore they resolved to outface Justice by their Impudence and Audacity: For being informed that the King was but lightly guarded, and lived securely at *Kinross*, as in a Time of Peace, they immediately gathered a Band of their Vassals about them, seized him as he was asleep, and carried him to *Stirling*; and as if there had been no Force in the Case, but they had been rightfully elected, they discharged and expelled his old Servants, took new, and managed all Things at their own Will and Pleasure; so that now the Terror and Consternation was turned upon the former Counsellors.

BUT this Sedition was allayed by the Death of *Walter Cumin*,

min, who was poisoned, as it is thought, by his Wife, an *English* Woman; the Suspicion of its being done by her was increased, because though she was courted by many Noblemen, yet she married *John Russel*, her Gallant, a young *English* Spark: She was accused of poisoning, and thrown into Prison, but she bought her Liberty. *Russel* and his Wife obtained Letters from the Pope, permitting them to commence an Action of the Case against their Adversaries, for the Wrong done them, before the Pope's Legate; but it was to no purpose, because the *Scots* urged an antient Privilege, exempting them from going out of the Kingdom when they were to plead their Causes.

WHEN the King was of Age, upon the humble Petition of the *Cumins*, he pardoned them as if all their Offences had been expiated by the Death of *Walter*. He was induced so to do, (as some say), by reason of the Greatness of their Family; and also, because he was apprehensive of foreign Wars, when Matters lay so unsettled at home; but that War began not so soon as Men thought it would.

IN the Year of Christ 1263, on the first of *August*, *Acho* King of *Norway*, with a Fleet of 160 Sail, came to *Ayr*, a maritime Town of *Coil*, where he landed 20000 Men. The Cause of the War, as he pretended, was, that some Islands which were promised to his Ancestors by *Donald Bane* were not yet put into his Hands, viz. *Bute*, *Aran*, and both the *Cumbras's*, which were never reckoned amongst the *Æbudaæ*; but it was enough for him who sought a Pretence for a War, that they were *Islands*. *Acho* took two of the greatest of them, and reduced their Castles before he met with any Opposition. Being puffed up with this Success, he makes a Descent into *Cunningham*, the next Continent over against *Bute*, in that Part of it which they call the *Largs*. There he met with two Misfortunes, almost at one and the same time; one was, that he was overcome in Fight by *Alexander Stuart*, the Great Grandfather of him who first of that Name was King of *Scotland*; and being almost taken by the Multitude of his Enemies, he hardly escaped in great Fear to his Ships. The other was, that his Ships being tossed in a mighty Tempest, could hardly carry him, with a few of his Followers who escaped, into the *Orcades*. There were slain in that Battle sixteen thousand of the *Norwegians*, and five thousand of the *Scots*: Some Writers say that King *Alexander* himself was in this Fight; yet they also make honourable mention of the Name of this *Alexander Stuart*. *Acho* died of Grief for the Loss of his Army, and of his Kinsman, a valiant Youth, whose Name is not mentioned by Writers.

His Son *Magnus*, who was lately come to him, perceiving Things

Things in a more desperate Posture than he ever thought they would be brought to; especially having no Hopes of Recruits from home before the Spring, and also finding the Minds of the *Islanders* alienated from him, and that he was forsaken by the *Scots* too, in confidence of whose Aid his Father had undertaken that War; these Things considered, he easily inclined to Terms of Peace: The Spirit of the young Man was depressed both by the unlucky Fight, and also by his Fear of the *Islanders*; for *Alexander* by sending about some Ships had then recovered the *Isle of Man*, situate almost in the midst between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, upon these Conditions, That the King of it should send in ten Gallies to the *Scots* as often as there was Occasion; and, That the *Scots* should defend him from a foreign Enemy. When *Magnus* saw that the rest of the Islands inclined to follow the Example of the *Manks-Men*, he sent Ambassadors to treat of Peace, which *Alexander* refused to make, unless the *Æbudæ* were restored; at last, by the Diligence of the Commissioners, it was agreed that the *Scots* should have the *Æbudæ*; for which at present they were to pay 4000 Merks of Silver, and 100 Merks a Year. And moreover, that *Margaret*, *Alexander's* Daughter, being then but four Years old, should marry *Hanganan*, the Son of *Magnus*, as soon as she was fit for Marriage.

ABOUT this time the King of *England* being infested with civil War, had five thousand *Scots* sent him for his Assistance, under the Command of *Robert Bruce* and *Alexander Cumin*, whom the *English* Writers call *John*; the greatest Part of them were slain in Fight, and *Cumin*, with the *English* King himself and his Son, and a great Part of the *English* Nobility of the King's Party, were taken Prisoners.

MOREOVER the *Scots* King was much troubled at the Arrogance of the Priests and Monks in his Kingdom; who being enriched by former Kings, began to grow wanton in a continued Peace; nay, they endeavoured to be equal, if not superior, to the Nobility, whom they excelled in Wealth. The young Nobility repining at it, and taking it in great Disdain, used them pretty roughly: Complaints were made by them to the King, who imagining either that their Wrongs were not so great as they represented them, or else, that they suffered them deservedly, neglected their pretended Grievances: What do they do next truly but excommunicate every Soul except the King, and in great Wrath determined to go to *Rome*. But the King remembering what great Commotions *Thomas Becket*, the prime Promoter of Ecclesiastical Ambition, had lately made in *England*, called them back from their Journey, and caused the Nobility to satisfy not only their Avarice, but even their Arrogance

gance too; And indeed they were the more inclinable to an Accord with the King, because he had lately undertaken the Patronage of the Ecclesiastical Orders against the Avarice of the *Romanists*; for a little before *Ottobon*, the Pope's Legate, was come into *England* to appease the civil Discords; but not being able to effect the Thing he came for, he omitted the publick Care, and studied his own private Gain and Lucre: He called an Ecclesiastical Assembly of the *English*, Procurators from *Scotland* being also summoned to it. In the mean time he endeavoured to exact four Merks of Silver from every Parish in *Scotland*, and six from all *Cathedrals*, by way of Procuration-money. This Contribution, or Tax, was scarce refused, when News was brought that another Legate was arrived in *England*, intending also for *Scotland*, on pretence to collect Money for the *Holy War*; and besides that procurable by Indulgences, and other Lime-twigs to catch Money, he endeavoured to wrest from all Bishops, Abbots and Parish Priests (as judging them to be immediately under papal Jurisdiction) the tenth Part of their yearly Revenues; that so *Edward* and *Edmond*, Sons to the King of *England*, might go more nobly and numerously attended to the War in *Syria*. The *Scots* judged this Tax to be very grievous and unjust, especially because the *English* seemed to be so forward to have it granted, as if *Scotland* were not *sui juris*, or an absolute Kingdom, but dependent on *England*. Moreover, they were afraid lest the Legate should riotously mispend the Money designed for the War, as was done some Years before. Upon this they forbade him to enter their Borders, but sent him Word that they themselves, without his Presence, would gather Money for, and send Soldiers to the *Syrian War*; and indeed they sent Soldiers, under the Command of the Earls of *Carrick* and *Athol*, two of the chief Nobility, to *Lewis* King of *France*; and to the Pope, lest he might think himself altogether disesteemed, they sent 1000 Merks of Silver.

THE Year after, *Henry*, King of *England*, died, and his Son *Edward I.* succeeded him; at whose Coronation *Alexander* and his Wife were present; she returning died soon after; nay, *David* the King's Son, and also *Alexander*, being newly married to the Daughter of the Earl of *Flanders*, followed her a little time after, and made a Continuation of Mourning and Funerals; *Margaret* also, the King's Daughter, departed this Life, who left a Daughter behind her, that she had by *Hangonanus* King of *Norway*. *Alexander* being thus, in a few Years, deprived both of his Wife and Children, took to Wife *Joleta*, the Daughter of the Count *de Dreux*; and within a Year he fell from his Horse and broke his Neck, not far from *Kinghorn*, in the Year

of our Lord 1285, on the nineteenth of *March*; he lived forty five Years, and reigned thirty seven.

HE was more missed than any King of *Scotland* had been before him; not so much for the eminent Virtues of his Mind, and the Accomplishments of his Body, as that People foresaw what great Calamities would befall the Kingdom upon his Decease. Those wholesome Laws which he made are grown obsolete and out of Use, through the Negligence of Men, and the Length of Time; and their Utility is rather celebrated by Report than felt by Trial and Experience. He divided the Kingdom into four Parts, and almost every Year he travelled them all over, staying about three Months in each of them to do Justice, and to hear the Complaints of the Poor, who had free Access to him during that whole Time. Whenever he went to an Assize or Sessions, he commanded the Prefect or Sheriff of that Precinct, to meet him with a select Number of Men, and to accompany him at his Departure to the Bounds of his Jurisdiction, where he was received by the next Sheriff. By this means he got a thorough Knowledge of all the Nobility, and was himself as well known to them; and the People, as he went; were not burdened with a Troop of Courtiers, who are commonly imperious, and given to play the Game of Avarice wheresoever they come. He commanded the Magistrates to punish all idle Persons who followed no Trade, nor had any Estates to maintain them; for his Opinion was, *That Idleness was the Source and Fountain of all Wickedness*. He reduced the Train of Horsemen that attended the Nobles when they travelled, to a certain Number; because he thought that the Multitude of Horses which were unfit for War, would spend too much Provision: And whereas, by reason of Unskilfulness in Navigation, or else by Mens Avarice, in venturing out rashly to Sea, many Shipwrecks had happened; and the Violence of Pirates making an Addition to the Misfortunes, the Company of Merchants were almost undone, he commanded they should traffick no more by Sea. That Order lasted about a Year, but being complained of by many as a publick Prejudice, at length so great a Quantity of foreign Commodities was imported, that they were never cheaper in *Scotland* within the Memory of Man. In this Case, that he might consult the Good of the Merchants-company, he forbade that any but Merchants should buy of Foreigners what they imported by Wholesale; but what every Man wanted, he was to buy it of the Merchant at second Hand, or by Retail.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
S C O T L A N D.

B O O K VIII.

ALEXANDER, and his whole Lineage (besides one Grand-daughter by his Daughter) being extinct, a Convention of the Estates was held at *Scone*, to treat about creating a new King, and settling the State of the Kingdom; where, when most of the Nobility were come, in the first place they appointed six Vicegerents to govern Matters at present; so dividing the Provinces, that *Duncan Macduff* should preside over *Fife*, of which he was Earl; *John Cumin*, Earl of *Buchan*, over *Buchan*; *William Fraser*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, over that Part of the Kingdom which lay Northward: And that *Robert*, Bishop of *Glasgow*, another *John Cumin*, and *John Stuart*, should govern the Southern Countries, and that the Boundary in the midst should be the River *Forth*. *Edward*, King of *England*, knowing that his Sister's Grand-child, Daughter of the King of *Norway*, was the only surviving Person of all the Posterity of *Alexander*; and that she was the lawful Heiress of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, sent Ambassadors into *Scotland*, to desire her as a Wife for his Son.

THE Ambassadors, in the Session, discoursed much of the publick Utility like to accrue to both Kingdoms by this Marriage, neither did they find the Scots averse to it; for *Edward* was a Man of great Courage and Power, yet he desired to increase it; and his Valour highly appeared in the *Holy War* in his
Father's

Father's Life-time, and after his Death in his subduing of *Wales*; neither were there ever more Endearments passed betwixt the *Scots* and the *English* than under the last Kings; nay, the anti-ent Hatred seemed no Way more likely to be abolished, than if both Nations, on just and equal Terms, might be united into one.

FOR these Reasons the Marriage was easily assented to; and these Conditions were also added by the Consent of both Parties; as, that the *Scots* should use their own Laws and Magistrates till Children should come by that Marriage, who might govern the Kingdom; or if no such should be born, or being born should die before they came to the Crown, then the Kingdom of *Scotland* was to pass to the next a kin of the Blood Royal. Matters being thus settled, Ambassadors were sent into *Norway*, *Michael*, or as others call him, *David Weems* and *Michael Scot*, two eminent Knights of *Fife*, and much famed for their Prudence in those Days: But *Margaret* (for that was the Name of the young Princess) died before they came thither, so that they returned home with sorrowful Hearts, without doing their Errand.

By reason of the untimely Death of this young Lady a Controversy arose concerning the Kingdom, which gave a mighty Shock to *England*, but almost quite ruined *Scotland*. The Competitors were Men of great Power, *John Baliol* and *Robert Bruce*; *Baliol* had Lands in *France*, *Bruce* in *England*, but both of them great Possessions and Allies in *Scotland*. But before I enter upon their Disputes, that all Things may be more clear to the Reader, I must begin with them a little higher.

THE three last Kings of *Scotland*, *William*, and the two *Alexanders*, the *Second* and the *Third*, and their whole Off-spring being extinct, there remained none who could lawfully claim the Kingdom but the Posterity of *David*, Earl of *Huntington*. This *David* was Brother to King *William*, and great Uncle to *Alexander III*. He married *Maud* in *England*, Daughter to the Earl of *Chester*, by whom he had three Daughters; the eldest named *Margaret*, married *Alan* of *Galway*, a Man very powerful amongst the *Scots*: The second was matched to *Robert Bruce*, surnamed the *Noble*, of high *English* Descent, and of a large Estate: The third was married to *Henry Hastings*, an *Englishman* also, whose Posterity most deservedly enjoy the Earldom of *Huntington* to this very Day. But to let him pass, (because he never put in for the Kingdom), I shall confine my Discourse to the Stock, Cause, and Ancestry of *Baliol* and *Bruce* only. Whilst *William* was King of *Scotland*, *Fergus*, Prince of *Galway*, left two Sons, *Gilbert* and *Ethred*; *William*, to prevent the Seeds of Discord betwixt the two Brothers, divided their Fa-

ther's Inheritance equally betwixt them: *Gilbert* the eldest took this highly amiss, and conceived an Hatred against his Brother, as his Rival, and against the King too, for his unequal Distribution. Afterwards, when the King was Prisoner in *England*, *Gilbert*, being then freed from the Fear of the Law, discovered his long concealed Hatred against them both. As for his Brother, he seized him unawares, pulled out his Eyes, cut out his Tongue, and so (not contented with putting him to a simple Death) he put him to grievous and excessive Tortures before he died; and he himself joined with the *English*, and preyed upon his Neighbours and Countrymen, as if they had been in an Enemy's Country, for he wasted all with Fire and Sword. And unless *Rolland*, the Son of *Ethred*, had gathered a Band of Countrymen, who remained firm to the King, together, to resist his Attempts, he had either wasted the neighbouring Countries, or drawn them all over to his Party. This *Rolland* was a forward young Man, of great Abilities both of Body and Mind; he not only abated the Fury of his Uncle, but always fought valiantly, and often successfully with the *English*, as he met them, whilst he repressed their Plunderings, or as he himself spoiled their Lands. At last, when the King was restored, *Gilbert*, by the Mediation of his Friends, got a Pardon upon Promise of a Sum of Money for the Wrongs he had done, and giving Pledges to that Purpose: But *Gilbert* dying a few Days after, those who were accustomed to Blood and Plunder under him, and who had given themselves up to the Protection of the King of *England*, either out of the Inconstancy of their Dispositions, or for Fear of Punishment; and being stung by the Remorse of an accusing Conscience, which pricked them for what they had formerly done, took up Arms again under the Command of *Kilpatrick*, *Henry Kennedy* and *Samuel*, who before had been Assistants and Companions to *Gilbert* in his Wickedness. *Rolland* was sent with an Army against them, and after a great Fight he slew their chief Leaders, and a great Part of the common Soldiers. They who escaped fled to one *Gilcolumb*, a Captain of the Freebooters and Robbers, who had made great Spoil in *Lothian*, and much damaged the Nobles and richer Sort, some of whom he killed. Thence marching into *Galway*, he undertook *Gilbert's* Cause, when every body else looked upon it as desperate. He not only claimed his Lands as his own, but carried himself high, and as if he was the Lord of all *Galway*. At last *Rolland* fought with him on the first of *October*, about three Months after *Gilbert's* Forces were defeated, and slew him and the greatest Part of his Army, with very few slain of his own side; amongst whom was found his own Brother, a young Man of experienced Bravery.

THE *English* King being troubled at the Overthrow of these Men, who had put themselves under his Protection the Year before, marched with an Army to *Carlisle*; thither also came *Rolland*, being reconciled to the King by the Mediation of *William*, where he refuted the Calumnies of his Enemies, and shewed that he had done nothing maliciously or causelessly against his own and the Publick's Enemy, upon which he was honourably dismissed by the King. *William*, the Scots King, returned home, and calling to mind the Constancy of *Rolland's* Father *Ethred*, and how many noble Exploits he had performed for the Good of the Publick, he gave him all *Galway*: And besides, he bestowed *Carrick* on the Son of *Gilbert*, though his Father had not deserved so well of him. *William* of *Newberry*, the *English* Writer, records these Things as done anno 1183. *Rolland* took to Wife the Sister of *William Morwill*, who was Lord High Constable in *Scotland*; who dying without Issue, *Rolland* enjoyed that great Station as hereditary to him and his Family. He had a Son called *Alan*, who for his Assistance afforded to *John*, King of *England*, in his *Irish* War, was rewarded by him with large Possessions; on which account, by the Permission of *William* of *Scotland*, he was a Feudatary to the *English* King, and swore Fealty to him. This *Alan* took to Wife *Margaret*, the eldest Daughter of *David*, Earl of *Huntington*; by her he had three Daughters; the eldest, *Dornagilla*, he married to *John Baliol*, the Father of *John Baliol*, who was King of *Scotland* for some Years. But *Robert Bruce*, who married *Isabella*, *David's* second Daughter, had by her a Son *Robert*, who came to be Earl of *Carrick* for the Reason following: *Martha*, Countess of *Carrick*, being marriageable, and the only Heiress of her Father, who died in the *Holy War*, turned her Eyes upon *Robert Bruce*, the most beautiful young Man of his Time, as he was hunting; she courteously invited him, and in a manner compelled him into her Castle, which was near at hand: Being come thither, their Age, Beauty, Kindred and Manners, easily procuring mutual Love; they were quickly married in a private Way. When the King was informed of the Matter, he was much offended with them both, because the Right of bestowing the Lady in Marriage lay in him; yet, by the Mediation of Friends, he was afterwards reconciled to them: Of this Marriage *Robert Bruce* was born, who afterwards was King of *Scotland*.

BUT enough by way of Preface. I come now to the Matter in hand, and the Competitors of the Kingdom: They were *Dornagilla*, the Grandchild of *David* of *Huntington*, by his eldest Daughter; and *Robert Bruce*, Earl of *Carrick*, Great Grandson

son of the said *David*, by his second Daughter. *Dornagilla's* Pretensions were grounded on the Custom of the Country, whereby he or she that was nearer in Degree had a better Right: *Robert Bruce* insisted on the Sex; that, in a like Degree of Propinquity, *Males* ought to be preferred before *Females*; so that he denied it to be just, that as long as a Grandson was alive, a Granddaughter should inherit her Ancestor's Estate; and though sometimes the contrary may be practised in the Inheritances of private Men, yet the Matter is far otherwise in those Estates which are called *Feuds*, and in the Succession of Kingdoms. And of this there was urged a late Example in the Controversy concerning the Dutchy of *Burgundy*; which the Earl of *Nevers*, who married the Granddaughter of the last Duke by his eldest Son, claimed, yet the Inheritance was adjudged to a younger Son of the Duke's Brother; so that *Robert* contended that he was nearer in Degree, as being a Grandson, than *John Baliol*, who was but a great Grandson: As for *Dornagilla*, with whom he stood in equal Degree, he was to be preferred before her, as a *Male* before a *Female*.

THE *Scots* Nobles could not decide this Controversy at home, for, by reason of the Power of both Parties, the Land was divided into two Factions: For *Baliol*, by his Mother, held all *Galway*, a very large Country; and besides, he was allied to the *Cuminian* Family, which was the most powerful next the King's; for *Mary*, the Sister of *Dornagilla*, had married *John Cumin*. *Robert*, on the other side, in *England*, possessed *Cleveland*; in *Scotland*, *Annandale* and *Garioch*; and by his Son, Earl of *Carrick*, (who was afterwards King) was related to many noble Families, and he was also very gracious with his own People; so that for these Reasons the Controversy could not be decided at home; nay, if it should have been equitably determined, yet there was not a sufficient Party in *Scotland* to compel both Sides to stand to the Award; and therefore *Edward* of *England* was almost unanimously chosen to be the Decider of this important Point: Neither was there any Doubt made of his Fidelity, as being born of such a Father, as the late King of *Scotland* had experienced to be, both a loving Father-in-law to him, and a just Guardian too; and on the contrary the *English* King had received a late and memorable Testimony of the *Scots* Good-will towards him, in that they so readily consented to the Marriage of his Son with their Queen.

EDWARD, as soon as he arrived at *Berwick*, sent Letters to the Peers and Governors of *Scotland* to come to him, protesting that he summoned them to appear before him, not as Subjects before their Lord or supreme Magistrate, but as Friends before an Arbitrator, chosen by themselves. First of all he required

quired an Oath of the Competitors to stand to his Award; in the next place he required the same Oath of the Nobles and Commissioners, to obey him as King, whom he, upon his Oath, should declare so to be; and for this he desired there should be given to him a publick Scroll, or Record, signed by all the Estates, and each one's Seal affixed to it. This being done, he chose, of the most prudent of all the Estates, twelve Scots, and adjoined twelve *Englishmen* to them; he enjoined them all upon Oath, to judge rightly and truly, according to their Consciences, in the Case. These Things were managed openly and above-board, which, in Appearance, were honest and taking with the People, but his private Design was carried on very secretly, and amongst but a few, how he might bring *Scotland* under his Subjection: The Thing was thought feasible enough, for that the Kingdom was divided into two Factions; but to make the Way more intricate, and to cover the Fraud the deeper from every Eye, he raised up eight other Competitors, besides *Bruce* and *Baliol*, that he might more easily bring over one, or more, to his Party, when so great a Number were contending.

AND lest so great a Matter might seem to be determined unadvisedly, he consulted with those who were most eminent in *France* for Piety and Prudence, and most learned in the Law. Neither did he doubt, but that (as that Class of Men are never always of one Opinion) he should fish something out of their Answers, which might make for his Purpose: The new Competitors, seeing no Grounds for their Pretensions, quickly desisted of their own accord; but as he governed and influenced the Lawyers as he pleased, a false, or made Case was thus stated and propounded to them: *A certain King, that was never wont to be crowned, nor anointed, but only to be placed in a Kind of Seat, and declared King by his Subjects, yet not a King so free, but that he was under the Patronage of another King, whose Homager or Beneficiary he professed himself to be; such a King died without Children: Two of his Kinsmen begot by Sempronius, great Uncle of the deceased King, claim the Inheritance; to wit, Titius great Grandson by the eldest Daughter of Sempronius, and Seius, Grandson by his younger Daughter; now which of these is to be preferred, in an Estate, whose Nature and Essence it is, that it can never be divided?* The Case being propounded in almost these very Words, they all generally answered, *That if any Law or Custom obtained in the Kingdom, which was sued for, they were to be guided by, and stand to it; if not, then they must be guided by him, under whose Patronage they were, because, in judging of Freehold, Custom doth not ascend; i. e. the Usage and Award of the Superior, is to be a Law to the Inferior, but*
not

not on the contrary. It would be too prolix a Task, to reckon up particularly all the Opinions, but, in brief, almost all of them answered very doubtfully and uncertainly, as to the Right of the Competitors; but, as the Case was falsely stated, they all gave the supreme Power of Judgment in the Controversy, to *Edward*. Thus the Matter was made more intricate and involved than before; so that the next Year they met again at *Norham*. There *Edward*, by Agents fit for his Purpose, gently tried the Minds of the *Scots*, whether they would willingly put themselves under the Power and Jurisdiction of the *English*, which (as was alledged) their Ancestors had frequently done: But when they all unanimously refused so to do, he called to him the Competitors whom he himself had set up; and, by great Promises, extorted from them to swear Homage to him; and next he persuades the rest to remove the Assembly to *Berwick*, as a more convenient Place. There he shut up the twenty four Judges, elected as before, in a Church, without any body else amongst them, commanding them to give their Judgments in the Case, and no Man was to have Access to them, till they had unanimously come to a Conclusion. But they being slow in their Proceedings, he every now and then went in alone to them, and by discoursing sometimes one, and sometimes another, found a great Majority of this Opinion, That the Right lay on *Baliol's* Side, though he was inferior in Favour and Popularity: And finding this, he went to *Bruce*, whom, because he was legally cast by their Votes, he thought he might more easily persuade to close in with his Design, and promised him the Crown of *Scotland*, if he would put himself under the Patronage of the King of *England*, and be subject to his Authority. *Bruce* answered him ingenuously, That he was not so eager of a Crown, as to accept of it, by abridging the Liberty his Ancestors had left him: Upon that Reply he was dismissed, and he sent for *John Baliol*, who, being more desirous of a Kingdom, than of honest Methods to come by it, greedily accepted the Condition offered him by *Edward*.

JOHN BALIOL, the ninety sixth King.

ACCORDINGLY *John Baliol* was declared King of *Scotland*, six Years and nine Months after the Death of *Alexander*. The rest of the *Scots*, studious of the publick Tranquillity, led him to *Scone*, and there crowned him, according to Custom, and all swore Fealty to him, except *Bruce*. He, being thus made King by the *English*, and accepted by the *Scots*, and standing now in full Security of the Kingdom, came to *Edward*, who was at *Newcastle upon Tyne*; and, according to his Promise,

Promise, swore Fealty to him, and the Noblemen who were his Attendants, not daring to contradict two Kings, especially being so far from home, did the same: As soon as the rest of the Nobility heard of it, they were extremely offended, but conscious of their Want of Power, they dissembled their Anger for the present.

HOWEVER soon after an Occasion was offered them to shew it. *Macduff*, Earl of *Fife*, (who in the Time of the *Interregnum* was one of the six Governors of the Land) was murdered by the *Abernethians*, which was then a rich and potent Family in *Scotland*; and the Earl's Brother being accused by them, and brought to his Answer before the Assembly of the States, the King gave Sentence in Favour of the *Abernethians*. So that *Macduff* was dispossessed of the Land which was in Controversy betwixt them. This made him doubly displeased at the King; first, on the account of his own Wrong; and secondly, because he had not severely punished the Murderers of his Brother. Upon this he appealed to the King of *England*, and desired that *Baliol* might answer the Matter before him. Accordingly the Cause was removed to *London*; and as *Baliol* was casually sitting by *Edward* in the Parliament House, and, when he was called, would have answered by a Procurator, it was denied him; so that he was forced to rise from his Seat, and to plead his Cause from a lower Place. He bore the Affront silently for the present, not daring to do otherwise; but as soon as ever he was dispatched from thence, such Flames of Anger burnt in his Breast, that his Thoughts were wholly taken up, how to reconcile his own Subjects, and how to be even with *Edward*. While his Mind was taken up with these Meditations, it happened commodiously for him, that a new Discord arose betwixt the *French* and *English*, which presently after broke out into a War. Ambassadors were sent to the Assembly of Estates in *Scotland*, from both Kings. The Errand from *France* was, to renew the old League with their new King. That from *England* was, upon the account of their late Oath to *Edward*, to receive Aids from them in the War that was commenced: Both Embassies were referred to the Council of the Estates, where the Nobles, prone to Rebellion, gave it as their Opinion, that the Request of the *French* was just, and the Demand of the *English* unjust: For the League made by universal Consent with the *French* more than 500 Years before, had been kept sacred and inviolable to that very Day, in regard of the Justice and Utility it carried along with it; but this late Subjection and surrendering themselves to the *English*, was extorted from the King against his Will; and tho' (as they proceeded to alledge) he had been willing, yet it did oblige neither King nor Kingdom, it being made by the

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King alone, without the Consent of the Estates; whereas the King might not act any thing relating to the publick State of the Kingdom without, much less against, the Advice of the States. Therefore a Decree was made, that Ambassadors should be sent into *France* to renew the antient League; and that a Wife should be desired for *Edward Baliol*, Son to *John*, out of the King's Royal Issue. Another Embassy was also sent into *England*, to signify that the King of *Scots* revoked the Rendition of the Kingdom and himself, which he had been forced unjustly to make; and that renouncing *Edward's* Friendship for that Cause, and also for the many and innumerable other Wrongs which that King had done to him and his, he was resolved to assert his antient Liberty. No Man of any Eminence would carry this Message to *Edward*, because he was by Nature fierce, and rendered more so by the Indulgence of Fortune, which made him almost forget himself: At last a certain Monk, or, as some say, the Abbot of *Aberbrothoc* carried Letters of that Import to *Edward*, but was forced to undergo a great many Affronts for his Pains, and had much ado to escape home, protected more by his being of little Distinction, and so undervalued, than by the Reverence that is due to an Ambassador.

In the mean time *Edward* had made a Truce with the *French* for some Months, hoping that before it was at an End he might subdue the *Scots*, by taking them unprovided; and therefore he sent his Fleet designed for *France* against *Scotland*, commanding them to stop all Provisions from being carried into *Berwick*, where he heard there was a very strong Garrison. The *Scots* fought with this Fleet in the Mouth of the River, they destroyed and took eighteen of their Ships, and put the rest to Flight. *Edward*, who was naturally of an impetuous and fierce Disposition, fired by this Loss, breathed nothing but Fury and Revenge. He summons *Baliol* once and again to appear; and he himself levies a great Army, and comes to *Newcastle upon Tyne*. There again likewise he puts forth an Edict for *John* to appear, in order to clear himself from the Crimes objected against him in a legal Way. But neither he, nor any for him, appearing at the Day appointed, he added Policy to Force, and sent for *Bruce*, and promised him the Kingdom, if he would do his Endeavour faithfully to depose and drive out *Baliol*. To do which, said he, you need be at little Labour or Cost, only write Letters to your Friends, that either they would desert the King's Party, or not be hearty or forward if it came to a Battle. He by long Marches came to *Berwick*, but not being able to carry it, by reason of the Strength of the Garrison, he pretended to quit the Siege, and caused a Rumour to be spread abroad, by some *Scots* of *Bruce* his Party, that he despaired of taking it; and that

Baliol

Baliol was coming with a great Army to raise the Siege, and was now near at hand; upon which, all the chief Men of the Garrison making haste out to receive him honourably, in promiscuous Multitudes, Horse and Foot together; *Edward* sent in some Horse upon them, who trod down and killed some, others they divided from their Company, and seizing on the nearest Gate, they entered the Town. *Edward* followed with his Foot, and made a miserable Slaughter of all Sorts of People. Above 7000 of the *Scots* are reported to have been there slain, amongst them were the Flower of the Nobility of *Lothian* and *Fife*.

THOUGH I had resolved from the Beginning not to interrupt the Series of my History with any unnecessary Digression, yet I cannot forbear to expose that unbridled Liberty of Evil-speaking, which *Richard Grafton*, who lately compiled the History of *England*, assumes to himself; that so they who read what I here write, may judge what Credit is to be given to him. For he says that *Hector Boëtius* writes in his 14th Book, Chap. II. That so much Blood was spilt upon this Occasion, that Rivers of it running through the City, might have driven a Water-mill for two Days. To which I say, That *Boëtius* never divided his Book into Chapters; and besides, what *Grafton* affirms is nowhere found in his Writings. But to leave this unlearned and shameless Relator, I return to *Edward*; who, big with the exorbitant Power and Numbers of his Army, sent Part of it to besiege *Dunbar*; and a few Days after the Castle of *Berwick*, despairing of any Relief, was surrendered to him. Afterwards he joined all his Forces together at *Dunbar*, to fight the *Scots* Army, who came to relieve it: It was a very fierce Engagement; and the Victory inclining to the *English*, the Chief of the Nobility fled into the Castle, but the Castle was soon taken, either by the Treachery of *Richard Seward* the Governor, or else because he had not Provisions for so great a Multitude as were shut up in so narrow a Compass. *Edward* was very cruel to all the Prisoners. Some cast the Blame of this Overthrow upon *Robert Bruce* the Elder, in that his Friends giving back in the Battle, it struck a Terror into the rest. Our Writers do farther unanimously agree in affirming, That when *Bruce* demanded of *Edward* the Kingdom of *Scotland*, according to his Promise (as a Reward of his Pains that Day), that *Edward* should answer in *French*, of which Language he was a perfect Master, *What, have I nothing else to do but to win Kingdoms for you?* When *Dunbar* and some other Castles near the Borders of *England* were taken, the Surrender of *Edinburgh* and *Stirling* followed soon after. Next *Edward* passing over the *Forth*, directed his March to *Forfar*, where *Baliol* was at that Time,

When he was come as far as *Montrose*, without any Opposition, *Baliol*, by the Persuasion of *John Cumin* of *Strathbogy*, came to him, and surrendered to him, himself and the Kingdom. *Baliol* was sent into *England* by Sea, and *Edward*, returning to *Berwick*, issued out a strict and severe Summons to all the *Scots* Nobility to attend him there; after they came, he compelled them to swear Fealty to him. But *William Douglas*, an eminent Man, both on the account of his Family, and also his own famous Exploits, obstinately refusing to do it, was thrown into Prison, where, in a few Years, he died.

THUS *Edward*, having succeeded in his Expedition according to his Mind, left *John Warren*, Earl of *Surrey*, as Viceroy behind him; and *Hugh Cressingham*, Lord Chief Justice, or Treasurer, and so returned to *London*. There he committed *John Baliol* to Prison, in the fourth Year of his Reign; but a while after, at the Intreaty of the Pope, and upon his Promise that he would raise no farther Tumults in *Scotland*, he was sent into *France*, his Son *Edward* being retained as an Hostage. King *Edward* having prepared all Things for the *French* War, (which by reason of the Commotions in *Scotland* he had deferred) now sails thither with great Forces. The *Scots*, by reason of his Absence, being raised to some Hopes of their Liberty, chose twelve Men to govern the State. By the unanimous Consent of these, *John Cumin*, Earl of *Buchan*, was sent into *England*, with a good Force; and in regard the *English*, who were scattered in Garrisons over *Scotland*, dared not stir, he ravaged *Northumberland* without Controul, and laid Siege to *Carlisle*, but to no purpose: Tho' this Expedition did somewhat encourage the before crest-fallen *Scots*, and hindered the *English* from doing them farther Mischief, yet it contributed little or nothing to the main Chance, in regard that all the Places of Strength were possessed by the Enemy's Garrisons; but when the Nobility had neither Strength nor Courage to undertake great Matters, there presently started up one *William Wallace*, a Man of an antient and noble Family, but one that had lived poorly and meanly, as having little or no Estate; yet this Man performed, in this War, not only beyond the Expectation, but even the Belief, of all the common People; for he was bold of Spirit, and strong of Body; and, when he was but a Youth, had slain a young *English* Nobleman, who proudly domineered over him. For this Fact he was forced to run away, and to skulk up and down in several Places for some Years, to save his Life; and by this Course of living, his Body was hardened against Wind and Weather, and his Mind was likewise fortified to undergo greater Hazards, when Time should serve. At length, growing weary of such a wandering unsettled Way of living,

living, he resolved to attempt something, tho' never so hazardous; and therefore gathered a Band of Men together, of like Fortune with himself, and did not only assault single Persons, but even greater Companies, tho' with an inferior Number, and accordingly slew several Persons, in divers Places. He play'd his Pranks with as much Dispatch as Boldness, and never gave his Enemy any Advantage to fight him, so that in a short time his Fame was spread over both Nations, by which Means many came in to him, moved by the Likeness of their Cause, or with the like Love of their Country; thus he made up a considerable Army. And seeing the Nobles were sluggish in their Management of Affairs, either out of Fear or Dulness, this *Wallace* was proclaimed *Regent* by the tumultuous Band that followed him, and so he managed Things as a lawful Magistrate, and the Substitute of *Baliol*. He accepted of this Name, not out of any Ambition, or Desire to rule, but because it was a Title given him by his Countrymen out of pure Love and Good-will. The first remarkable Exploit he performed with this Army was at *Lanerick*, where he slew the Major-General of that Precinct, being an *Englishman* of good Descent. Afterwards he took and demolished many Castles, which were either slenderly fortified, or meanly garrisoned; or else guarded negligently; which petty Attempts so encouraged his Soldiers, that they shunned no Service; no not the most hazardous, under his Conduct, as having experienced, that his Boldness was guided by Counsel; and that his Counsel was seconded by Success.

WHEN the Report of these Things was spread abroad, and perhaps somewhat enlarged beyond the Bounds of Truth, out of Mens Respect and Favour to him; all that wished well to their Country, or were afraid of their own particular Conditions, flocked in to him, as judging it fit to take Opportunity by the Forelock; so that in a short time he reduced all the Castles which the *English* held on the other side of the *Forth*, though well fortified, and more carefully guarded, for Fear of his Attacks. He took and demolished the Castles of *Dundee*, *Forfar*, *Brechin* and *Montrose*; he seized on *Dunoter* by Surprise, and garrisoned it; he entered *Aberdeen*, (which the Enemy, for Fear of his Coming, had plundered and burnt), even whilst it was in Flames; but a Rumour being scattered abroad, concerning the Coming of the *English* Army, prevented his taking the Castle; for he determined to meet them at the *Forth*, not being willing to hazard a Battle but in a Place that he himself should pitch upon. *Edward* of *England*, when he went into *France*, (as I said before), put *English* Garrisons into all the strong Holds of *Scotland*; and besides, having many of the *Scots* faithful to him, and unfaithful to their Country, he banished

nished and sent the *Scots* Nobility, whom he most suspected, into the Heart of *England* till his Return. Amongst these was *John Cumin*, Lord, or petty King, of *Badenach*; and *Alan Logan*, a Man fit both for the Cabinet and the Field; and having settled Matters after this sort, he was so far from fearing any Insurrection in *Scotland*, that he carried all his Army over along with him. But hearing of the many Exploits of *Wallace*, he thought there was need of a greater Force to suppress him; yet that the Expedition was not worthy of a King neither, (as being only against a roving Thief, for so the *English* called *Wallace*), and therefore he writes to *Henry Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, and *William Latimer*, that they should speedily levy what Forces they could out of the neighbouring Parts, and join themselves with *Cressingham*, who as yet remained in *Scotland*, to subdue the rebellious *Scots*. *Thomas Walsingham* writes, that the Earl of *Warren* was General in this Expedition. But *Wallace*, who was then besieging the Castle of *Cowpar* in *Fife*, lest his Army, which he had increased against the Approach of the *English*, should be idle, the *English* being near at hand, marched directly to *Stirling*. The River *Forth*, nowhere almost fordable, may be there passed over by a Bridge of Wood, though it be increased by the Addition of other Rivers, and by the Coming in of the Tide. There *Cressingham* passed over with the greatest Part of his Army, but the Bridge, either having its Beams loosened and disjointed on purpose, by the Skill of the Architect, (as our Writers say it was), that so it might not be able to bear any great Weight; or else, being overladen with the heavy Burden of so many Horse, Foot, and Carriages as passed over, was broken, and so the March of the rest of the *English* was obstructed: The *Scots* set upon those, who were passed over, before they could put themselves into a Posture; and having slain their Captain, drove the rest back into the River; the Slaughter was so great, that they were almost all either killed or drowned. *Wallace* returned from this Fight to the besieging of Castles; and in a short time he so changed the Scene of Affairs, that he left none of the *English* in *Scotland*, but such as were made Prisoners. This Victory (wherein none of any Distinction among the *Scots* fell, save *Andrew Murray*, whose Son, some Years after, was Regent of *Scotland*) was obtained on the thirteenth of *September*, in the Year of Christ 1297. Some say, that *Wallace* was called off to this Fight, not from the Siege of *Cowpar*, but of *Dundee*, whither he also returned after the Fight; so *John Major*, and some Books found in Monasteries, do relate.

By means of these Combustions the Fields lay untilld, inso-much that after that Overthrow a Famine ensued, and a Pestilence

lence after the Famine; from whence a greater Destruction was apprehended than from the War: *Wallace* to prevent this Mischiefe as much as he could, called together all those who were fit for Service, to appear at a certain Day, with whom he marched into *England*; thinking with himself, that their Bodies, being exercised with Labour, would be more healthy; and that, wintering in an Enemy's Country, Provisions might be spared at home; and the Soldiers, who were in much Want, might reap some Fruit of their Labours in a rich Country, and flourishing by reason of its continued Peace. When he was entered into *England*, no Man dared to attack him, so that he stay'd there from the first of *November*, to the first of *February*; and having refreshed and enriched the Soldiers with the Fruits and Spoils of the Enemy, he returned home with great Renown. This Expedition, as it increased the Fame and Authority of *Wallace* amongst the Vulgar, so it heightened the Envy of the Nobles against him in a great Degree. For his Praise seemed a tacit Reproaching of them, who being Men of great Power and Wealth, either out of Slothfulness durst not, or out of Treachery would not attempt, what he that was a mean Man, and destitute of all the Advantages of Fortune, had not only valiantly undertook, but also successfully performed. Moreover, the King of *England*, finding the Business to be greater than could well be managed by his Deputies, made some Settlement of Things in *France*, and returned home; and gathering together a great Army, but hastily levied, (for he brought not back his veteran Soldiers from beyond Sea) and, for the most part, raw and unexperienced Men, he marches toward *Scotland*; supposing he had only to do with a disorderly Band of Robbers. But when he saw both Armies in Battle array, about five hundred Paces one from another, in the Plains of *Stannmore*, he admired the Discipline, Order, and Confidence of his Enemies. So that, though he himself had much the greater Force, yet he durst not put it to the Hazard of a Battle, against such a veteran and so experienced a Captain, and against Soldiers inured to all Hardships, but turned his Ensigns, and marched slowly back: *Wallace* on the other hand durst not follow him, for fear of Ambuscades, but kept his Army within their Trenches. Having thus got the Victory, though bloodless, over so puissant a King, his Enemies were so much the more enraged against him, and caused Rumours to be scattered up and down, *That Wallace did openly affect a supreme or tyrannical Power*; which the Nobles, especially *Bruce* and the *Cumins*, of the Royal Stock, took in mighty Disdain; for they said thus within themselves, *That if they must be Slaves, they had rather be so, under a great and potent King, than under an Upstart, whose Domination was like to be not only*
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base, but also dangerous: And therefore they determined, by *all Means*, to undermine the Authority of *Wallace*. *Edward* was not ignorant of these Disguists, and therefore the next Summer he levies a great Army, consisting partly of *English*, partly of *Scots*, who had remained faithful to him, and came to *Falkirk*, which is a Village built in the very Tract of the Wall of *Severus*, and is distant from *Stirling* little more than six Miles. The *Scots* Army were not far from them, of sufficient Strength, for they were thirty thousand, if the Generals and Leaders had agreed amongst themselves: Their Generals were *John Cumin*, *John Stuart*, and *William Wallace*, the most flourishing Persons amongst the *Scots*; the two former, for their high Descent and Opulency; the latter for the Glory of his former Exploits.

WHEN the Army in three Squadrons was ready to fight, a new Dispute arose, besides their former Envy, who should lead the Van of the Army; and, when all three stood upon their Terms, the *English* decided the Controversy, who, with Banners displayed, marched with a swift Pace towards them. *Cumin* and his Forces retreated, without striking a Stroke: *Stuart*, being beset before and behind, was slain, with all that followed him: *Wallace* was sorely pressed upon in the Front, and *Bruce* had fetched a Compass about an Hill, and fell on his Rear; yet he was as little disturbed, as in such Circumstances he could possibly be, but retreated beyond the River *Carront*, where, by the Interposition of the River, he had got an Opportunity to defend himself, and also to gather up the straggling Fugitives; and *Bruce* desiring to speak with him, he agreed to it. They two alone stood over against one another, where the River hath the narrowest Channel, and the highest Banks: And first *Bruce* began, and told *Wallace*, *He wondered what was in his Mind, that, being hurried on by the uncertain Favour of the Vulgar, he should expose himself to such assiduous and imminent Danger against a King, the most potent of that Time, and who was also assisted by a great Number of the Scots; and that to no Purpose neither, for if he overcame Edward, the Scots would never grant him the Kingdom; and if himself were overcome, he had no Refuge but in the Mercy of his Enemy.* To whom *Wallace* replied, *I never proposed any such End of my Labours, as to obtain the Kingdom, of which my Fortune is not capable, neither doth my Mind aspire so high: But when I saw my Countrymen, by your Slothfulness (to whom the Kingdom doth rightfully appertain) destitute of Governors, and exposed not to the Slavery only, but even to the Butchery of a cruel Enemy, I had pity on them, and undertook the Cause which you deserted; neither will I forsake the Liberty, Good, and Safety of my Countrymen, till Life forsake me: You, who had rather chuse base Servitude with Security, than honest Liberty with Hazard, follow, and hug*
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the Fortune which you so highly esteem: As for me, I will die free in my Country, which I have often defended; and my Love to it shall remain, as long as my Life continues. Thus the Conference was broken off, and each of them retired to their Forces. This Battle was fought on the twenty second of *July*, where there fell of the *Scots* above ten thousand, amongst whom, of the Nobles, were *John Stuart*, *Macduff* Earl of *Fife*; and of *Wallace* his Army, *John Greme*, the most valiant Person of the *Scots*, next to *Wallace* himself. Of the *English* were slain *Frere Briangy*, highly famed, and noticed for Skill in Arms and military Exploits. After this unhappy Fight, *Wallace* came to *Perth*, and dismissed his Army, giving place to that Envy, which he knew he could not resist; and from that Day forward, he never acted as a General; yet he ceased not, with a few of his Friends, who still stuck to him, tho' he renounced the Name of a *General*, as often as a convenient Opportunity was offered, to press upon the *English*.

EDWARD likewise, after he had wasted all the Country beyond the *Forth*, even unto *Perth*, receiving into his Obedience all those who durst not, as long as he was present, make any Insurrection, drew back his Army. Those of the *Scots*, who, after the Enemies Departure, did most study the Liberty of their Country, being a little heartened, made *John Cumin Junior* their Regent. He, according to the Advice of the Council, sent Ambassadors to *Philip Valois*, King of *France*, to desire him, that, by the Mediation of his Sister, who was then betrothed to *Edward*, they might obtain at least a Truce. By her Endeavours, a Truce was obtained for seven Months, which yet was not faithfully observed: For the *English* detained the Ambassadors, which were sent to *Boniface VIII.* and committed them to Prison. In the mean time the *Scots*, who could neither bear the Tyranny of the *English*, nor satisfy the cruel Mind of *Edward* by their Punishments, nor yet obtain an equal Peace from him, with obstinate Minds, and in despair of Pardon, resolved to fight it out to the last. First of all, they expel all *Edward's* Governors, who were *English*, from all Towns and Castles; next, they afflict the *Scots* of their Faction, as much as ever they could. Things remained in this Posture almost two Years, and then *Edward* sent *Ralph Confray* with great Forces to subdue the Robbers, (as he called them) and to make an end of the War. They met with no Opposition, but preyed far and near, till they came to *Roslin*, (a Place in *Lothian*, about five Miles distant from *Edinburgh*) and there they divided their Army into three Parts, to make the greater Havock, and so pitched their Tents. *John Cumin*, with the Assistance of *John Fraser*, the most potent Man in all *Tiviotdale*, gathered

eight thousand Men together, and marched towards the Enemy, thinking to abridge the Bounds of their plundering Excursions, or otherwise, if an happy Opportunity offered itself for Action, not to be wanting to Fortune. And indeed, he met with a fairer Occasion than he hoped for: For the *English*, little expecting an Assault from an Enemy that they had so often conquered, and brought so low, lived after a more straggling Manner than they ought to have done in an Enemy's Country; so that their first Camp was soon taken, by the sudden Approach of the *Scots*, and with a great Slaughter: They who escaped, carried the Noise into the next Camp: Those again, in a great Fear, cried out, *Arm, Arm*; and they all exhorted one another to succour their Fellow-soldiers; but perceiving that the designed Succour was too late, they prepared for Revenge. A fierce Fight was commenced betwixt them, as Men eager and desirous of Victory and Revenge; at last, the *English* were routed, and put to flight, and the Victory, tho' a bloody one, remained to the *Scots*: In the mean time, the third Camp, which was farther off, came, and occasioned some Terror to the *Scots*. For, in regard many of them were wounded, and the greatest Part wearied with the Toil of a double Fight, they saw that there was imminent Danger in fighting, and assured Destruction in flying away. At length, by the Command of the Leaders, they slew all the Prisoners, lest while they were busied with their Enemies, they should rise up and set upon them in the Rear; and arming their Servants with the Spoils of the Slain, they made a Shew of a greater Army than indeed they were. Upon this, the Battle was begun, and fiercely carried on by both Parties. The Fight being a long time doubtful, the *Scots* by the Encouragement of their Leaders, putting them in mind of their double Victory, took fresh Courage, and charged the Enemy with such Violence, that they broke their Ranks, and put them to flight. This Fight was at *Roslin*, on the twenty fourth of *February*, in the Year 1302.

As the Victory was the more famous, being obtained by but one Army over three, in one and the same Day, so it mightily incensed the Mind of *Edward*. To blot out the Ignominy, and to put an end, at length, to a long and tedious War, he therefore levies an Army bigger than ever he had before, and assaulted *Scotland* both by Sea and Land, and made Spoil of it, even unto the uttermost Borders of *Ross*, no Man daring to oppose so great a Force. Only *Wallace* and his Men, sometimes in the Front, sometimes in the Rear, sometimes in the Flanks, would snap, either those that rashly went before, or that loitered behind; or that, in plundering, straggled too far from the main Body; neither did he suffer them to stray far from their Colours.

Edward

Edward fought, by great Promises to bring him over to his Party; but his constant Tone was, *That he had devoted his Life to his Country, to which it was due; and if he could do it no other Service, yet he would die in pious Endeavours for its Defence.* There were some Castles yet remaining, not surrendered to the *English*, as *Urquhart* in *Murray*, which was taken by Storm, and all the Defendants put to the Sword; upon which, the rest surrendered themselves out of mere Fear. After these Exploits, the *English* King joined his Son *Edward*, whom he had left at *Perth*; and by the Addition of his Forces, he besieged *Stirling*, which, after a Month's Siege, he took; the Garrison in it being reduced to the Want of all Things; the Conditions were only Life and Liberty. And yet *William Oliver*, the Governor, against the Tenor of his Articles of Surrender, was detained, and sent Prisoner to *London*. When all *Scotland* was reduced, an Assembly of the States was called by *Edward* to be held at *St. Andrews*, where all, out of Fear, took an Oath of Allegiance to him, except *Wallace* alone; and fearing he should be given up by the Nobility (who were much disgusted at him) to *Edward* his mortal Enemy, he retired with a few Men into his old Places of absconding.

EDWARD, having appointed Governors and Magistrates over all *Scotland*, returned into *England*; but at his Departure he shewed an evident Demonstration of his great Hatred against all the *Scottish* Race; for he was not content only with the taking away all those, whom he feared would raise new Seditions, but he endeavoured, as much as he could, to abolish the very Memory of the Nation. For he repealed their old Laws, and modelled the Ecclesiastical State and Ceremonies, according to the Manner of *England*: He caused all Histories, Leagues, and antient Monuments, either left by the *Romans*, or erected by the *Scots*, to be destroyed: He carried all the Books, and all that were Teachers of Learning, into *England*: He sent also to *London* an unpolished *Marble-stone*, wherein it was vulgarly reported and believed, that the *Fate* of the Kingdom was contained; neither did he leave any thing behind him, which, either upon the account of its Memory, might excite generous Spirits to the Remembrance of their antient *Fortune* and Condition; or indeed, which could excite them to any true Greatness of Mind; so that, having broken their Spirits, (as he thought) as well as their Forces, and cast them into a servile Dejection; he promised himself perpetual Peace from *Scotland*. At his Return, he left *Ailmer* of *Valence* as his *Regent*, or *Viceroy*, who was to nip all seditious Attempts, if any did break forth, in the very Bud. Yet a new War sprung up against him, from a Part he little thought of.

THERE were some of the prime Nobility in *Scotland* with *Edward*, as *Robert Bruce*, the Son of him who contended with *Baliol* for the Kingdom, and *John Cumin*, surnamed *Red*, from the Colour of his Face, Cousin-german to *John Baliol* the last King of *Scotland*. *Edward* called them often to him apart, and put them severally in a vain Hope of the Kingdom, and so he made use of their Assistance in the conquering of *Scotland*. But, at the last, they discovered the Mockery and Cheat, so that each of them desired nothing more than a fit Occasion to revenge the Unfaithfulness of that King. But, in regard they were Corrivals, their mutual Suspicion kept them back from communicating their Counsels one to another. At last, *Cumin*, perceiving that Matters, as managed by *Edward*, were distasteful to *Bruce*, he spake to him, and taking the Rise of his Discourse from the Beginning of their Miseries, deplored much the lamentable Condition of their Country, and greatly inveighed against the Falseness of *Edward*; withal, grievously accusing himself and *Bruce* too, that they had by their Labour and Assistance, helped to plunge their Countrymen into this Abyss of Misery. After this first Discourse, they proceeded farther, and each of them promising Silence, they agreed, that *Bruce* should enjoy the Kingdom, and *Cumin* should wave his Right to it; but, in lieu of it, should enjoy all those large and fruitful Possessions, which *Bruce* had in *Scotland*; and, in a word, that he should be the Second Man in the Kingdom: Those Covenants were writ down, sealed and sworn betwixt themselves. Upon this *Bruce*, watching an Opportunity to rise in Arms, left his Wife and Children in *Scotland*, and went to the Court of *England*. After his Departure, *Cumin*, (as 'tis reported) either repenting himself of his Agreement, or else endeavouring fraudulently to remove his Corrivall, and so obtain an easier Way to the Kingdom, betrayed their secret Combination to *Edward*; and in Evidence of it, he sent him the Covenants signed by them both. Upon that, *Bruce* was impleaded as guilty of *High Treason*, he was forbid to depart the Court, and a privy Guard set over him, to inspect his Words and Actions. The King's Delay to punish him for a Crime so manifest, proceeded from a Desire he had to take his Brethren too, before they had heard any Noise of his Execution. In the mean time, *Bruce* was informed by the Earl of *Montgomery*, his Family's old Friend, of his imminent Danger, who dared not to commit his Advice for his Flight to Writing, being discouraged by *Bruce* his Example, but he sent him a Pair of gilt Spurs, and some Pieces of Gold, as if he had borrowed them of him the Day before. *Robert*, upon the Receipt of that Gift, as *Dangers make Men sagacious*, soon smell'd out what his Meaning was, so that he sent for a Smith in the Night, and commanded

commanded him to set on Shoes, on three Horses, the backward Way, that so his Flight might not be traced by the Mark of the Horses Feet in the Snow; and, the same Night, he and two Companions began their Journey, and, Man and Horse being extremely tired, in seven Days he came to his Castle, situate by *Lochmaben*. There he found *David* his Brother, and *Robert Fleming*; to whom he had scarce declared the Cause of his Flight, before he lighted upon a flying Post, who was conveying Letters from *Cumin* to *Edward*: The Contents were, *That Robert should speedily be put to Death; that there was Danger in Delay, lest a Man so nobly descended, and so popular as he, adding Boldness to his Wisdom, should raise new Commotions.* The perfidious Treachery of *Cumin* being thus (as well as otherwise) plainly detected, *Robert* was inflamed with Anger, and rode presently to *Dumfries*, where his Adversary *John Cumin* was in the *Franciscans* Church, whom he confronted with his own Letters, which he then shewed him; he very impudently denied them to be his; but *Robert*, no longer able to bridle his Wrath, run him into the Belly with his Dagger, and so left him for dead. As he was mounting his Horse, *James Lindsay* and *Roger Kirkpatrick*, one his Kinsman, the other his old Friend, perceiving by his Countenance that he was troubled, asked him the Cause; he told them in brief the whole Business, adding withal, that *he thought* he had killed *Cumin*. What, says *Lindsay*, will you leave a Matter of that Consequence upon an, *I thought*? And as soon as he had spoke the Word, he ran into the Church and dispatched him quite, and also his Kinsman, *Robert Cumin*, who endeavoured to save him. This Murder was committed in the Year 1305, on the tenth of *February*. About the same time also, *Wallace* was betrayed in the County of *Glasgow*, (where he then hid himself) by his own familiar Friend, *John Monteith*, whom the *English* had corrupted with Money, and so was sent to *London*; where, by *Edward's* Command, he was wofully butchered, and his Limbs, for the Terror of others, hanged up in the most noted Places of *London* and *Scotland*. Such an End had this Person, the most famous Man of the Age in which he lived, who deserved to be compared with the most renowned Captains of antient Times, both for his Greatness of Mind in undertaking Dangers, and for his Wisdom and Valour in overcoming them. For Love to his Country, he was second to none; who, when others were Slaves, was alone free, neither could he be induced by Rewards, or moved by Threats, to forsake the publick Cause, which he had once undertaken: His Death was the more to be lamented, because he was not conquered by his Enemy, but betrayed by his

his Friend, who had little Reason to be guilty of so treacherous an Action.

BRUCE, the ninety seventh King.

BRUCE stayed so long, till he had obtained Pardon from the Pope, for killing a Man in *Holy Church*, and then in *April* following, *Anno Domini* 1306, he went to *Scone*, and was crowned King.

THE first Thing he did, knowing that he had to do with a powerful Enemy, was to levy all the Force he could make; but in regard the whole Family of the *Cumins* (whose Greatness was never equalled by any in *Scotland*, either before or since) was against him, and also the Minds of many were offended with him, for his former assisting of the *English*; and moreover, most of the *Scots* were, out of Fear, willing to be quiet under the *English* Power; yet he adventured, with a small Army to try his Fortune at *Methuen*, where he was overthrown by *Ailmer*, *Edward's* General, but with little Slaughter, because his Men, seeing their own Weakness, fled away entire, almost at the first Charge; this was done on the twentieth of *July*. And not long after, coming to *Athol*, and designing for *Argyle*, his Intent was discovered by the *Cumins*, and he was forced, in his very March, at a Place called *Dalree*, i. e. *Kingsland*, to try his Fortune in a Battle, where he was overthrown again, but lost few, in regard every one fled several Ways as they thought fit: After that Time, he had but two or three in his Company; for he thought himself more secure with a few, and thus he wandered up and down in secret Places, living mostly a Forester's Life, and in despair of any Aid, if he had a mind again to try his Fortune. For the *Vulgar*, upon his double Discomfiture, drew thence discouraging Omens, and so they all left him, only two of his old Friends, *Malcolm*, Earl of *Lennox*, and *Gilbert Hay*, never forsook him, but remained constant to him in all Misfortunes. The *English*, not yet satiated with his Miseries, send about thro' all Parts of the Kingdom, to apprehend his Allies and Kindred; and, besides, they commanded all the Wives and Children of those who were banished, to depart the Kingdom, at a Time prefixed. The Wife of *Robert* himself was taken by *William*, Earl of *Ross*, and sent into *England*; and *Niel*, his Brother, with his Wife and Children, came into the Hands and Power of the *English*; his Castle of *Kildrumny* being betrayed by the Governor of it, to them. Moreover, his Brothers, *Thomas* and *Alexander*, endeavouring to pass out of *Galway* to *Carrick*, were taken at the *Loch-Ryan* (which *Ptolemy* calls the Bay of *Rerigonius*) and sent into *England*.

land. These three were put to death in several Places; the rest of the *Brucian* Party were diligently sought after, and put also to death, and their Estates confiscated. The King himself, with one or two, and sometimes alone, wandered up and down through uncouth Places daily, nay hourly, changing his Recesses; and yet, even thus, not thinking himself safe enough from the Cruelty of his Enemies, and the Perfidiousness of his Subjects, he passed over to another Friend of his into the *Æbuda*, where he lurked for some Months: And (in regard) he did nowhere appear, he was thought to be dead, and so they gave over searching for him. This Report, as it made for his Safety, so if it had continued long, it would have taken away all Hopes from his Friends, of his ever obtaining and recovering the Kingdom. Upon that account, he judged it fit to attempt something, and receiving a small Force from his Friends where he had hid himself, he sailed over into *Carrick*; and by means of his sudden Coming, he there surpris'd a Castle, which was his own Inheritance, but garrisoned by a strong Party of *English*, whom he put all to the Sword; and lest his Passage might be stopped by the Enemy, he passed over by the Bay of *Clyde*, and came to the strong Castle of *Inverness*, situate on a pretty high Hill by the River *Ness*, which, as being in a remote Country, and negligently guarded, he also happily took.

THE Report of these Things being divulged, occasioned great Thoughts and courageous Sentiments all over *Scotland*: For, besides his *old* Friends, who came to him from all Places out of their lurking Holes, the Pride of the *English* had rais'd him up many *new* ones; for they, thinking that he had been dead, began to lord it more imperiously and cruelly than ever they had done before. So that his Forces being considerably increased, and that with very good Soldiers, whom either Labour had hardened, or Despair urged to the most desperate Attempts, he took all the Castles in the North of *Scotland*, and demolished them as they were taken; partly, that he might not weaken his Forces by dividing them into Garrisons, and partly, that the Enemy might have no Harbour there. Thus, overcoming all as he went, he came into the very Heart of the Kingdom: *John Cumin*, Earl of *Buchan*, being informed of it, gathered together a sudden Company of *Scots* and *English*, even as many as were able to bear Arms; when *Bruce* was come to the Forest, through which the River *Esk* falls down into the Plains of *Mern*, he overtook him at a Place called *Glenesk*. *Bruce*, perceiving that the Narrowness of the Passages was advantageous for his Men, being few in Number, stood ready to fight, expecting his Enemy. *Cumin* drew out his Army in length, ima-

gining

gining that *Bruce* would be astonished at the Sight of such a Multitude : But when he saw that he stirred not from the Place, and being also conscious of the Weakness of his Men, he durst not draw them forth into a Place of greater Disadvantage. But first sent an Herald to *Bruce* for a Truce ; wherein they might treat of Terms of Peace : The Truce being obtained, *Cumin* made no more mention of Peace, but increased his Forces as much as ever he could ; neither would he trust the *Scots* that were with him, (the Favour of many of them inclining to *Robert*) but craved Aid from *England*. In the mean time, *Bruce*, to remove the contemptible Opinion which the *English* might conceive of him, and to encourage the Spirits of his Friends, was always at his Enemies Heels ; here taking *some*, there *others*, and surprizing their weakest Garrisons ; he never stay'd long in a Place, neither gave he Opportunity to the Enemy to fight him.

BUT about this Time, *Simon Fraser* and *Walter Logan*, brave Soldiers both, and Lovers of their Country, were taken by some of the *Cuminian* Faction, delivered over to the *English*, and put to death at *London*. And almost about the same Time, *James Douglas* joined himself with *Bruce* his Party. He was the Son of *William*, a young Man extremely well instructed in all the Liberal Arts, who when he was studying at *Paris*, hearing that his Father was cast into Prison by the *English*, where he soon after died, returned home to receive the Advice of his Friends, how he might order his future Conduct : But being deprived of his Patrimony, and all his Friends variously dispersed, in great Want he repaired to *William Lambert*, Bishop of *St. Andrews* ; by whom he was admitted as one of his Family, and kindly entertained, until King *Edward* came to besiege *Stirling*, after he had conquered almost all *Scotland* besides. *Lambert* going thither to salute the King, carried *Douglas* along with him, and having got a proper Opportunity, he spake to the King to restore his Patrimony, to take him into his Protection, and to make use of his faithful Endeavours in his Service ; some other Things he also added, in Praise of the young Man ; the King hearing of his Name and Family, spoke very roughly concerning the Stubborness of *William* his Father ; adding withal, that he intended not to make any use of his Son, nor of any Assistance of his, and as for his paternal Estate, he could not restore it if he would, because he had gratified his Friends with it, who had merited well of him. *James* being thus dismissed by the King, stayed with *Lambert*, till *Bruce* came to *Mern* : And then, that he might omit no Occasion to prejudice *Edward*, (whose Mind, he found, was implacably bent against him) he took away *Lambert's* Horses, and some Money,
not

not without his Privy, and came to *Bruce*; and his Service was of great Use to him afterwards in many sharp Storms.

Not long after, both Kings, almost in the same Moment of Time, fell grievously sick; *Edward*, being busy in Preparations for War against *Scotland*, died within a few Days at *Lancaster*, leaving his second Son *Edward* for his Heir, who was called *Edward of Carnarvon*, from the Place where he was born; he, marching into his Enemy's Country with the Army which his Father had recruited, sent a Proclamation before to *Dumfries*, *That all the Scots should meet him there*; but there came in but a few, and those out of the neighbouring Parts, and very slowly too. He being informed, that his Matters beyond Sea did not go on well, left a Force, such as he thought sufficient to quell any Insurrection in *Scotland*, and settling Things as soon as he could, he went over into *France*. In the interim, *Robert*, hearing of *Edward's* Death, was somewhat relieved, and began to hope better of his Affairs; and so the Strength of his Mind supported his weak Body: But not being ignorant, how much the sole Conduct of a General might contribute to a Victory, he so prepared himself for the extreme Push of Fortune, that he expected his Enemy, and a Battle. On the other side, the *English* King coming back more slowly than his Friends hoped; *John Cumin*, greedy of the Glory that the War should be ended by him, hoping also that *Robert* was dead, by reason of his Disease joined to his other Hardships; or at least that his Sickness would hinder him from being present in the Army, gathered together all the Forces he could make, and marched directly towards his Enemy. On the other side, *Robert*, to encourage his Men, caused himself to be set on Horseback: His very Sight, tho' he was supported by two Men, and could not stay long, yet gave such Heart to his Men, that they never began any Fight more courageously than they did that. *Cumin*, who had placed the Hope of his Victory in the Sickness of his Enemy, being not able to keep his Men together, neither by Persuasions nor Punishments, was forced to fly away in their Company; many were taken in the Pursuit, and all courteously used. This Victory gotten at *Inverury*, as it recovered the King from his Disease, so it was the Omen of his future prosperous Proceedings; for, from that Day forward, he succeeded in all that he attempted. A while after he marched into the Country of *Argyle*, which he pillaged, and forced *Alexander* the Lord of it, to a Surrender, who retiring into *England*, in a little time there ended his miserable Life in great Want. The same Year, on the thirtieth Day of *June*, *Edward Bruce* also had prosperous Success in a Battle fought at *Die*, a River of *Galway*; *Rolland*, a noble Knight of *Galway*, was slain in the Fight;

Donald the Islander was taken Prisoner as he was flying away, and the whole Country of *Galway* was wasted far and near. These Tumults roused up *Edward* of *England* (who was rather desirous to live in Peace) to a War, even against his Will; for perceiving that his Affairs were ill managed, he the next Year, with a great Army of *English*, entered *Scotland*, and there joined a numerous Body of *Scots*, who had not yet revolted from the *English*. With those Forces he pierced as far as *Renfrew*, and then retreated, having performed no memorable Act in his Expedition; either because he himself was of a dull and unactive Nature, or else because *Robert* (besides the Scarcity which did then generally afflict all *Scotland*) had caused all the Provisions to be carried away from those Places, thro' which his Army was to march, and had laid them up more out of the Way. After his Departure, *Robert* spent the rest of the Year in recovering those Castles which the *English* yet held, of which many surrendered before they were besieged, as despairing of any Help from *England*.

THE next Year, which was 1310, *Bruce*, to be even with the *English* for the Damage they had done in *Scotland*, marched twice into *England* with his Army, and returned back laden with Spoils, without coming to any Engagement. The two next Years, he recovered almost all the strong Garrisons, which yet remained in the Hands of the *English*. He took *Perth* by Storm, and put all the Garrison Soldiers, both *English* and *Scots*, without distinction, to the Sword; and that others might be deterred from the like Obstinacy by their Example, he razed the Walls, and filled up their Trenches. The Terror of that Example caused *Dumfries*, *Lanerick*, *Ayr* and *Bute*, and many other weaker Forts, to surrender. At the Beginning of the Spring, *Roxburgh* was taken by *James Douglas*, when the Garrison was intent upon their Sports and Pastimes, in those Revels which were wont to be celebrated about the Beginning of *Lent*. And not long after, *Thomas Randolph* recovered the strong Castle of *Edinburgh*: The Isle of *Man* was also surrendered, and the Castles thereof demolished, that they might not again be a Receptacle to the Enemy. In the mean time, *Edward Bruce* laid close Siege to the Castle of *Stirling*, situate on a Rock, which was steep every Way but that one, where the Passage lay up to it. It was defended by *Philip Moubray*, a vigilant Commander, who perceiving the Success of the *Brucians* in *Scotland*, and foreseeing a Siege, had taken great Care to store and fortify it before-hand with Provisions and Arms. And therefore when *Edward* had fruitlessly spent many Days in besieging it, and had no Hopes of carrying it by Force, that he might not seem to be repulsed without doing any thing, he enters into Conditions with
Moubray,

Moubray, That if he was not relieved in a Year, to commence from that very Day, by the English, then the Castle was to be surrendered, and the Garrison should have Liberty, Bag and Baggage, to march whither they pleased. These Conditions much displeased the King; yet, that he might not detract from his Brother's Credit, he resolved to observe them. However, in regard he did not doubt but the *English* would come at the Time appointed, he prepares as much as in so great a Scarcity of Things he was able, to manage his last Encounter with his potent Enemy. And indeed *Edward*, considering that he was not only dispossessed of *Scotland*, whose People his Father had left to him conquered and broken, but that he was also forced to fight for *England*, had a Desire to root out a People often rebellious, always disobedient, and unquiet. In order to it he levied an Army, not only of *English*, and such *Scots* who adhered to them, but he increased it by Supplies from his transmarine Dominions (which then were many, great and opulent) so that his Army was bigger than ever any King of *England* had raised before. Nay, he received additional Forces too from his Allies beyond the Seas, especially from *Flanders* and *Holland*, whom his Father had strenuously assisted against *Philip*, King of *France*. They say, it consisted of above one hundred thousand fighting Men. There followed also his Army a Multitude of Baggage, Attendants, and Suttlers, who carried Provision both by Sea and Land, because they were to come into a Country not very fruitful of itself; and besides which, had so many Years been harassed with all the Miseries of War. Moreover, there was a Multitude of such as were to set out, or describe Colonies, and to receive Dividends of Land, who brought their Wives and Children along with them; so that the Force of so rich, powerful, and flourishing a Kingdom as *England* was, being thus as it were, abridged and epitomized into one Army, the Consideration of it produced such a Confidence in them all, that now all the Discourse was not of fighting, but rather of dividing the Spoil. *Bruce*, hearing of this great Preparation of the Enemy, prepares also his Forces, far inferior in Number to so great a Multitude, as being thirty thousand only, but such as were inured to Hardships, and the Toils of War; and who now carried the Hopes of their Lives, Fortunes, and of all that is dear to Men, as it were, on the Point of their Swords. With this Army he pitched on the left Bank of the River *Bannock*. This River hath steep Banks on both sides, and it had but a few, and those too, narrow Passages or Fords; it is about two Miles from *Stirling*: Below the Hills, before it makes its Influx into the *Forth*, it passeth thro' a little leveller Ground, yet here and there it is marshy. In the Winter it

usually runs with a rapid Torrent; but, in that hot Time of the Year, the Water was but low and fordable in many Places. *Bruce*, by how much the weaker in Force, was so much the more circumspect; and therefore he used Art and Policy to make the Passage over the River more difficult to the *English*, who possessed the right-hand Bank of it. In order whereunto, he caused deep Trenches to be dug in level Places, where he fastened sharp Stakes, or Spikes, and covered them with some light Turfs a top, that so his Stratagem might not be discovered; and moreover, he caused * *Calthrops* of Iron to be thrown up and down on the Ground in Places most convenient.

WHEREFORE, when Camp was almost joined to Camp, as being on opposite Hills, only a small River between them, *Edward* sent eight hundred Horse a little before to *Stirling*, who marched a little off from the Camp; *Robert*, imagining that they were sent to plunder in the Neighbourhood, gave Command to *Thomas Randolph* to follow them with five hundred Horse, either to prevent the Stragglers in wasting the Country, or if a fit Occasion were offered, to fight them. The *English* seeing them, desisted from their intended March to *Stirling*, and faced about. The Fight was sharp, and continued long, the Victory inclining for a Time to neither Party; so that *James Douglas* being concerned for the *Scots*, who were the fewer in Number, earnestly desired *Bruce*, that he might go and relieve them. *Bruce* peremptorily denied him, remaining at present, a Spectator only from an Hill; yet he resolved, if his *Scots* were farther distressed, to succour them; but perceiving the *English* to give back, and the *Scots* to get Ground, he stopped his March, that so he might detract nothing from another Man's Praise. The *English*, having lost but those few out of so numerous an Army, were not discouraged in their Spirits, and also the *Scots* prepared themselves for the Encounter the next Day, as if they had already received an Omen of a compleat Victory.

THE Night, tho' very short, (for the Battle was fought on the twenty third of *June*) yet seemed long to both Parties for the Eagerness they had to fight. All the *Scots* were divided into three Brigades, the King led the Middle or main Battle: His Brother commanded the Right Wing, and *Randolph* the Left. The *English*, besides a Multitude of Archers, which they placed on the outside of both their Wings, had also Cuirassiers out of *France*. They speeding towards *Randolph*, who stood on the lower Ground, and endeavouring to wheel about and take him

* Small Engines, ordinarily round, with sharp Iron Spikes, standing out on each Side of them, so that, throw them which Way soever you will upon the Ground, one Spike or other turns upward, and wounds or pierces the Horses Foot that treads upon it, and thus makes him lame and unfit for Service.

on his Flank, fell suddenly into the Ditches made by *Bruce*, where they tumbled one upon another with great Slaughter, both of Man and Horse. They that first fell in, were slain by the Pressure of those that fell upon them, and the last Ranks being discouraged at the Loss of the first, retreated back. This Terror in some Measure retarded the Foot, for they were afraid of falling into the like Snares. There happened likewise another Accident, which, tho' little in itself, yet contributed very much (as such Niceties are wont to do in War) to the main Chance. *Robert* rode up and down before his Army, to keep them in their Ranks, having a Baton in his Hand; a certain *Englishman* knew him, and ran at him with his Spear. The King avoided the Blow, and as his Enemy's Horse, in his Career, ran a little behind him, he struck his Rider dead with his Baton, and down he tumbled to the Ground. The common Soldiers highly commended the brave and perilous Exploit of their King; and could no longer be kept in by their Commanders, but would rush headlong upon the Enemy, with such an Eagerness of Mind, that they were likely to break their Enemy's Ranks, but that the *English* Archers, who were placed in their Wings, repulsed them, though with great Loss to themselves; and *Bruce* also sent in some Troops of Horse, who drove them back: Yet, in this Action, a Mistake did more Prejudice to the *English* than their Enemy did. The Rabble-rout, which followed the Camp, caused the Baggage-men to mount their Draught-horses, and to hang out some Linen-cloth instead of Ensigns; thus they stood on an Hill where they might easily be seen, and made an Appearance of a new Army. The *English* who stood nearest, were surpris'd with a double Fear, and betook themselves to their Heels: Their Fear disordered the rest of the Army. A Multitude of common Soldiers were slain in the Pursuit; some of our Writers say, *That fifty thousand English fell at that Fight.* *Caxton*, an *Englishman*, doth not set down the precise Number, but he says it was a mighty Overthrow, an innumerable Multitude being slain; and he did well in not being positive in the Number, for it was hard to compute it, in regard the Flight was so scattered, wherein more perished than in the Battle. This is certain, the Slaughter was so great, that the *English*, tho' they had many Provocations from the *Scots*, yet did not stir for two or three Years after. Of the *English* Nobility there fell about two hundred, and almost an equal Number were taken Prisoners. The Prisoners related, that the King himself began to fly first; and if he had not been received into the Castle of *Dunbar* by the Earl of *March*, and so sent in a Skiff by Water to *Berwick*, he had not escaped the Hands of *Douglas*, who with four hundred Horse pursued him forty Miles.

Amongst

Amongst the Prisoners there was taken a Monk, one of those who are called *Carmelites*, from Mount *Carmel* in *Syria*; he was accounted a good Poet for that Age, and was brought into the Army to celebrate the Victory of the *English* in a Poem; but they being beaten, he sung their Overthrow in a *Canto*, (for which he had his Liberty). His Verse was rude and barbarous, yet it did not altogether displease the Ears of the Men of that Age. Neither was the Victory unbloody to the *Scots*; they lost four thousand Men, amongst whom there were but two Knights: Upon this, *Stirling* Castle was surrendered according to Compact, and the Garrison sent away.

ABOUT this Time there happened a Passage not unworthy to be related, in regard of the Variety of Providences in a narrow Compass of Time. *John Monteith*, who betrayed his Friend *Wallace* to the *English*, and was therefore deservedly hated by the *Scots*, received, amongst other Rewards, the Government of the Castle of *Dumbritton* from the *English*. When other Forts were recovered, that only, or but very few with it, held out for the *English*: And because it was naturally impregnable, the King dealt with the Governor, by his Friends and Kindred, to surrender it. He demanded the County, or Earldom of *Lennox*, as the Price of his Treachery and Surrender: Neither would he ever so much as hear of any other Terms. In this Case the King wavered and fluctuated in his Mind what to do; on the one side, he earnestly desired to have the Castle; yet on the other, he did not so much prize it, as for its sake to disoblige the Earl of *Lennox*, who had been his fast and almost his only Friend in all his Calamities. But the Earl of *Lennox* hearing of it, and coming in, soon decided the Controversy, and persuaded the King, by all Means, to accept the Condition. Accordingly the Bargain was made as *John Monteith* would have it, and solemnly confirmed: But when the King was going to take Possession of the Castle, a Carpenter, one *Rolland*, met him in the Wood of *Colquhoun*, about a Mile from it, and having obtained Liberty to speak with the King, concerning a Matter of great Importance; he told him, what Treachery the Governor intended against him, nay, and had prepared to execute it: It was this: In a Wine-cellar concealed and under Ground, a sufficient Number of *Englishmen* were hid, who, when the rest of the Castle should be given up, and the King secure, were to issue forth upon him as he was at Dinner, and either to kill or take him Prisoner. This being thus related, the King, upon the Surrender of the other Parts of the Castle by *John*, being kindly invited to a Feast, refused to eat; till, as he had searched all other Parts of the Castle, so he had viewed that Wine-cellar also. The Governor excused it, pretending that the Smith, who had the

the Key, was out of the Way, but that he would come again anon; the King, not satisfied therewith, caused the Door to be broke open, and so the Plot was discovered: The *English* were brought forth in their Armour, and being severally examined, confessed the whole Matter; and they added also another Discovery, viz. that a Ship rode ready in the next Bay to carry the King into *England*. The Complices in this wicked Design were put to death; but *John* was kept in Prison, because the King was loth to offend his Kindred, and especially his Sons-in-Law, in so dangerous a time: For he had many Daughters, all of them very beautiful, and married to Men rich enough, but factious. Therefore, in a Time of such imminent Danger, the Battle drawing near, wherein all was at Stake, lest the Mind of any powerful Man might be rendered averse from him, and thereby inclined to practise against him, *John* was released out of Prison upon this Condition, (for the Performance whereof his Sons-in-Law undertook), That he should be placed in the Front of the Battle, and there, by his Valour, should wait the Decision of Providence. And indeed the Man, otherwise fraudulent, was in this faithful to the King; for he behaved himself so valiantly, that that Day's Work procured him not only Pardon for what was past, but large Rewards for the future.

THE Fame of this Victory being divulged over all *Britain*, did not only abate the Fierceness of the *English*, but raised up the *Scots* even from an Extremity of Despair; supplying them not only with Money but with Glory, with Arms and other Furniture for War. Neither did they only release their own Men, who were made Prisoners, either in Fight or upon Surrenders, but they raised likewise great Sums by the Ransom of the *English* they had taken. And out of the Spoils, many recompensed and made up the Losses they had received in former Times, nay, and got great Estates too for the future: For the *English* came with all their precious Things about them, not as to a War, but as to an assured Victory. The King having thus prosperously succeeded in the War, spent the following Winter in settling the State of the Kingdom, which was much weakened by so long a War, and also in bestowing Rewards on the well-deserving. The next Spring, *Berwick* was taken from the *English* after they had enjoyed it twenty Years. In the next place, he convened an Assembly of the Estates at *Ayr*, a Town of *Kyle*. There, in a full Assembly, by the Suffrages of all the Orders, the Kingdom was confirmed to Bruce; and afterwards, because the King had but one only Daughter, left by his former Wife, the States, remembering what publick Mischiefs had happened by the Dispute, which in former Times, had been managed concerning the Right of Succession, made a Decree, That if the King left

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no Issue-male, his Brother Edward should succeed him in the Kingdom, and his Sons in order after him. But if he also should de-
 cease without Issue-male, then the Crown was to descend to Mary,
 the Daughier of Robert, and to her Posterity; yet so, that the
 Nobility were to provide her an Husband fit for her Royal Estate,
 and for the Succession in the Kingdom: For it was looked upon as
 far more just, that an Husband should be chosen for the young
 Lady, than that she should chuse an Husband for herself, and a
 King for the whole Land. It was also decreed, That in the Mi-
 nority of the King, Thomas Randolph, or if he should fail,
 James Douglas, should be Tutors to the King, and Governors of
 the Kingdom. The Fame of Robert's noble Exploits both at
 home and abroad, excited the *Irish* to send Ambassadors to
 him, to put themselves and their Kingdom under his Prote-
 ction. And if his domestick Affairs should not suffer him to ac-
 cept of the Kingdom himself, yet that he would permit his
 Brother Edward to take it, that so a Nation allied to him,
 might no longer suffer under the cruel, insulting, and intolerable
 Domination and Servitude of the *English*. The *Irish* wrote also
 to the *Pope* to the same Purpose; and he, by his Missioners, de-
 sired the *English* to forbear wronging and oppressing the *Irish*, but
 in vain; so that Edward Bruce went thither with a great Army,
 and, by universal Consent, was saluted King. In the first Year
 of his Arrival he drove the *English* out of all *Ulster*, and reduced
 it to his Obedience; nay, he passed over all the rest of the
 Island with his victorious Army. The next Year, a new Army
 was sent over from *England*; Robert perceiving that the War
 would grow hotter, levied new Forces, and made haste over to
 his Brother. He suffered much in that Expedition, by his
 Want of Provision, and when he was about one Day's March
 from him, he heard, that he and all his Men were defeated on
 the fifth of *October*. The Report is, that Edward, spurred on
 by too much Desire of Glory, did precipitate the Fight, lest his
 Brother should share with him in the Merit of the Victory.

THE King of *England* being informed, that the Flower of
 the Militia of *Scotland* attended Bruce in a foreign Country, and
 thinking this a fit Opportunity offered him to revenge the Losses
 of former Times, sent a great Army under select Commanders
 into *Scotland*. Douglas, Governor of the Borders, fought with
 them thrice in several Places, and slew almost all their Com-
 manders, and the greater Part of the Soldiers. The *English*
 having sped ill with their land Army, came into the *Forth* with a
 naval Force, and infested all the Sea-coasts by their Excur-
 sions: The Earl of *Fife* sent five hundred Horse to restrain the
 Plunderers; but they not daring to encounter so great a Multi-
 tude, in their Retreat met with William Sinclair, Bishop of
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the *Caledonians*, accompanied with about sixty Horse, who perceiving the Cause of their Retreat, reproached them very severely for their Cowardice, and cried out, *All you that wish well to Scotland, follow me*; and thereupon catching up a Lance, they all cheerfully followed him, and he made so brisk an Assault on the scattered Plunderers, that they fled hastily to their Ships; and whilst they all endeavoured to get aboard, one Ship overladen with Passengers was sunk, and all that were in it perished. This Action of *Sinclair's* was so grateful to the King, that ever after he called him *his Bishop*. That Summer, when all the *English* Counties bordering on the *Scots*, lay desolate, by reason of Want of Provisions, (Diseases also abounding amongst all sorts of tame Cattle) as also by reason of the frequent Invasions: To remedy this Evil, *Edward* came to *York*, but there he was not able to complete an Army by reason of the Thinness of the Inhabitants; so that the *Londoners*, and the Parts adjoining, were fain to supply him with Soldiers, though many of them had their Passes and Discharges from all military Services before. At length, he makes up an Army, and marches to besiege *Berwick*. He was scarce arrived there, when *Thomas Randolph* passed the River *Solway*, and marched another Way into *England*; where he wasted all with Fire and Sword, without any Resistance; nay, in some Places, he could hardly meet with any Man at all. For a Plague, which reigned the former Year, had made such a Devastation, that the Face of Things seemed very piteous, even to their Enemies. When the *Scots* had marched above one hundred Miles, and had fired all Places, especially about *York*, the Archbishop of that See, moved rather by the Indignity of the Thing, than any Confidence in his Forces, took up Arms. He gathered together an Army numerous enough, but unwarlike, consisting of a promiscuous Company of Priests, Artificers, and Country-labourers, whom he led with more Boldness than Conduct against his Invaders; but being overcome by them, he lost many of his Men, and he, with some few, saved themselves by Flight. There was so great a Slaughter of Priests made there, that the *English*, for a long time after, called that Battle, *The white Battle*.

EDWARD hearing of this Overthrow, lest his conquering Enemy should make farther and greater Attempts, raises his Siege, and retreats to *York*, (the *Scots* having withdrawn themselves) and from thence into the Heart of his Kingdom. The *English* were busied with domestick Tumults, so that a short Truce was made, rather because both Kings were tired with the War, than desirous of a Pacification. In this Calm, *Robert* calls a Convention of all the Estates and Nobility: And because the Changes, happening in so long a War, had confounded the

Right of Mens Possessions, he commanded every one to produce and shew, by what Title he held his Estate. This Matter was equally grievous to the old Possessors, and to the new. Valiant Men thought they enjoyed that by a good Right, which they had taken from their Enemies; and they took it much amiss, that what they had got as the Price of their military Toil, nay, of their very Blood, should be rent from them in Times of Peace. As for the old Owners of Estates, seeing there was no one House almost but had suffered in the War, they had lost their Deeds, (by which they held their Lands) as well as their other Goods. Therefore they all entered upon a Project that had a brave Appearance, but proved too bold and rash in the Event. For when the King, in the Parliament, commanded them to produce their Titles, every one drew his Sword, and cried out, *We carry our Titles in our right Hands.* The King, amazed at this sudden and surprising Spectacle, tho' he took the Matter very heinously, yet he stifled his Indignation for the present, and deferred it to a proper Time of Revenge. And it was not long before an Occasion was offered him to shew it; divers of the Nobles being conscious to themselves of the Boldness of their late Attempt, and fearing to be punished for it, conspire together to betray the Kingdom to the *English*. The Plot was discovered to the King, and that so plainly, that the Letters declaring the Manner, Time, and Place were intercepted, and their Crime made evident. They were all taken and brought to the King, without any Tumult at all raised at their being apprehended. And because it was much feared, that *William Souls*, Governor of *Berwick*, would deliver up both Town and Castle to the *English*, before the Conspiracy was publickly divulged, the King made a Journey thither as it were by the by. A Convention was held at *Perth* to try the Prisoners, where the Letters were produced, and every one's Seal known; and being convicted of *High-Treason*, by their own Confession, they were put to Death. The Chief were *David Brechin*, and *William Lord Souls* of the Nobility; also *Gilbert Mayler*, *Richard Brown*, and *John Logie*; besides, there were many others of all Ranks and Degrees accused, but there being only Matter of Suspicion against them, they were dismissed. The Death of *David Brechin* only, diversly affected Mens Minds; for besides that he was the Son of the Kings Sister, he was accounted the prime young Man of his Age for all Arts both of Peace and War. He had given evident Proofs of his Valour in *Syria*, in the *Holy War*. He being drawn in by the popular Conspirators, never gave his Consent to the Treason, only his Crime was, that being made acquainted with so foul a Machination, he did not discover it. The Body of *Roger Moubray*,

Moubray, who died before Conviction, was condemned to all kind of Ignominy, but the King remitted that Punishment, and caused it to be buried.

SOME few Months before this Proceſs was made, the Pope's Legates, who at the Request of the *English* came to compose the Diffentions betwixt the Kingdoms, not being able to do any thing in the Matter, lest they might seem to have done nothing for the *English* in their Legateship, excommunicated the *Scots*, and forbad them the Use of publick Divine Service, (the Pope's Thunderbolts being terrible in those Days). *Bruce*, to shew how little he valued the Pope's Curses in an unjust Cause, gathered an Army and invaded *England*, following the Legate at his Departure almost at his very Heels. There he made a foul Havock with Fire and Sword, and came as far as the *Cross* at *Stanmore*. The *English*, not to suffer so great Ignominy to pass unrevenge'd, levied so numerous an Army, that they promised themselves an easy Victory even without Blood. *Robert* thought it dangerous to run the Hazard of all in a Battle against the mighty Army of so great a King, but he resolved to help out the Matter with Policy rather than by Force. He drove all the Cattle into the Mountains whither the Armies could not, but with great Difficulty ascend; and all other Things of Use for an Army, he caused either to be repositied in fortified Places, or to be wholly spoiled.

THE *English*, who came thither in hopes of a speedy Battle, and had not Provisions for a long March, when they perceived what Devastation was made in their own Country, were inflamed with Anger, Hatred, and Desire of Revenge, and resolved to pierce into the Midst of *Scotland*, and to ferret the King out of his Boroughs; nay, and force him to fight whether he would or no. For the Greatness of *Edward's* Forces encouraged him to hope, that either he should blot out his former Ignominy by an eminent Victory, or else should recompense his Loss lately received by an enlarged Depopulation: With this Resolution he came in all haste to *Edinburgh*; he spared Churches only in his March; but the farther he was to go, the more Scarcity he was like to find; so that, in five Days time, he was forced to retreat. At his Return, he spoiled all Things both sacred and profane. He burnt the Monasteries of *Dryburgh* and *Mulrofs*, and killed those old Monks, whom either Weakness or Confidence in their old Age had caused to stay there. As soon as *Bruce* was informed that *Edward* was returned for Want of Provision, and that Diseases raged in his Army, so that he had lost more Men than if he had been overcome in Battle, he almost trod upon his Heels with an Army, noted more for the Goodness than the Number of Soldiers, and came as far as *York*,
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making grievous Havock as he went. He had almost taken the King himself by an unexpected Assault at the Monastery of *Biland*, where *Edward*, in a tumultuary Battle, was put to Flight, all his Household-stuff, Money, Bag and Baggage being taken. *John Briton*, Earl of *Richmond*, was taken, besides a very great Number of Prisoners of an inferior Rank. To wipe away the Shame of this infamous Flight, *Andrew Berkley*, Earl of *Carlisle*, was a while after accused, as if he had been bribed to betray the *English*; and so he lost his Life, in Punishment for the Cowardice of another Man.

THE next Year, a double Embassy was sent, one to the Pope, to reconcile him to the *Scots*, from whom he had been alienated by the Calumnies of the *English*; and another to renew the antient League with the *French*. Both Ambassadors easily obtained what they desired: For when the Pope understood, that the late Controversy arose by the injurious Dealings of *Edward* the First, who affirmed, *That the King of Scots ought, as a Feudatary, to obey the King of England; and that the English had nothing to defend their Claim, but old Fables, and late Injuries; and besides that, in Prosperity, being summoned by the Pope, they always avoided an equal Decision of Things, though in their Adversity they were always humble Suitors to him for his Aid: Whereas, the Scots for their Parts, were always willing to have their Cause heard, and never shunned the Determination of an equal Judge, nor the Arbitration of any good Men; and moreover, when they produced many Grants and Writings of former Popes, which made for them, and against their Enemies, because the Scots were always present at the Day appointed, and the English, tho' they had Notice given, never came:* Upon this Remonstrance the Pope was easily reconciled to the *Scots*; and the *French* as easily induced to renew the antient League, only one Article was added to the old Conditions, *That if any Controversy should hereafter arise among the Scots, concerning him who was to succeed in the Kingdom, the same should be decided by the Council of the States; and the French King, if need should be, was to assist him by his Authority, and with his Arms, who, by lawful Suffrages, was by them declared King.* Our Writers cast the Rise of the *Hamiltons*, now a powerful Family in Scotland, upon these Times.

THERE was a certain Nobleman in the Court of *England*, who spoke honourably of the Fortune and Valour of *Bruce*; whereupon one of the *Spencers*, Bed-chamber Man to the King, either thinking that his Speech was reproachful to the *English*; or else to gain Favour with the looser sort of the Nobility, drew his Faulchion, and, making at him, gave him a slight Wound in the Body. The Man being of great Spirit,
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was more concerned at the Contumely, than at the Damage; and, being hindered, by the Coming in of many to part the Fray, from taking present Revenge; the Day after, finding his Enemy very opportunely in the same Place, he run him through; and fearing the Punishment of the Law, and the great Power of the *Spencers* at Court, he fled presently into *Scotland*, to King *Robert*, by whom he was very graciously received; and some Lands, near the River *Clyde*, were bestowed upon him. His Posterity, not long after, were advanced to the Degree of Noblemen; and the opulent Family of the *Hamiltons* was surnamed from him; and also the Name of *Hamilton* was imposed on the Lands, which the King gave him.

NOT long after, *Edward* had great Combustions at home, infomuch that he put many of the Nobles to Death, and advanced the *Spencers*, the Authors of all evil Counsels, higher than his own Kindred could bear; so that he was apprehended by his Son, and by his Wife, (who had received a small Force from beyond the Seas) and kept close Prisoner; and not long after he was put to a cruel sort of Death, an hot Iron was thrust into his Fundament, thro' a Pipe of Horn, by which his Bowels were burnt up, and yet no Sign of so terrible a Fact appeared on the outside of his Body. His Wife and Son were thought privy to the Parricide, either because his Keepers would never have dared to commit such a Deed so openly, unless they had had great Authority; or else because they were never called in Question for so inhuman a Butchery.

THESE Disturbances in *England*, which were followed by that King's Death, *Bruce* also growing old and weak in Body, were the Occasions that a Peace was kept on Foot for some Years between the two neighbouring Nations. For *Bruce*, being freed from the Fear of the *English*, and being also called upon by his Age, converted his Thoughts to settle his domestick Affairs. And first, he made haste to confirm the Kingdom, (which was not yet quite recovered, nor fully settled, from the Commotions of former Times) to his only Son, yet but a Child, by the Consent and Decree of the Estates. And, if he died without Issue, then he appointed *Robert Stuart*, his Grandson by his Daughter, to be his Successor: And he caused the Nobles to take an Oath, for the Performance of this Decree. But afterwards fearing that, after his Death, *Baliol* would renew his old Dispute about the Kingdom; especially seeing his Heirs, because of their Minority, might be liable to be injured by others; he sent *James Douglas* to *John Baliol*, then in *France*, with large Gifts and Promises, that he would cease his Claim to the Kingdom: This he did, not so much to acquire a new Right, (because, according to the *Scottish* Custom, the

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King is made by the Decree of the Estates, who have the supreme Power in their Hands); but that he might cut off all Occasion from wicked Men, to calumniate his Posterity; and also that he might root out all Seeds of Sedition. *Douglas* found *Baliol* far more compliable than he, or others, thought he would be; for he was now surrounded with the Miseries of extreme old Age. He ingenuously confessed, “ That his peccant Exorbitance was justly restrained, and that he was deservedly driven out of the Kingdom, as unworthy to reign. And therefore he was very easy, that his Kinsman *Robert* enjoyed the Crown, by whose high Valour, singular Felicity, and unwearied Industry, it was restored to its antient Splendor: Moreover, in this he rejoiced, that they by whom he was deceived, did not enjoy the Rewards they promised themselves for their Treachery.”

WHEN *Robert* had settled these Matters according to his Heart's Desire, the same Year, which was 1327, our Writers say, that Ambassadors were sent into *Scotland*, by *Edward* the Third, for a Pacification; in which Affair seeming to act treacherously, instead of Peace, they carried home War; but what the particular Fraud was, is not expressed, and the *English* say, that the War was openly declared by *Robert*, but they describe not the Cause of it. Surely it must needs be some great and just one; or else a sickly infirm old Man, when Peace was scarce settled at home, and who might have been sated with his former Victories, rather than with War, would not so soon have been provoked to have had fresh recourse to Arms. This is certain, that the King, by reason of his Age, did not manage the War himself in Person; so that *Thomas Randolph*, and *James Douglas*, the most valiant and the wisest Men of all that Age, were sent by him into *England*, with twenty thousand gallant light Horse, but no Foot at all. The Reason was, that they might fly up and down swiftly, and not abide in one Place, nor be forced to fight the *English*, unless when they had a mind themselves for the Engagement. For they knew, that the *English* would make Head against them in their first Expedition, with a far more numerous Army: Neither were they deceived in their Opinion; for the King of *England*, besides his domestick Forces, had procured great Assistance of Horse from *Flanders*; but they and the *English* happening to fall out at *York*, some *English* Writers say, that they returned home again. But *Froissard*, a French Writer of the same Age says, that they accompanied the *English* during the whole Expedition; and that, not only for Honour's sake, but also for Fear of Sedition, they had the next Place to the King's Regiment always assigned to them in the Camp. The King, having made a Conjunction of all his Forces, (which were

were clearly above sixty thousand Men) marched against the *Scots*, who had already passed over the *Tyne*: Now, there were two fortified Towns on the Borders, one nearer *Wales*, which was *Carlisle*; and the other about fifty Miles lower, called *Newcastle*. The *English* had strongly garrisoned both of them, to hinder the Enemy's Passage over the River; but the *Scots*, knowing where the River was fordable, passed over without any Noise, and so deceived both the Garrisons. When the *English* were come into the Bishoprick of *Durham*, from the Tops of the Hills they might see Fires from afar, and then beginning to understand how near their Enemy was, they tumultuously cried, *Arm, Arm*, as if they were presently to come to an Engagement.

THEY drew forth their Army in a threefold Order of Battle, and marched directly to the Place where they saw the Smoak of the Fire; the General denouncing a great Penalty on him, that, without his Leave, should stir from his Colours. Thus they wearied themselves till the Evening, and then marked out a Place for their Camp, in a Wood, near a certain River, and there they placed their Baggage and Carriages, which could not so swiftly follow the flying Army.

THE next Day they marched in the same Order, and towards Evening they were forced to abide in their Tents, which they had pitched as conveniently as the Place would afford, that so the draught Horses, and the Foot might receive a little Refreshment. There the Nobles came to the King, and deliberated how they should bring the *Scots* to a Battle. The most Part were of Opinion, that the *English* Foot would never be able to overtake the flying Horse of the *Scots*, and if they did, yet they could not compel them to fight, but in those Places which they themselves judged most convenient: But because there was such a general Devastation, that they could not stay long in an Enemy's Country, they judged it best to pass over the *Tyne* with all their Forces, and to intercept the Enemy on their Return home. And besides, the Country beyond the *Tyne* was plainer and fitter to draw up an Army in, that so the whole Body of the Army might be put upon Service. This Opinion was approved, and a Command given to refresh themselves, and to do it as silently as ever they could, that they might more easily hear the Word of Command, and the Sound of the Trumpets; that leaving the Baggage behind, every one should carry a Loaf a-piece; and, as if the next Day they were to fight the Enemy, they were to wait the Event of Fortune. So that their Bodies being refreshed from the Weariness of the foregoing Day, a little after Midnight they took up their Arms, and in good Order begun their March; but the Marshes and Hills, by which they were to pass, quickly made them break their Ranks, and he
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that could, led the Van; the rest followed their Steps, and their March was in such Disorder, that many Horses and Carriage-Beasts either stuck in the Mud, or else tumbled down from steep Places; and oftentimes they cried, *To your Arms*; and then all of them, in great Trepidation, ran to the Place from whence the Noise and Cry came, without any Order at all. But when they came to those that led the Van, they understood that the Tumult was occasioned by a Multitude of Stags; which being rouzed out of the Heath by the Noise of Men, and afraid to see them, ran up and down in great Confusion, amongst the *Brigades*. At last, about Evening, the Horse, but without the Foot, came to the Fords of *Tyne*, over which the *Scots* had passed, and by which they would return, (as the *English* hoped) and at Sunset they forded over; the round and slippery Stones, which the River rolls up and down, much incommoding their Horse. And besides, they were afflicted with another Inconvenience, they had few or none of them any Iron Tools to cut down Wood with; so that after they had marched twenty eight Miles, they were fain to ly in their Arms that Night on the bare Ground, holding their Horses Bridles in one of their Hands; for they had no Tents, (having brought none with them) nor Huts, nor so much as Stakes to tie their Horses to. Early in the Morning, as soon as it was Light, there fell such mighty Showers of Rain; that even small Brooks were hardly passable by Man or Horse; and besides, they were informed by some Countrymen, whom they took, that the neighbouring Country was so barren and desolate, that no Provision was to be had nearer than *Newcastle*, and *Carlisle*; one of which was twenty four, the other thirty Miles off. They sent their Draught-horses and Servants thither; in the mean time, they made use of their Swords, to cut down Stakes to tie their Horses to; and some Shrubs and small Trees to build them Huts, with the Leaves of which they fed their Horses, and so that Night they were fain to fast.

THREE Days after, they that were sent to the Towns, returned with some small Provisions, which they brought along with them: and some Suttlers came along with them with Bread and Wine to make a Gain of; but it was but little, and that not good; yet, such as it was, the Soldiers were ready to fall out who should have it first. Having thus passed seven Days in great Want, and being also much molested with continual Showers, so that their Horse-furniture was wet, and their Horses Backs were all ulcerated, and they themselves stood (many of them) armed, Day and Night, in their wet Clothes; neither could they make any Fire, by reason that the Wood was green; and besides, it was wetted by the Rain-water; the eight Day they resolved to repass the River at a more commodious Ford,
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seven Miles above the Place where they were; but there also the River was swelled by reason of the Showers, so that they were much incommoded, and some were drowned in their Passage. As soon as they had landed their Army on the other side, a great Reward was proposed to him who could bring the first certain Tidings where the *Scots* were. The two next Days, their March lying through desolate Places, and ruined by late Fires, they had Forage enough for their Horses, but little Provision for themselves. On the fourth Day, one of the fifteen young Men, who scouted out to bring News where the *Scots* lay, returned back, and informed them, that the *Scots* Army was about three Miles distance from theirs; and that, for eight Days last past, they had been as uncertain what became of the *English*, as the *English* had been what became of them. This he affirmed for Truth, as having been taken Prisoner by the *Scots*, and freed without Ransom, upon Condition he would go tell his King, *That they would wait for his Coming in that Place; and that they were as willing to fight as he.*

UPON the Receipt of this Message, the King commanded the Army to make an Halt, that Man and Horse might take some Refreshment, and so be ready for a decisive Battle; and thus, in three Brigades he marched slowly towards the Enemy. As soon as they came in Sight one of another, the *Scots* had so divided their Men into three Battalions upon an Hill, that the Rocks and Precipices belonging to it secured them on the Right and Left, from whence they might hurl down Stones upon the Heads of the Enemy, if they endeavoured to come up to them. At the Foot of the Hill the *English* had a rapid Torrent to pass, so full of great and round Stones, that they could not ford over to their Enemy; or, if they had so done, they could not retreat without certain Ruin. The *English*, perceiving that they could not come at the Enemy, but with great Disadvantage, pitched their Tents; and sent an Herald at Arms to the *Scots*, advising them to come down into the Campaign Country, to fight for Glory and Empire by true Valour, in an open Plain: The *Scots* answered, *That they would fight for no body's Pleasure, but their own: That they marched into England to revenge the Injuries they had received; if they had done any thing which offended them, they had free Liberty to take their own Revenge: As for themselves, they resolved to abide there, as long as they pleased; and if their Enemy attacked them, it should be at their Peril.* The next three Days, their Camps being near, and Parties placed at the Fords, some light Skirmishes passed betwixt them; the fourth Day, as soon as it was light, the Watch brought Word, that the *Scots* had forsaken the Hill on which they were; whereupon Scouts were sent out to bring certain News, and to follow them, if they had retreated;

treated; who brought word, that the *Scots* had pitched their Tents on another Hill by the same River, much more convenient for them than the first, where they had a Wood which secured their Ingress and Egress. The *English*, who hoped that they should furnish the *Scots* (who avoided fighting) in a foreign Soil, being frustrated in their Expectation, followed them, and pitched their Tents on an opposite Hill. After they had remained there some Days, it was observed, that they grew more negligent than formerly in their Night-watches; either because they undervalued the *Scots*, by reason of their small Numbers, or else because they imagined they were meditating Flight. *Douglas* took hold of the Opportunity to attempt something, and passing over the River with 200 chosen Horse, he entered the Enemy's Camp, where he saw it was but slenderly guarded. He had almost penetrated into the King's own Tent, where cutting off two Cords, the Alarm being taken, he killed near 300 *English* in his Retreat, and brought his Men safely off. After this, no memorable Action happened, save that the *English*, instructed by their own Loss, placed more careful Watches in convenient Places. At last it was told them by a *Scot*, whom they had taken Prisoner, that there was a Proclamation in their Camp, that at the third Watch all should be ready to follow *Douglas*, wheresoever he should lead them. This Relation struck such a Terror into the *English*, that, dividing their Army into three Battalions, at a moderate Distance one from another, they stood all that Night to their Arms; and their Servants held their Horses, bridled, saddled, and ready prepared, for whatever should happen in their Camp. And moreover, they placed strong Guards at all the Fords of the River. At last, towards Break of Day, two *Scots* Trumpeters were brought to the King, who told him, *That the Scots were commanded to return home; and if the English had a mind to revenge the Loss they had sustained, they must follow them.* Upon that the *English* called a Council of War, where it was resolved, That it was better to march back with the Army at present, than to follow such straggling Pillagers, to the immense Fatigue both of Horse and Man; considering, they had lost more Men in this Expedition by Famine and Sickness, than commonly fall in a set Battle. When their Retreat was resolved upon, many of the *English*, either in Hopes of Booty, which might be left behind in the *Scots* hasty Retreat; or else, desirous to understand something of their Enemy's Affairs, went into their Camp, where they found about five hundred Deer, and especially Stags, already killed, (of which Sort, not only the *English* Kings, but even many private Persons, keep great Store) and great Budgets, made of raw Skins, in which they boiled their Meat, and about ten thousand high Shoes of
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the same Skins. Moreover, there were two *Englishmen*, whose Legs were broken, but they were yet alive. All these Things being Evidences of great Patience in bearing Hardship and Poverty, confirmed the Goodness of the Advice, given by those who were for marching the Army back.

THIS Year, *Walter Stuart* and *Queen Elisabeth* died, one the Son-in-law, the other Wife to the King: Besides, the Castles of *Alnwick* and *Norham* were besieged by the Scots, but without Success: Preys were also driven out of *Northumberland*. In *March* Ambassadors came from *England* to treat of a perpetual Peace, and a Truce was made for three Years. The next Year, which was 1328, the *English* held a Parliament at *Northampton* on the twenty fourth of *June*, where all the Orders of Estates agreed to a Peace with the Scots upon these Terms; That the English King should renounce all Right which he or his Ancestors pretended to have to the Crown of Scotland; and that he should leave that Kingdom as free as it was at the Death of *Alexander the Third*; and that it should be subject to no external Servitude, or foreign Yoke: And, on the other side, the Scots were to surrender up all the Lands they held in *England* as Feudataries: That *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*, as far as *Stanmore*, should be Boundaries to the Scots: That *David*, the Son of *Robert*, should take to Wife *Joan*, the Sister of *Henry*: That the English should faithfully return all Paëts, Bonds and Writings, or any other Monuments, which testified the Subjection of the Scots, into their Hands, and should disannul them for the future: That the Scots, for the Damage which they had lately done the English King, and for the Lands which his Father and Grandfather had given to their Favourites in Scotland, should pay him thirty thousand Merks of Silver.

BOTH Kings had their proper Reasons why they consented so easily to these Conditions. The *English* King, having wasted his Treasure, and having been put to an ignominious Retreat, and thereby lessened in the Eyes of his own Subjects, as well as of his Enemies, was afraid that some domestick Sedition might arise, and then a warlike Enemy, puffed up with his late Success, should come on his Flank, and mightily endamage his Kingdom. And *Robert*, broken with old Age, with Toil, and with Diseases, (for a little before his Death he fell into a Leprosy) and long exercised with the Events of both Fortunes, good and bad, resolved, if he could, to give himself up to his Ease; and not only so, but to provide for the Tranquillity of his Heirs, in regard of their infirm and tender Age. And therefore, having made Peace abroad, he turned himself wholly to settle Affairs at home. After the Marriage of his Son was magnificently celebrated, he, perceiving the End of his Life to be near at hand, went almost

in the Habit of a private Man, (for, some Years before, all the grand Affairs of State had been managed by *Thomas Randolph*, and *James Douglas*) and lived in a small House at *Cardross*, (a Place divided from *Dumbritton* by the River *Levin*) and kept himself from all Company, unless where some Case of singular Necessity demanded his Presence. Thither he called some of his Friends a little before his Death, and made his Will. He confirmed those to be his Heirs which were so declared by the Convention of Estates. First, *David* his Son, being eight Years old; next, *Robert* a Grandson of his by his Daughter; he commended to his Nobles, and especially to *Thomas Randolph* his Sister's Son, and *James Douglas*. Afterward he settled his Household Affairs, and exhorted them all to keep up Concord and Unanimity amongst themselves, and to preserve their Allegiance to their King; and if they did so, he would assure them to be unconquerable by any foreign Power. Moreover, he is reported to have added three Commands, or, if you will, Counsels; First, *That they should never make any one Man Lord of the Æbudæ Islands*; Next, *That they should never fight the English with all their Force, at one Time*; And, thirdly, *That they should never make with them a very long League*. In explicating his first Advice, he discoursed much concerning the Number, Extent, and Power of the Islands, and concerning the Multitude, Fierceness, and Hardiness of their Inhabitants: They with Ships, such as they were, yet not inconvenient for those Coasts, coping with Men unskilled in maritime Affairs, might do a great deal of Mischief to others, but receive little Damage themselves: And therefore, Governors were yearly to be sent thither, to administer Justice among them, by Officers, who should not be continued long in their Places neither. His second Advice concerning the *English* stood upon this Foot, because the *English*, as inhabiting a better Country, exceeded the *Scots* in Number of Men, Money, and all other warlike Preparations; and by reason of these Conveniences, they were more accustomed to their Ease, and not so patient of Labour or Hardship: On the other side, the *Scots* were bred in an hardier Soil, and were, by reason of their Parsimony and continual Exercise, of a more healthy Constitution of Body; and by the very Manner of their Education, made more capable to endure all military Toil, and therefore that they were fitter for sudden and occasional Assaults, so to weaken and weary out their Enemy by degrees, than to venture all at once in a pitched Battle. His third Advice was grounded upon this Reason, because, if the *Scots* should have a long Peace with the *English*, (having no other Enemy besides them to exercise their Arms upon) they would grow lazy, luxurious, and so easily

fly become slothful voluptuous, effeminate and weak. As for the *English*, tho' they had Peace with the *Scots*, yet *France* was near them, which kept their Arms in Use: If then, those who are skilful in warlike Affairs should cope with the *Scots*, thus grown unskilful and sluggish, they might promise to themselves an assured Victory. Moreover, he commended to *James Douglas*, the Performance of the Vow which he had made, which was, to go over into *Syria*, and to undertake the sacred Cause in the *Holy War*, against the common Enemy of Christianity. And because he himself, by reason of his home-bred Seditions, or else being broken with Age and Diseases, could not perform the Vow himself, he earnestly desired, *That Douglas would carry his Heart, after he was deceased, to Jerusalem, that it might be interred there.* Douglas looked upon this as an honourable Employment, and as an eminent Testimony of the King's Favour towards him: and therefore the next Year after the King's Death, with a brave and fine Brigade of young Noblemen, he prepared for his Voyage. But when he was upon the Coasts of *Spain*, he heard that the King of *Arragon* was engaged in a very fierce War against the same Enemy, with which he was to fight in *Syria*; and thinking with himself, that it mattered not in what Place he assisted in the Cause of Christianity, he landed his Men, and joined himself with the *Spaniard*, where, after many prosperous Fights, at last despising the Enemy as weak and fugitive, he thought to attempt something against him with his own Men, and so rushing unadvisedly on the Army of the *Saracens*, he was by them drawn into an Ambush, where he and most Part of his Men were lost. His chief Friends that perished with him, were *William Sinclair*, and *Robert Logan*. This happened the next Year after the King's Death, which was 1330.

To be short, *Robert Bruce* was certainly every Way a great Man, and can hardly be paralleled, for his Virtues and Valour, by any since the most heroick Times; for as he was very valiant in War, so was he most just and temperate in Peace; and tho' his unhop'd for Successes, and (after Fortune was once satiated, or rather wearied with his Miseries) a continued Course of Victory rendered him remarkably illustrious; yet to me he seemed to have been much more glorious in his Adversities. For, what a great Spirit was that which was not broken, nor even weakened by so many Miseries as rushed in upon him all at once? Whose Constancy would it not have tried to have his Wife a Prisoner, his four valiant Brothers cruelly put to death, and his Friends, at the same time, crushed with all imaginable Calamities; and they who escaped with their Lives were exiled, and lost all their Estates? As for himself, he was outed not only
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of a large Patrimony, but of a Kingdom too, by the powerful-
 lest King of those Times, and one who had the greatest Pre-
 sence of Mind both in Advice and Action. Tho' he was thus
 surrounded with all these Evils at one Time, and even brought
 into the extremest Exigence, yet he never doubted of recover-
 ing the Kingdom. Nor did he ever do, or say any thing, which
 was unbecoming a Royal Soul. He did not do as *Cato* the
 younger, and *Marcus Brutus*, who laid violent Hands on them-
 selves; neither like *Marius*, who incensed by his Sufferings,
 let loose the Reins of Hatred and Passion against his Enemies;
 but when he had recovered his antient State and Kingdom, he
 so carried it to those who had put him to so much Hardship
 and Trouble, that he seemed rather to remember that he was
 now their King, than that he had been sometimes their Ene-
 my. And even, a little before his Death, tho' a terrible Dis-
 temper made an Addition to the Troubles of his old Age, yet
 was he so much himself, as to confirm the present State of the
 Kingdom, and to consult the Peace and Quiet of his Posterity.
 So that when he died, all Men bewailed him, as being deprived
 not only of a just King, but of a loving Father. He departed
 this Life, the ninth of July, in the Year of Christ 1329, and
 the twenty fourth of his Reign.

THE

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK IX.

THE Nobles of *Scotland* having performed the Funeral Obsequies for the late King; as soon as they could conveniently, summoned a Convention of the Estates for the electing of a Regent, where the Inclinations of the Publick soon pitched upon *Thomas Randolph*, Earl of *Murray*; and the rather, because even in the King's Life-time he had for some Years managed that Office, and the King at his Death had likewise recommended him to the People, by his last Will and Testament.

DAVID II. *the ninety eighth King.*

THE Coronation of the King was deferred till *November* the 24th the next Year following; that so by the Permission of the *Pope*, he might be anointed, and that new Ceremony might appear with greater Pomp and Splendor than usual amongst the *Scots*. As soon as the Regent was chosen, he first of all ratified the Peace made with the *English*; afterward he applied himself to settle Peace at home, and suppress publick Robberies. In order to which, he kept a strong Guard about him which was ready on all Occasions; so that when News was brought him as he was going to *Wigton*, (which is a Town in *Galway*) that there was a powerful Gang of Thieves who infested

infested the Highways, and robbed Travellers in that Country; he sent out his Guard against them, even as he was in his Progress, who took them every Man, whom he caused to be put to death. He was inexorable against all Murderers, so that he caused a certain Man to be apprehended, who was lately returned from *Rome*, and had obtained the *Pope's* Bull of Pardon for his Offence, and thereupon thought himself secure; but the Regent told him, *That the Pope might pardon the Guilt of the Soul, but that the Punishment of the Body belonged to the King.*

To prevent Robberies, which were yet too frequently committed, by reason of the remaining Contagion of the Wars, he made a Law, *That the Countrymen should leave their Iron-tools, and Plough-gear, in the Field, and that they should not shut their Houses, nor Stalls at Night.* If any thing was stolen, the Loss was to be repaired by the Sheriff of the County; and the Sheriff was to be reimbursed by the King; and the King was to be satisfied out of the Estates of the Robbers, when they were taken. There was one Countryman, who either over-greedy of Gain, or else judging that Caution to be vain and frivolous, hid his Plough-irons in the Field, and came to the Sheriff to demand Satisfaction, as if they had been stolen; the Sheriff paid him presently, but inquiring farther into the Matter, and finding that he was the Author of the Theft himself, he caused him to be hanged, and his Goods to be forfeited. He restrained Players and Musicians from wandering up and down the Country, under severe Penalties. If any one assaulted a Traveller, or any publick Officer in performing his Office, he made it lawful for any body to kill him. So that when thirty Assailants had been slain by the Companions of a certain publick Minister at a Village called *Halydon*, he pronounced the Fact just, and indemnified the Actors. This domestick Severity made him as formidable to Villains at home, as his Valour did to his Enemies abroad. And therefore the *English*, who, upon King *Robert's* Death, watched all Occasions to revenge themselves, perceiving that they could attempt nothing by open Force as long as *Randolph* was living, turned their Thoughts to secret Fraud and Stratagem.

THE speediest Way to be rid of their Enemy, seemed to be by Poison; nor wanted there a proper Wretch to attempt it; and this was a certain Monk of that Class, who are brought up in Idleness, and for Want of fit Masters to teach them better, do too often pervert a good Genius to wicked Arts and Practices. There were two Professions joined in this Man, *viz. Monckery* and *Physick*; the first seemed proper to gain him Admittance; the second rendered him fit to perpetrate his Villany. Here-
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upon he comes into *Scotland*, giving out in all Places, that as he had Skill in all other Parts of *Physick*, so especially in curing the *Stone*; by which Means he obtained an easy Access to the Regent, and being employed to cure him, he mixed a slow-working Poison with his Medicines; and then taking a few Days Provision with him, he returned again into *England*, as if he had gone only to get and prepare more Drugs and Medicines. There he makes a solemn Asseveration before King *Edward*, That *Randolph* would die by such a Day. In hopes of this, *Edward* levies a great Army, and marching to the Borders, found there as great an Army of *Scots* ready to receive him not far from his Camp; upon which, he sent a Trumpet to them on pretence of demanding Reparation for Damages, but he was enjoined to inquire, who commanded the *Scots* Forces? *Randolph*, his Disease increasing, and the *Monk* not returning at the Day appointed, suspected all Things for the worse; however, dissembling his Grief as much as he could, he sat in a Chair before his Tent royally apparelled, and gave Answer to the Demands of the Herald of Arms, as if he had been a Man in perfect Health. The Herald, at his Return, acquainted the King with what he had seen and heard, so that the *Monk* was punished as a lying Cheat; and *Edward* marched back his Army, only leaving a Guard on the Borders to prevent Incursions. *Randolph* also was hindered from marching forward by the Violence of his Disease, but returning home he disbanded his Army, and at *Musselburgh*, about four Miles from *Edinburgh*, departed this Life, in the Year of our Lord 1331, and the twentieth of *July*, having been Regent two Years after King *Robert's* Death. He was a Man nothing inferior to any of our *Scottish* Kings in Valour and Skill in military Affairs, but far superior to them in the Arts of Peace. He left two Sons behind him, *Thomas* and *John*, both worthy so great a Father.

WHEN *Randolph*, Guardian of the Kingdom (for so they then called him) was dead, *Duncan*, Earl of *Mar*, was chosen in his Place, the second of *August*, the King being then ten Years old: On which very Day a sad Message was brought to Court, that the thirty first of *July* then last past, *Edward Baliol* was seen in the *Firth* of *Forth*, with a Navy very numerous. To make all Things more plain concerning his Coming, I must go a little back. When King *Robert* died, there was one *Lawrence Twine*, an *Englishman*, of the Number of those who having received Lands in *Scotland*, as a Reward of their military Service, dwelt there. He was of a good Family, but of a very wicked Life: He conceiving Hopes of greater Liberty, upon the Death of one King, and the immature Age of another, gave himself up more licentiously to unlawful Pleasures; so that being often

taken in Adultery, and admonished by the Judge of the Ecclesiastical Court, yet not desisting, he was at last excommunicated by the Official (as they call him) of the Bishop of *Glasgow*. Upon which, as if he had received a great deal of Wrong, he way-laid the Judge as he was going to *Ayr*, and kept him so long a Prisoner, till, upon the Payment of a Sum of Money, he had absolved him. *Twine* being informed, that *James Douglas* was extremely angry with him for this Fact, and that he sought for him to have him punished; for Fear of his Power he fled into *France*, and there addressed himself to *Edward Baliol*, Son to *John*, (who had been King of *Scotland* some few Years) informing him of the State of Affairs in *Scotland*, and withal advising him by no means to omit so fair an Opportunity of recovering his Father's Kingdom. For (said he) *their King is now but a Child, and hath more Enemies than Friends about him, ready to revenge the Injuries done them by his Father: That the Fathers of some were slain in a publick Convention at Perth, others were banished, and lost their Estates; others were punished with the Loss of a great Part of their Lands, and besides a great many of English Extraction, who were deprived of the Lands given them by his Father, would be his Companions in the Expedition; nay, there were Men enough of both Kingdoms needy and criminal, who, either for Hope of Gain, or to avoid the Punishment of the Laws, being desirous of Change and Innovation, wanted nothing but a Leader to begin a Disturbance. And moreover, James Douglas being killed in Spain, and Randolph by reason of his Sickness, being unfit for the Government, there was not a Man besides, to whose Authority the giddy and disagreeing Multitude would so soon submit as to his, &c.*

BALIO L knew, what he had spoken was, for the most part, true, and hearing also that *Edward* of *England* was sending great Forces into *Scotland*; the crafty Impostor easily persuaded him, who of himself was desirous of Empire and Glory, to get what Ships he could together, and so to bear a Part in that Expedition. But before the Coming of *Baliol* into *England*, *Edward* had disbanded his Army. Nevertheless the exiled Scots, and those *English* who had been dispossessed of their Lands in *Scotland*, flocked in to him, and so he made up no inconsiderable Army. Some say, that he had but six hundred Men accompanying him in so great an Enterprize, which seems not very probable. I rather think their Opinion more agreeable to Truth, who say, that the *English* assisted him with six thousand Foot. And they were all more encouraged in their designed Expedition, when they heard that *Randolph* was dead, whilst they were making their Preparations; for that gave them great Encouragement, as a good Omen of their future Success. With this Navy he came to *Kinghorn*, and there landed his Naval Forces,

Forces, on the first Day of *August*. The Land Forces were commanded by *David Cumin*, formerly Earl of *Athol*, as also by *Moubray* and *Beaumont*; and the Forces of the *English* by *Talbot*. At the News of the Arrival of this Fleet, *Alexander Seton*, a Nobleman, who happened to be in those Parts at that time, strove to oppose them, thinking that, upon their disorderly Landing, some Opportunity of Service might be offered; but in regard few of the Country came in to him, he and most of his Men were cut off. *Baliol* allowed some few Days to his Soldiers to refresh themselves after their troublesome Voyage; and then marched directly towards *Perth*, and pitched his Tents by the Water-mills, not far from the Water of *Earn*. The Regent was beyond, and *Patrick Dunbar* on this side the River, each of them with great Forces, their Camps being five Miles distant one from another. *Baliol*, tho' upon the Coming in of many to him on the Report of his good Success, he made up an Army of above ten thousand Men; yet being between two Armies of his Enemies, and fearing to be crushed between them, he thought it best to attack them severally, and on a sudden, when they least expected it, and resolved to attack *Mar*, the Regent, first; because it was likely that he being most remote from him, would be less vigilant, and so more liable to a Surprise. He got *Andrew Murray* of *Tullibardine* to be his Guide, who not daring to join himself openly with the *English*, in the Night fastened and stuck up a Pole, or Stake in the River where it was fordable, to shew *Baliol's* Men the Way over: They being covered with the Woods, which grew on the other side the River, came near the Enemy before they were aware; when they understood that they kept but a thin Watch and slender Guard, and passed the Night as in no Expectation of an Enemy at all; upon the account of this their Negligence, they marched by their Camp in great Silence, thinking to make an Assault on the farthest Part of it, where they supposed they should find them wholly secure. But it happened, that in that Part where they presumed the greatest Negligence was, *Thomas Randolph*, Earl of *Murray*, *Robert Bruce*, Earl of *Carrick*, *Murdo*, Earl of *Monteith*, and *Alexander Fraser* kept Guard. These getting a strong Company of their Friends together, received the first Charge and Onset of the Enemy very valiantly upon the Edge of a Ditch, so made by the falling down of the Rain-water. In the mean time, a great Noise and Tumult was made in the Camp, each one hastening to his Arms, and running into the Battle; but rushing in rashly in no Order, and without their Colours, they first broke the Ranks of their own Men, who bore the Brunt of the *Baliolians*; and so the last pushing on the first, fell both miserably into the Ditch; many

were there killed by the Enemy, but more both of Horse and Men pressed to Death by their Fall ; and the most Part were so weakened, that they had hardly Strength enough left either to fight or fly. There fell of the *Scots* 3000, several of those that escaped fled to *Perth*, but they being few, and generally without Arms or Guides, were easily taken by the pursuing *English*, together with the City itself.

THE next Day *Dunbar*, hearing of the Overthrow of the other Army, and that *Perth* was taken, and being informed also of the small Number of the *English* Forces, marched directly towards the Town, with intent to besiege it, and destroy the Enemy whilst they were yet in great Want of all Things ; but the Matter being debated amongst his chief Officers, each one excused himself, and so they departed without effecting any thing. *Baliol*, having done such great Things in so short a time, even beyond his Expectation, was contriving how to gain the rest of the *Scots*, either by Favour, or Force. And in a short time, such a mighty Concourse of People gathered about him, that he now thought it a proper Opportunity to declare himself King. This Design was the more feasible, in as much as the greatest Part of the Slaughter had fallen upon the Families adjoining to *Perth*. For there were killed in the Field besides the Regent, *Robert Keith*, with a great Number of his Tenants and Relations. There fell eighty of the Family of the *Lindsays*, and amongst them, *Alexander* their Chief. The Name of the *Hays* would have been quite extinct by this Battle, had not *William*, the Chief of the Family, left his Wife big with Child behind him. And besides, *Thomas Randolph*, *Robert Bruce*, and *Murdo*, Earl of *Monteith*, *William Sinclair*, Bishop of the *Caledonians*, and *Duncan Macduff*, Earl of *Fife*, were taken Prisoners, who being in such a desperate Condition, were forced to take an Oath of Allegiance to him.

BALIOI, the ninety ninth King.

UPON this *Baliol*, trusting to his present Fortune, went to the neighbouring Abbey of *Scone*, and there entered upon the Kingdom the 25th of *August* in the Year of our Lord 1332. By this Wound the Power of *David Bruce* was much weakened in *Scotland* ; yet his Friends, not broken in their Spirits by this Calamity, took Care to secure him from the Dangers of War, he not being yet fit to undertake the Government ; for which Reason they sent him and his Wife to his Father's Friend, *Philip* King of *France*, to be there out of Harm's Way ; in the mean time, they prepare themselves for all Events, being resolved to die honourably, or else restore their Country to its former State.

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In pursuance of which, they first of all set up *Andrew Murray*, a Person of illustrious Quality, Son of the Sister of *Robert Bruce*, as Regent, in the Place of *Duncan*; then they sent Messengers into all Parts of the Kingdom, partly to confirm and fix their old Friends, and partly to spur up the more remiss to Thoughts of revenging their Wrongs. The first who took Arms, as being excited by their Grief for the Loss of their Parents and Relations at *Duplin*, were *Robert Keith*, *James* and *Simon Frasers*, who, about the Middle of *September*, besieged *Perth*; the Siege lasted longer than they expected, however in three Months time they took it. *Macduff*, Earl of *Fife*, who held the Town for *Baliol*, was sent Prisoner with his Wife and Children to *Kil-drummy*, a Castle in *Mar*; *Andrew Murray*, of *Tullibardine*, who discovered the Ford over the River *Earn* to the *English*, was put to death. The *Black Book* of *Paisly* says, that the Walls of the Town were demolished, which seems more probable to me, than that it should be made a Garrison, as others write, especially in so great a Want of faithful Friends and Soldiers.

AT the same time *Baliol* was at *Annandale*, very busy in receiving the Homage of the Nobility, who were so much surprised and astonished at the sudden Change of Things, that even *Alexander Bruce*, Lord of *Carrick* and *Galway*, despairing of retrieving his Kinsman *David's* Affairs, came in to him. After this prosperous Success, he despised his Enemy, and grew more negligent and regardless of him. When the Regent heard of this by his Spies, he sent *Archibald Douglas*, Brother to *James*, who was lost in *Spain*, that if there were any Opportunity for Action, he should lay hold of it. He took with him *William Douglas*, Earl of *Lithsdale*, *John Randolph*, the Son of *Thomas*, and *Simon Fraser*, with a thousand Horse, and so came to *Moffat*; where having sent out Scouts, to see that the Coast was clear, he marched in the Night, and attacked *Baliol* as he was asleep, and put his Army into so great a Fright and Consternation, that *Baliol* himself, half naked, was fain to get upon an Horse, neither bridled nor saddled, and so fled away; many of his intimate Friends were killed: *Alexander Bruce* was taken Prisoner, and obtained his Pardon, by the Means of his Kinsman, *John Randolph*. *Henry Baliol* got great Credit that Day, by his Valour, amongst both Parties, who, in so confused a Flight, defending his Men, whom their Pursuers pressed close upon; he wounded a great many, and killed some of his Enemies, and was afterwards killed, fighting bravely to the last Gasps. There fell also the Chief of the *English* Faction, *John Moubray*, *Walter Cumin*, and *Richard Kirk*. This Action was on the 25th Day of *December*, in the Year 1332.

THE *Brucian* Party were somewhat raised by these Successes, so that they came in great Numbers to *Andrew Murray*, the Regent, to consult what was to be done. They made no doubt, but that *Baliol* sought the Kingdom, not for himself, but for the *English*; by whom he was guided and influenced in every Thing. For which Reason they reckoned the King of *England* their Enemy; and accordingly prepared all Things necessary for War, with great Diligence, as against a very powerful Foe. They strongly fortified the Garrison of *Berwick*, for they thought the *English* would attack that Place first. They made *Alexander Seton*, a very worthy Knight, Governor of the Town, and *Patrick Dunbar*, of the Castle, and the adjoining Precincts. *William Douglas*, Earl of *Lithsdale*, whose Valour and Prudence was highly commended in those Times, was sent into *Annamdale*, to defend the Western Coasts: *Andrew Murray* went to *Roxburgh*, where *Baliol* kept himself. Thus their several Governments being distributed at home, *John Randolph* was sent into *France* to visit *David*, and to make an Address to *Philip* of *France*, informing him of the State of *Scotland*, and desiring of him some Aid against the common Enemy. *Murray*, at his Coming to *Roxburgh*, had a sharp Encounter with *Baliol*, at a Bridge without the City; and whilst he pressed too eagerly after the *English*, who were retreating over the Bridge into the Town, he was separated from his Men and taken Prisoner; by which Means he lost entirely a Victory, which he was almost sure of.

At the same time in another Part of the Country, *William Douglas* of *Lithsdale*, in a Battle with the *English*, was wounded and made Prisoner, which Disaster so troubled his Men, that they were put to Flight. This Inconstancy of Fortune divided *Scotland* again into two Factions, as Love, Hatred, Hope, Fear, or each Man's private Concerns, inclined him. The King of *England* presuming, that by reason of these Dissensions, he had a fit Opportunity to seize upon *Scotland*, received *Baliol* into his Protection, (for he was too weak to support himself by his own Strength) and took an Oath of Obedience from him; and nothing regarding his Bond of Affinity with *Bruce*, nor reverencing the Sanctity of Leagues, nor the Religion of an Oath, so that he might satisfy his boundless Ambition; he at once denounced and waged War with the *Scots*, at that time destitute of a King, and at Variance amongst themselves. And to give a colourable Pretence of Justice to this War, he sent Ambassadors to demand *Berwick*, which Town his Father and Grandfather had held many Years, and he presently followed with an Army. The *Scots* answered the Ambassadors, "That *Berwick* always belonged to *Scotland*, till his Grandfather *Edward* had injuri-

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“ oufly seized upon it. At length, when *Robert Bruce* their
“ last King had recovered the rest of *Scotland*, he took away
“ that Town from *Edward* (his Father), and reduced it to its
“ antient rightful Possessor and Form of Government; and that
“ not long ago, *Edward* himself, by the Advice of his Parlia-
“ ment, had renounced all Right, which he or his Ancestors
“ might pretend to have over all *Scotland* in general, or any of
“ its Towns and Places in particular. From that Time, they
“ were not conscious to themselves, that they had acted any
“ thing against the League so solemnly sworn to, and confirmed
“ by Alliance of a Marriage; why then within the Compass of
“ a few Years, were they twice assaulted by secret Fraud and
“ open War? These Things being so, they desired the Ambassa-
“ dors to incline the Mind of their King to Equity, and that he
“ would not watch his Opportunity to injure and prejudice a
“ young King in his Absence, who was both innocent, and also his
“ own Sister’s Husband; as for themselves they would refuse no
“ Conditions of Peace, provided they were honourable; but if
“ he threatened them with an unjust Force, then, according to
“ the Tutelage of the King committed to them, they resolved
“ rather to die a noble Death, than consent to a Peace prejudi-
“ cial to themselves or the Kingdom.” This was the Answer
of the Council of *Scotland*.

BUT the King of *England* sought not Peace but Conquest; and therefore having increased his great Army with foreign Troops, he besieged *Berwick* by Sea and Land, omitting nothing which might contribute to the taking of it; for having a vast Number of Forces, he gave his Enemy no rest Night nor Day: Nor were the besieged behind hand with them, sallying out upon them every Day with Boldness and Intrepidity. They threw Fire into their Ships that lay in the River, and burnt a great many of them. In which Skirmish, *William Seton*, the Governor’s Bastard Son, was lost, much lamented by all for his singular Valour. For whilst he endeavoured to leap into an *English* Ship, his own being driven too far off by the Waves, he fell into the Sea, it being impossible in that Exigency that any Relief could come to him. Another Son of *Alexander*’s, but lawfully begotten, who out of too great an Eagerness proceeded too far in a Sally, was taken by the *English*. But the Siege, which was begun the 13th Day of *April*, had now lasted three Months; and the Defendants, besides their Toil and continual Watchings, were in great Want of Provisions; so that the Town unable longer to hold out, made an Agreement with the *English*, That unless they were relieved by the 30th of July, they would surrender it up; for Performance of which, *Thomas*, *Alexander*’s eldest Son, was given in Hostage.

WHILST

WHILST these Things were acting at *Berwick*, the *Scots* called an Assembly to consult about their Affairs; and since the Regent was Prisoner at *Roxburgh*, that they might not be without a General, they chose *Archibald Douglas* Captain-General; they also voted, that he should have an Army to march into *England*, that by foraging the neighbouring Counties, he might draw off the King of *England* from the Siege. *Douglas*, according to this Order, marched towards *England*; but hearing of the Agreement which *Alexander* had made, he changed his Mind; and, though against the Advice of his wisest Officers, he marched directly towards the *English*, and on *Mary Magdalene's* Eve came in Sight of them; and was seen both by Friends and Enemies. The King of *England*, tho' the Day was not come wherein it was agreed that the Town should be surrendered, yet when he saw the *Scots* Forces so near, he sent a Herald into the Town, to acquaint the Governor, *That unless he presently surrendered up his Garrison, he would put his Son, Thomas, to death*; the Governor alledging, that the Day appointed for the Surrender was not yet come, and that he had given his Faith to stay till the Time allowed by their Agreement was expired, but all was in vain. Hereupon Love, Piety, Fear, and Duty towards his Country, variously exercised his paternal and afflicted Soul; and the *English*, to drive the Terror more home, had set up a Gallows in a Place, easily visible to the besieged, whither the King caused the Governor's two Sons, one an Hostage, the other a Prisoner of War, to be brought forth to Execution. At this miserable Spectacle the Governor was in the greatest Perplexity in the World; but in this Fluctuation of his Mind, his Wife, the Mother of the young Gentlemen, a Woman of a masculine Soul, came to him, and put him in mind of his Fidelity towards his King, his Love to his Country, and the Dignity of his noble Family; upon all which Grounds she endeavoured to settle his wavering Mind. *If these Children be put to death, (said she) you have others remaining alive; and besides, we are neither of us so old but we may have more. If they escape Death, yet it will not be long, but that by some sudden Casualty, or else through Age they must yield to Fate; but if any Blot of Infamy should stick upon the Family of the Setons, it would remain to all Posterity, and be an indelible Blemish even to their innocent Off-spring:* She farther told him, *That she had often heard those Men much commended, in the Discourses of the Wise, who had given up themselves and their Children, as a Sacrifice for the Safety of their Country; but if he should give up the Town committed to his Trust, he would betray his Country, and yet be never the more certain of his Childrens Lives neither; for how could he hope, that a Tyrant who violated his Faith now, would stand to his Word for*
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the future? And therefore she intreated him not to prefer an Uncertainty, and (if it should be obtained) a momentary Advantage, to a certain and perpetual Ignominy. By this Discourse she somewhat settled his Mind, and that he might not be shocked by so dismal a Spectacle, she carried him to another Place, from whence it could not possibly be seen. The *English* King after this Punishment inflicted, which was not very acceptable neither to some of his own People, removed his Camp to *Halidon-Hill*, near *Berwick*, and there waits his Enemy's Coming.

DOUGLAS, who before would not hearken to the Advice of his grave Counsellors, as to the foraging of the *English* Counties, and so averting the Siege, now was inflamed with an implacable Rage; and withal presuming, that if after the Perpetration of so horrible a Wickedness almost before his Eyes, he should draw off without fighting, it might be said that he was afraid of his Enemy, he therefore was resolved to fight at any rate, and so marched directly towards the Enemy. When he had stood a good while in Battle Array, and the *English* kept their Ground, and would not come down into the Plain, he placed all the *Scots* Army below them on the Side of the same Hill. This his rash Project had a suitable Event; for as with great Difficulty they were getting up the Hill, the Enemy with their Darts, and rolling down of Stones, wounded them terribly before they came to Blows; and when they came up with them, they rushed upon them in such close Bodies, that they tumbled them headlong down over the steep Precipices. There fell that Day about ten, some say fourteen thousand of the *Scots*; almost all such of the superior Order, who escaped out of the unhappy Battle of *Duplin*, were lost here. The Chief of them, whose Names are recorded, were the General, *Archibald* himself, *James*, *John* and *Alan Stuarts*, Uncles to *Robert*, who reigned next after the *Brucians*: *Hugh*, *Kenneth*, and *Alexander Bruce*, who were the several and respective Earls of *Ross*, *Sutherland*, and *Carrick*; *Andrew*, *John*, and *Simon*, three Brothers of the *Frasers*. This Overthrow of the *Scots* happened on *St. Mary Magdalene's Day*, in the Year 1333.

AFTER this Fight all Relief was despaired of; so that *Alexander Seton* surrendered up the Town to the *English*, and *Patrick Dunbar* the Castle, upon Condition, to march out with all their Goods; both of them were forced to swear Fealty to the *English*; and *Patrick Dunbar* was farther enjoined to rebuild the Castle of *Dunbar* at his own Charge, which he had demolished that it might not be a Receptacle to the *English*. *Edward* having stayed there a few Days, committed the Town and the rest of the War to *Baliol's* Care, and he himself retired into his own Kingdom, leaving *Edward Talbot* in Scotland, a Man of great

great Quality and Prudence, with a few *English* Forces, to assist *Baliol* in subduing the rest of *Scotland*: And indeed it seemed no great Matter so to do, since almost all the Nobility were extinct; and of those few that remained, some came in to the Conqueror, others retired either into desert, or else fortified Places. The Garrisons which remained faithful to *David* were very few; as on this side the *Forth*, an Island in a Loch, whence the River *Down* flows, scarce big enough to bear a moderate Castle; and *Dunbarton* beyond the *Forth*, a Castle situate in *Loch-Levin*; and also *Kildrummy* and *Urquhart*.

THE next Year Ambassadors came from the *Pope*, and from *Philip* King of *France*, to end the Disputes between the Kings of *Britain*. The *English* were so puffed up with the prosperous Course of their Affairs, that the King would not so much as admit the Ambassadors into his Presence; for he thought that the Hearts of the *Scots* were so cowed, and their Strength so broken, that for the future they durst not, neither were they able again to rebel. But this great Tranquillity was soon changed into a most dreadful War, and that upon a very light Occasion, where it was least expected, viz. Upon a Difference arising amongst the *English* themselves at *Perth*. *John Moubray* had Lands given to his Ancestors in *Scotland*, by *Edward* the First; but they being lost by the various Changes of the Times, he recovered them again when *Edward Baliol* was King. He dying without Issue-male, *Alexander* their Uncle, commenced a Suit against his Daughters for those Lands: Those of the *English* Faction that maintained the Cause of the Females, were *Henry Beaumont*, who had married one of them; and *Richard Talbot*, and *David Cumin*, Earl of *Athol*. *Baliol* took *Alexander's* Part, and decided or adjudged the Lands to him, which so offended his Adversaries, that they openly complained of the Injustice of the Decree; and seeing that Complaints availed nothing, they left the Court, and went every one to his own home. *Talbot* was going for *England*; but being apprehended, was carried to *Dunbarton*. *Beaumont* garrisoned *Dundarg*, a strong Castle of *Buchan*, and took Possession not only of the Lands which were in Controversy, but also of all the neighbouring Country. *Cumin* went into *Athol*, where he fortified some convenient Places, and prepared to defend himself by Force if he were attacked. *Baliol* being afraid of this Conspiracy of such potent Persons, altered his Decree, and gave the Lands in Question to *Beaumont*; he also reconciled *Cumin* by giving him many fertile Lands, which belonged to *Robert Stuart* the next King. *Alexander* being concerned at this injurious Affront, joins himself with *Andrew Murray* Regent of the *Scots*, who had lately ransomed himself from the *English* for a great Sum of Money. These Things

were acted at several Times, yet I have put them together, that the whole Course of my History might not be interrupted.

IN the mean time, *Baliol* in another Part of the Country, attacked all the Forts about *Renfrew*; some he took, others he battered down and demolished. Having settled Matters there according to his own Mind, he sailed over into the Island *Bute*, and there fortified the Castle of *Rothsay*, of which he made *Alan Lisle* Governor, whom he had before made *Chief Justice* in the Law. He made diligent Search after *Robert Stuart*, Grandchild of *Robert Bruce* by his Daughter, to put him to death; but he by the Help of *William Heriot*, and *John Gilbert*, was rowed over in a small Vessel into the Continent on the other side, where Horses stood ready for him, which carried him to *Dunbarton*, to *Malcolm Fleming*, Governor of that Castle. *Baliol* having settled Things at *Bute*, at his Return took *Dunnoon*, a Castle seated in *Coval*, the neighbouring Continent; whereupon the neighbouring Nobility were struck with so great a Terror, that they almost all submitted to him. Marching from thence the next Spring, he bent all his Care to besiege the Castle of *Loch-Levin*; but this Project seeming too slow, he left *John Stirline*, a powerful Knight of his Party, to besiege the Castle, to whom he joined *Michael Arnold*, *David Weems*, and *Richard Melvin* with Part of his Army. They built a Fort over against it where the Passage was narrowest, and having in vain tried all Ways to subdue it by Force, *Alan Wepont* and *James Lambin*, Inhabitants of *St. Andrew's*, making a vigorous Resistance, at last they endeavoured to drown it, by stopping up the Passage of the River; for the River *Levin* goes out from the Lake, or Loch, with a narrow Girt or Neck, and an open Rock. This Place they endeavoured to stop up by making a Wall, or Bank of Stones and Turfs, heaped up one upon another; but the Work proceeded on very slowly, because as the Heat did incommode the Labourers, so the Brooks which flowed into the Lake were then almost dry; and the Water being far spread abroad, received an Increase by moderate Additions. By this means the Siege was lengthened out to the Month of *July*, when there was an *Holy Day* kept in Remembrance of *St. Margaret*, heretofore Queen of *Scotland*; on which Day there used to be a great Concourse of Merchants at *Dumfermling*, where the Body of that Saint is reported to be buried. Thither went *John Stirline* with a great Part of his Men; some for Merchandising, some for Religion, leaving his Camp, and the Wall but slenderly guarded, for they thought themselves secure from the Enemy; for they knew that none of the opposite Faction were in all the neighbouring Parts, except those few which were shut up in the Castle; but the besieged being made acquainted with

the Absence of *Stirline*, and the Weakness of his Camp, as soon as the Evening came, shipped those battering Engines which they had before prepared to pierce through the Wall; and whilst the Watch was asleep, made many Holes in it in several Places,

THE Water having gotten some small Passages, widened the Orifices of them by degrees, and at last broke forth with such a Violence, that it tumbled down all that was before it; it overflowed all the Plains, and carried away with it Tents, Huts, Men half asleep, and Horses, with a terrible Noise into the Sea. And they which were in the Ships, running in with a great Shout upon the affrighted Soldiers, added a second Terror to the first; so that upon such a double Surprise, every Man minded nothing but how to save himself: Thus shifting, away they fled, as every Man could, and left all to the Enemy. *Alan*, at his Leisure, carried into the Castle, not only the Spoils of their Camp, but Provisions also, prepared for a long Siege. And in another Sally, made against the Guards, which were at *Kinross*, there was as happy Success; the Guards were routed and taken, and the Siege raised.

ABOUT the same time that these Things were acting in *Fife*, the *English* entered *Scotland* with great Forces both by Sea and Land. When the Ships came into the *Forth*, their Admiral struck upon the Rocks, and the rest were in great Distress; so that they returned home with greater Loss than Booty. But the Land Forces pierced as far as *Glasgow*, where *Edward* called a Council of his own Faction, and finding that there was neither General nor Army on Foot of the contrary Party, he thought his Presence was no longer necessary; so that he returned into *England*, taking *Baliol* with him, whom he somewhat distrusted, leaving *David Cumin*, Earl of *Athol*, to command in *Scotland*: He first of all seizes upon the large Estates of all the *Stuarts*, which contained *Bute*, *Arran*, the Lands of *Renfrew*, and a great Part of *Kyle* and *Cunningham*: He confirms *Alan Lisle*, Chief-Justice of *Bute*, which some call *Sheriff*, others *Seneschal*; and commanded the neighbouring Countries to obey him. Then he himself marched into another Part of the Country, where he reduced the Counties of *Buchan* and *Murray*; and tho' he were now grown almost beyond the Rate of a private Man, yet put out all his Proclamations and publick Edicts in the Name of both Kings, *Edward* and *Baliol*.

AT that time there was not a Man in *Scotland* that durst profess that *Bruce* was King, only a few waggish Boys would sometimes do it, as it were in Sport and Pastime; yet *Robert Stuart*, who then lay private in *Dunbarton*, judging that something might be attempted in the Absence of *Cumin*, made the
Campbels,

Campbels, a powerful Family in *Argyle*, acquainted with his Proposal. *Calen*, the Chief of them, met him at *Dunnoon*, a Castle in *Coval*, with about four thousand Men, and presently surprises it: At the Noise of which, the Islanders of *Bute*, who were divided but by a narrow Sea, generally rise, and hasten to their old Masters. *Alan Lisle* gathered what armed Force he could to stop their March; whereupon the poor People, being for the most part unarmed, and who had assembled rather in a Fit of Passion than by any solid Advice, being struck with a sudden Fear, ran to the next Hill, where they found a great Number of Stones, which they threw down like Showers of Hailstones upon their Enemies, who, in Contempt of their small Numbers, rashly adventured to attack them; the greatest Part of them were thus rudely treated before they came to Blows, but as they retired, they so pressed upon them, that the valiantest of their Enemies, with *Alan Lisle* himself, were killed, and *John Gilbert*, Governor of the Castle of *Bute*, taken Prisoner; so that they armed many of their own Men with the Spoils of the slain. This, not unbloody Victory, was followed with the Surrender of the Castle of *Bute*. When the Rumour of these Things was spread abroad, *Thomas Bruce*, Earl of *Carrick*, with his Neighbours and Allies, out of *Kyle* and *Cunningham*; as also *William Carruder* of *Annandale*, who always had withstood the Government of the *English*, with his Friends and Kinsmen crept out of his Hole, and came in to *Stuart*. *John Randolph* Earl of *Murray*, at this time being returned from *France*, gave some Hopes of foreign Assistance; whereupon, being encouraged to greater Enterprizes, they made up an Army by the Assistance of *Godfrey Ross*, Sheriff of *Ayr*, and in a short time drew all *Carrick*, *Kyle*, and *Cunningham* to their Party. The *Renfrewans* likewise came to their old Masters, the *Stuarts*, uninvited. The Vassals of *Andrew Murray* following their Example, drew in the rest of *Clydsdale* into their Cause. Their Confidence being increased by these happy Beginnings, that there might be some Resemblance of a publick State among them, they called together the Chief of their Party, and made two Regents, viz. *Robert Stuart*, though a young Man, yet one, who, in these lesser Expeditions, had given signal Marks of his Love to his Country; and *John Randolph*, a Person worthy of his Father and Brother, both eminent Patriots. *Randolph* being sent with a strong Party into the Northern Countries, there flocked in to him all those who were weary of the heavy Yoke of the *English*; insomuch that *David Cumin*, being amazed at the Inclination and Change of Mens Minds, fled into *Lochabyr*, whither he followed him, and pent him up into a Nook, who being in great Want of Provisions, was forced to yield; but upon his swearing Fealty

to *Bruce*, he dismissed him, and withal gave so much Credit to his Promises, that, at his Departure, he made him his Deputy; nor was he wanting in a shew of Zeal for *Bruce's* Cause. In the mean time, *Randolph* returning into *Lothian*, joined his old Friend *William Douglas*, who being released, and newly come out of *England*, sufficiently revenged his long Imprisonment with a great Slaughter of his Enemies. *Andrew Murray* returned also, who was taken Prisoner at *Roxburgh*; so that being Officers enough, the Regent called an Assembly at *Perth*, to be held on the first Day of *April*; where, when Abundance of the Nobility met together, they were not able to effect any thing by reason of the great Feud betwixt *William Douglas* and *David Cumin*. The Cause of which was pretended to be, that *Cumin* was the Occasion why *Douglas* was not sooner released by the *English*. *Stuart* favoured *Cumin*, but almost all the rest stood up for *Douglas*. *Cumin* alledged, that he came with a more than ordinary Train unto the Assembly by reason of that Feud, for he had brought so many of his Friends and Tenants along with him, that he became formidable to all the rest; and besides his Disposition, which was various and mutable, his vast Mind, and the Noise of the Coming of the *English*, with whom every one knew that *Athol* would join, increased their Suspicions of him. And indeed, not long after, *Edward* invaded *Scotland*, with great Forces both by Sea and Land, bringing *Baliol* along with him; his Navy, consisting of one hundred and sixty Sail, entered the *Forth*: He himself marched by Land as far as *Perth*, spoiling the Country as he went along, and there waited for *Cumin*. In the mean time *Randolph* went to *John*, the Chief of the *Æbuda*, but not being able to draw him to his Party, he was content in so troublesome a Posture of Affairs, to make a Truce with him for some Months; and after that returning to *Robert*, the other Regent, he found him dangerously sick: So that it was as bad a Time as could be for all the Burden to be cast upon his own Shoulders, and therefore he durst not fight the *English* in a set Battle, but divided his Force, that so he might attack them by Parties. And hearing that a strong Army of *Guedrians* were coming thro' *England* to join the *English* in *Scotland*; he waited for their Coming on the Borders: Where also *Patrick*, Earl of *March*, and *William Douglas* of *Lithsdale*, met him, together with *Alexander Ramsay*, one of the most experienced Soldiers of that Age; all these waited for the said *Guedrians* in the Fields near *Edinburgh*. As soon as ever they came in Sight one of another, they fell to it immediately; and after a sharp Conflict the *Guedrians* were overcome, and fled to the next Hill, where there was an old ruinous Castle: The next Day, having no Provision, they surrendered themselves only upon

upon Quarter for Life. *Randolph*, out of respect to *Philip Valois*, who was their singular good Friend, (as was then said) did not only freely release them, but accommodated them with Provisions for their March; nay, he himself undertook to be their Convoy; in his March he was taken by an Ambush of the *English* Party, and so brought to the King, who was then besieging *Perth* with a powerful Army.

AT the same time *David Cumin*, who steered all his Counsels according to the Inclinations of Fortune, being glad of the Distress of his Enemy, comes to the King of *England*, and promises him, in a very short time, to drive all the *Brucians* out of the Kingdom; and the Truth is, he was as active in performing his Promise. For *Perth* being surrendered, and its Walls demolished, the King prepared to return to *England*, because Provision for his Army came but slowly in; for all the *Scots*, upon Notice of his Coming, were advised to drive their Cattle to the Mountains: As for their other Provisions, either to convey them to some fortified Places far remote; or if they could not do so, to spoil them altogether. Nor did his Fleet, on which he most relied for Bread for his Army, much relieve him. For as soon as it arrived at the *Forth*, and had destroyed a Monastery of Monks in the Isle *Inchcolm*, as it rode at Anchor in the open Sea, it was very much distressed by a tempestuous Storm; so that part of the Ships could hardly get to *Inchkeith*, a desolate Island near adjoining. Others were carried farther by the Winds; but as soon as they could recover themselves, they imputed the Cause of the Tempest to the Anger of *St. Columb*, because they had thro' Avarice cruelly destroyed a Monastery of his; and therefore whatever Plunder they had got, they carried it thither as an Expiation for their Offence; neither was any memorable Act performed by that Fleet the whole Year.

THO' these Causes did much incline the King of *England* to return, yet that which did most hasten it, was his Inclination to a War with *France*, which was then most in his Thoughts. And therefore he marched back his Army, and took *Baliol* with him, as if the *Scottish* War had been almost at an End, and left *Cumin*, as Regent, to put an end to it. He to ingratiate himself with both Kings, and to revenge himself on his Enemy, was extraordinary cruel in his Proceedings; which Severity of his was the more resented, because very lately he himself obtained his Pardon so easily, when he was reduced to the lowest Ebb not many Months before. There were scarce above three of all the *Scottish* Nobility, whom neither Promises could entice, nor Dangers inforce to submit to the *English* Yoke; and those were *Patrick*, Earl of *March*, *Andrew Murray*, and *William Douglas*. These joined their Forces, and marched to *Kilblane* Forest
against

against *Cumin*, who was besieging *Kildrummy Castle*; with him they had a sharp Fight. *Cumin* was more in Number, and had almost surrounded his Enemies; but the Coming in of *John Craig*, Governor of the Castle, with three hundred fresh Men, decided the Business, and gave an undisputed Victory to the *Brucians*. All the valiantest of *Cumin's* Army were killed, either in the Action, or the Pursuit. Many were saved in a neighbouring Castle called *Cameron*, belonging to *Robert Menzies*: But seeing there were not Provisions for so great a Number, pent up in so narrow a Room, the next Day it was surrendered, and the Defendants, upon their Submission, confirmed by an Oath, pardoned. There fell in this Action, besides the General himself, *Robert Brady* and *Walter Cumin*, two of his intimate Friends; *Thomas*, his Brother, being taken Prisoner, was the next Day beheaded.

UPON this Victory, *Randolph* being a Prisoner, and *Stuart* sick, the Name and Power of Regent was confirmed on *Andrew Murray* by military Suffrage. For when Letters came from the King of *France* concerning a Truce, the Nobles of the *Brucian* Party being met to receive them, did, by unanimous Consent, restore that former Honour to *Murray*, which his calamitous Misfortunes had deprived him of. He, after the Truce for a few Months was ended, laid Siege to the Castle of *Lochindores*, which was held by the Wife of *David Cumin*: She foreseeing what would happen, had implored Succour of the *English*, who shortly after landed some Forces in *Murray*, and raised the Siege. They also pierced as far as *Elgin*, (a Town situate by the River *Loffy*) wasting all as they went with Fire and Sword. As they were marching to *Perth*, they burnt *Aberdeen*, and garrisoned the Castles in all *Merse*, *Dunnoter*, *Kineff*, and *Laureston*. They laid a Command on the six adjoining Monasteries, to repair the Walls of *Perth*, which were demolished, and then committing the Affairs of *Scotland* to *Edward Baliol*, who was returned thither, they went back for *England*. Upon the Departure of the *English*, and the low Condition of the *Scots*, *Henry Beaumont* thought it a fit Opportunity for him to stir, to revenge the Death of his Son-in-law, the Earl of *Athol*, and therefore he killed all that he could take without any Distinction, who had been in the Fight of *Kilblane*, in a very cruel Manner. *Andrew Murray* besieged him in *Dundarg*, and enforced him to a Surrender, and upon taking his Oath, that he would return no more into *Scotland* in an hostile Manner, he safely dismissed him; and by one continued Course of Victory, he took all the strong Holds on the farther side of the *Forth*, (except the Castle of *Coupar*, and the Town of *Perth*) and casting out their Garrisons he wholly demolished them. Afterwards he entered *Eng-*
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land, where he got great Booty, and somewhat relieved the Spirits of his Soldiers, who had suffered much by reason of Want in their own Country. For *Scotland* having been harassed that Year by the Injuries of War, and wasted by the daily Incursions of both Parties, the Fields lay untilled, and there was such a Famine, that the *English* were forced to desert the strong Castle of *Coupar* for Want of Provisions: And a *Scottish* Seaman, who had been abused by them, being employed to transport the Garrison Soldiers by Night to *Lothian*, landed them upon a Bank of Sand, which was bare when the Tide was out; they thinking it had been the Continent went a little Way, and then met with Sea again; which made them call again for the Vessel, but in vain, for they all perished there to a Man.

THE next Year, which was 1337, the *English* besieged the Castle of *Dunbar*; it was defended by *Agnes*, the Wife of the Earl of *March*, who was commonly surnamed the *Black*, a Woman of a masculine Spirit. The Besiegers were the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Arundel*; the Siege lasted longer than any body thought it would, so that two Supplies were sent into *Scotland* to relieve *Baliol*; the one convoyed by *Monfort*, the other by *Richard Talbot*; *Lawrence Preston* undertook *Monfort*, killed him in Battle, and routed his Army, but he himself died soon after, of the Wounds he there received, which caused his Soldiers to wreak their Fury, for the Loss of their General, on the Prisoners, whom they inhumanly put to death. *Talbot* was taken Prisoner by *William Keith*, and his Army routed; yet the Siege of *Dunbar* continued still. And the Sea being shut by the *English*, the besieged were driven to so great a Want of Provision, that without doubt it must have been surrendered, if *Alexander Ramsay*, by a seasonable, tho' bold Attempt, had not relieved it. He, in the dead time of the Night, sailed by the Watch, which in Gallies of *Genoa* kept the Sea Coast, and came up to the Castle, where he landed forty Men, and a great Quantity of Provisions. And then joining Part of the Garrison with his own Men in the Covert of the Night, he rushed in with such a Noise on the *English* Guard, that he made a great Slaughter amongst them; for they little expected a Sally from an Enemy, whom they looked upon as almost conquered; and the next Night he returned back as securely as he came. Thus, after six Months, the Siege of *Dunbar* was raised: For *Edward* called back his Forces to the *French* War, after they had sufficiently fatigued themselves, and tried all ways to become Masters of the Place.

ANDREW MURRAY, his Country being then almost freed from foreign Soldiers, attempted to reduce first *Stirling*, then *Edinburgh*, but was fain to depart from both without taking

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either; however, he subdued all *Lothian*, and brought it under the King's Subjection. In the mean time, to give his wearied Mind a little Relaxation, he went to see his Lands and Possessions beyond the Mountains, where he fell sick, and died; he was buried at *Rosmark*, much lamented, and respected by all good Men. For, in those two Years and an half, whilst he sat at the Helm of Affairs, he performed such great Actions, as might seem sufficient for the whole Life of one of the greatest Generals in the World.

AFTER him, *Stuart* was made Regent, till the Return of *David* out of *France*; he being yet but young, got that Year the better of the *English* in many light Skirmishes, which were managed under the Conduct of *William Douglas*; yet not without the great Hazard and Danger of *Douglas* himself, who was often wounded: He drove the *English* out of *Teviotdale*: He took the Castle of *Hermitage* in *Lithsdale*, and surprizing great Store of Provision belonging to the Enemy at *Mulross*, he fortified that Place. He had such a sharp and obstinate Encounter with *Barclay*, that he himself, with but three in his Company, hardly escaped, and that too by the Benefit of the Night. He overthrew the Forces of *John Stirline* in a bloody Attack, yet he himself was a while after like to be taken by him; but recovering himself after a fierce Encounter, he put *Stirline* to flight, slew thirty of his Companions, and took forty of them Prisoners; he so pressed upon *William Abernethy*, by whom he had been worsted five times in one Day, that before Night he slew all his Men, and brought him Prisoner along with him. Also he had as great Success in conquering *Laurence Vaux*, a powerful Enemy. At last, he went over to King *David* in *France*, to acquaint him with the State of the *Scottish* Affairs. The next Year which was 1339, *Stuart* hoping to pursue his good Fortune, levied an Army, and divided it into four Parts, and endeavoured to reduce *Perth*; but the *English* defended it so valiantly, that he was wounded and beaten off. After the Siege had lasted three Months, *Douglas* came to their Assistance, when they almost despaired of Success; he brought with him five Pirate Ships which he hired, in which there were some Soldiers, and Engines of War. Part of the Soldiers were landed, but the rest were sent in their Ships, to keep the Mouth of the River *Tay*. *Douglas* himself went to recover the Castle of *Coupar*; which being deserted by the *English*, was seized on by the *Scots*, and *William Bullock*, an *English* Priest, who was also Treasurer, made Governor. *Douglas* agreed with him, that he should have Lands in *Scotland*, in case he would come over to his Party; he was the more easily persuaded to it, because he could expect no Aid from *England*, and he did not much confide
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in the *Scots*, who were in Garrison with him. This Man was afterwards very brave and faithful to the *Scots*, and of great Use to them.

THE Siege of *Perth* had now lasted four Months, and would have continued much longer, had not the Earl of *Ross* drained the Water out of the Trench, by Mines, and subterraneous Passages; so that by this means the Besiegers came to the very Walls, and threw the Defendants off their Works, by their Shot that came principally from the Engines, so that the *English* were forced to surrender upon Terms, to march out Bag and Baggage, whither they pleased. In a little time after, *Stirling* being besieged, was also surrendered on the same Terms; and *Maurice Murray*, the Son of *Andrew*, was made Governor of the Castle. *Baliol* was so terrified at this sudden Change of Affairs, that he left *Galway*, where he usually resided, and went for *England*. Some time after, the Castle of *Edinburgh* was taken, not by Force, but Stratagem. *Walter Curry* a Merchant, who then chanced to have a Ship laden with Provisions in the Bay or Firth of the River *Tay*, at *Dundee*, was sent for by *William Douglas* into the *Forth*: Where he and *Bullock* agreed, that *Curry* should feign himself to be an *Englishman*, and should carry two Bottles of his best Wine and some other Presents to the Governor of the Castle; desiring his Leave to sell the rest of his Provisions in the Garrison; as also to inform him, that if he or the Garrison stood in any need of his Service, he would gratify them as far as ever he was able. Upon which the Governor commanded him to bring some Hogsheads of Wine, and a certain Number of Biscuits, and promised him free Admittance whenever he came. He, truly, for fear of the *Scots*, who often made Incursions into the neighbouring Parts, promises to come betimes the next Morning.

THAT Night *Douglas*, with twelve select Men accompanying him, clothed themselves in Mariners Habit, under which they had their Arms, and thus carried Provisions into the Castle; their Men they placed in Ambush as near as might be, commanding them to wait for the Signal; *Douglas* and *Simon Fraser* went before, and commanded the other eleven to follow at a moderate Distance; when they were let into the Fort by the Porter, which was made of Beams before the Gate of the Castle, they observed, that the Keys of the Doors hung on his Arm, they therefore dispatched him and opened the Castle-gate; and then (as they had before agreed) they gave the Signal to their Companions, by blowing an Horn; by the Sound of which both they that lay in Ambush, and the Guards of the Castle were alarmed; the one understanding that their Friends, the other that their Enemies were got into it. Both Parties made all the Haste

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they could; the *Scots* cast down their Burdens in the very Passage of the Gate, lest the Doors might be shut, and keep out their Friends who could march but slowly up so steep an Ascent: Here there happened a sharp Dispute with Loss on both sides; at last the Garrison Soldiers had the worst, who were all killed except the Governor and six more.

It was this Year, or (as some say) the former, that *Alexander Ramsay* (the most experienced Soldier of all the *Scots*) made his Expedition into *England*. Men had so great an Opinion of his Skill in military Affairs, that every one was accounted but a *Fresh-water* Soldier, who had not been disciplined under him. And therefore all the young People came in to him, as the only School where the Art of War was to be learned. He having before made several successful Expeditions into the Enemy's Country, tho' but with small Forces, their Affairs being now at a low Ebb in *Scotland*, took Heart to attempt great Matters; and gathering together an handsome Army of his Tenants and Friends, he ravaged all *Northumberland*; and upon his Retreat the *English* drew out all their Troops from the Country and Garrisons, and so followed him with a very great Army. What was to be done in this Case? *Alexander* could not avoid fighting; and yet he perceived, that his Soldiers were somewhat crest-fallen, by reason of the Multitude of the Enemy. In these Circumstances he sent away his Booty before, and placing his Foot in Ambush, commanded his Horse to straggle abroad, as if they were flying; and when they were past the Place of Ambush, then to rally again at Sound of Trumpet. The *English* imagining that the Horse had fled in good Earnest, pursued them as disorderly; and when the Signal was given to come together again, in a Moment they turned back upon them; the Foot also came suddenly out of their Ambushes, which struck such a Consternation and Terror into the *English*, that they fled back faster than they pursued before. Many of them were killed, a great Number taken, and the Booty carried home safe. Amongst the Prisoners, there was the Governor of *Roxburgh*, who had drawn out almost all his Garrison to follow him; so that *Alexander* knowing the Town to be empty, attacked and easily took it at the first Onset; and when he had taken the lower Part of the Castle, the Remainders of the Garrison Soldiers fled up into a strong Tower in the Town, but being vigorously attacked, and having no Hopes of Relief, they surrendered. Some say that the Earl of *Salisbury* was there taken, and exchanged for *John Randolph*. But most Writers, whom I am rather inclined to follow, affirm, that *Salisbury* was taken Prisoner in *France* and by *French* Troops. *Randolph* going into *Annandale* took his Castle, which was seated by *Lochmaben*,
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from the *English*: And the three Governors of the Borders, *Alexander Ramsay* of the East, *William Douglas* of the middle Border, and *Randolph* of the West, drove the *English* beyond their old Bounds, which they had in the Reign of *Alexander* the Third, and left them no footing at all in *Scotland* but only *Berwick*. Some say that *Roxburgh* was taken by *Ramsay* in the Night, who set Ladders to the Walls when the Watch was asleep, in the Year 1342, the 30th Day of *March*; and the *Black Book of Paisly* says the same.

THE same Year, on the second of *July*, *David Bruce* and his Wife arrived at *Inverbervy*, nine Years after his Departure; his Coming was the more acceptable, because the Affairs of *Scotland* were then at such a low Ebb. For *Edward* having made a Truce for three Years with *Philip* King of *France* at *Tournay*, and so being freed of his *French* War, determined to invade *Scotland* with all his Force. He had then in his Army forty thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse, and he had equipped out a gallant Navy of Ships to carry Provisions for his Land Forces, that there might be no Want; they set Sail in the Month of *November*, but met with so fierce a Tempest, that after a long Distress at Sea, they were cast upon the *Belgick* and *German* Shores, and so were of no Use to him in the present War. In the mean while *Edward* and his Land Forces stayed about *Newcastle* upon *Tyne* in great Want of Provisions; Ambassadors came thither to him from *Scotland*, desiring a Pacification for four Months, which they obtained upon Condition, That if *David* came not to them before the first Day of *June*, all the Scots would become Subjects to *Edward*; but *David* hearing of the Preparations of the *English*, had set Sail before the Arrival of these Ambassadors.

AMONGST those who flocked in to congratulate the King at his Return, (as many did from all Parts of the Kingdom) there came *Alexander Ramsay*, who being eminent both for the glorious Actions of his former Life, but especially for his late and yet reaking Conquests, was received with a great deal of Favour, and had the Government of *Roxburgh* bestowed on him, and the Sheriff-wick of all *Teviotdale*. *William Douglas* took this very heinously, that *Ramsay* was preferred before him in that Honour; for as he had drove out the *English* from almost all *Teviotdale*, he had for some Years presided over the publick Assembly there, tho' without the King's Command; yet relying upon his Merits towards his Country, the Nobility of his Birth, and the Power of his Family, he hoped that no Man would have been his Competitor for that Office. Wherefore being wholly bent on Revenge, he at present dissembled his Resentment; but in three Months after he met with his Adversary, holding an Assembly

Assembly in the Church of *Hawick*, and suddenly attacked and wounded him, having also killed three of his Followers, who endeavoured to rescue him; and then set him upon an Horse, and carried him to the Castle of *Hermitage*, where he starved him to Death.

ABOUT the same time, *William Bullock*, a Man of singular Loyalty to the King, was put to the same Kind of Death by *David Barclay*. These two savage and cruel Facts filled almost the whole Kingdom with Seditions, and tore it into several Parties. These Things very much exercised the King's Patience, who was yet but young, and not accustomed to Men of rough and military Dispositions; however, he used great Diligence to find out *Douglas*, to bring him to condign Punishment; but he, by means of his Friends, (of which he had procured many by his gallant Actions for the Liberty of his Country) and especially of *Robert Stuart*, the King's Sister's Son, obtained his Pardon; and indeed the magnificent, yet true Report of his glorious Exploits, much facilitated the obtaining of it, together with the present Condition of the Time, in which there being but an uncertain Peace abroad, and Seditions at home, military Men were to be respected and had in Honour. Upon which Account, he was not only pardoned, but even preferred to the Government of *Roxburgh*, and of *Teviotdale* too; a Clemency, which perhaps in the present Circumstances of Things might be useful, but certainly of very ill Example for the future.

DAVID, having thus settled Matters at home the best he could, declares War against *England*, the greatest Part of the Nobility dissuading him from that Expedition, by reason of the great Scarcity of Provisions: However, he lifted an handsome Army, and made *John Randolph* General of it; he himself accompanied him, but in Disguise, that he might not be known to be the King. This Army having wasted *Northumberland* for about two Month's time, returned home with great Booty: Within a few Days after, he made another Inroad into the Enemy's Country; but then he did not disguise, but openly professed himself both King and General. The *English* being inferior in Strength, would not venture a set Battle, whilst their King was absent in *France*, but skirmished their Enemies with their Horse, and so kept them from plundering much by a close March. Five of the chief Nobility whom *David* had lately raised to that Honour, straggling too far from their Men, were taken Prisoners, their Followers killed or put to flight: So that *David*, to waste no more Time there in vain, returned with his Army. He made also a third Expedition with what Force he could privately levy, in order to fall upon his Enemy unawares. But entering *England* in a stormy Autumn, the small
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Brooks were so swollen with large Showers, that they made all the Country unpassable, and hindered the Carriage of Provision, so that he was forced to return home; however, that he might not seem to have taken so much Pains to no Purpose, he demolished a few Castles.

Not long after Ambassadors were sent backwards and forwards in order to obtain a Truce for two Years, which the *Scots* consented to, upon Condition, that *Philip* King of *France* gave his Consent; for that was one Article in the Treaty between the *Scots* and *French*, that neither of them should make Truce or Peace with the *English*, without the other's Consent. For those two Years *Scotland* was quiet. About the fourth Year after *David's* Return, the *French* were overcome in a great Battle, and *Calais*, a Town of the *Morini*, was besieged by them; so that *Philip* pressed the *Scots* by his Ambassadors to invade *England*, and so to draw away some of their Force from him. Hereupon an Army was commanded to meet at *Perth*. To which Place they came in great Numbers, and there *David*, Earl of *Ross* way-laying *Reginald* Lord of the *Æbudæ*, his old Enemy, fell upon him in the Night, and slew him with seven Noblemen in his Company. This Murder much weakened the Army, for the Relations and Tenants of both Parties, and the neighbouring Inhabitants fearing a Civil War between two such potent Families, returned to their own Homes. This made *William Douglas* of *Lithsdale*, earnestly desire the King to desist from his present Expedition, and to compose Matters at home. His Counsel was refused; and the King (his Friendship to *Philip* overcoming his Love to his Country) marches forward into *England*, and destroyed all as he went with Fire and Sword. In sixteen Days he came into the County of *Durham*, where the *English*, partly levied by *Piercy*, and partly sent back from the Siege of *Calais*, made a great Body, and shewed themselves to the Enemy in Order of Battle, sooner than ever the *Scots* could have imagined. *David*, who feared nothing less than the Coming of the Enemy, and therefore sent abroad *William Douglas* to forage the neighbouring Country, gave a Signal of Battle to his Soldiers. *Douglas* fell unawares amongst his Enemies, and having lost five hundred of his best Men, was put to flight, and returned in great Terror to the Camp. The end of this Battle was as unhappy as the Beginning: For the Fight being sharply begun, *John Randolph's* Men were routed at the first Onset, and he himself killed. The main Body, in which the King was, was attacked by two Brigades of the *English*; one that had been before victorious; and another that was entire, and had not yet charged, and in this Action almost all the *Scottish* Nobility were lost, as being resolved to die with their King; and the King himself

himself was taken Prisoner by *John Copland*, but not till he had wrested *Copland's* Darts out of his Hand, and struck out two of his Teeth with his Fist, tho' he himself was cruelly wounded with two Arrows. The third Wing, commanded by *Robert Stuart* and *Patrick Dunbar*, perceiving the Slaughter of their Fellow-Soldiers, withdrew themselves with little Loss. The Nobility were so destroyed in this Fight, that immediately after it, *Roxburgh*, *Hermitage*, and many other Castles were surrendered to the *English*: And the *Scots* were forced to quit their Claim to all the Lands they held in *England*, and also to *March*, *Teviotdale*, *Lithsdale*, and *Lauderdale*; and the Bounds and Borders of the *English* were enlarged to *Cockburnspath*, as they call it, and *Soltra-Hill*.

BALIO L not contented to have recovered the Possessions of his Ancestors in *Galway*, marched over *Annandale* and *Lithsdale*, and all the Country lying near the *Clyde*, and destroyed all with Fire and Sword. He also, by the Assistance of *Piercy* of *England*, made the like Havock in *Lothian*; nor could there be a sufficient Army raised against them in *Scotland* for some Years. As an Addition to this Misery, there happened also a terrible Plague, which swept away almost the third Part of the People. And yet in such an afflicted State of Things, Men did not abstain from domestick Broils. *David Barclay*, a noble Knight, who before had killed *Bullock*, was at this time also present at the Murder of *John Douglas* at *Dalkeith*. *William Douglas* of *Lithsdale* (who was taken Prisoner by the *English* at the Battle of *Durham*, and was not yet released) caused him to be cut to Pieces by his Tenants; however, after he himself was released and returned into *Scotland*, he did not long survive him: For as he was a hunting in the Wood of *Atric*, he was killed by *William Douglas*, the Son of *Archibald* lately come from *France*, in Revenge for his Murder of *Alexander Ramsay*. Nor did the Clans of the antient *Scots*, full as restless and impatient, abstain from injuring one another.

In the Midst of these Calamities, which pressed in on every side, *William Douglas* gathered together a Band of his Vassals and Tenants, and recovered *Douglas* the Patrimony of his Ancestors, having driven the *English* out of it; and afterwards, upon this little Success, Mens Minds being more inclined to him, he reduced a great Part of *Teviotdale*. In the mean time *John*, King of *France*, Heir to his Father *Philip*, both in his Kingdom and in his Wars, fearing lest the *Scots* being broken by so many Misfortunes, should quite sink under so puissant an Enemy, sent *Eugenius Garener* to them, with forty gallant Cavaliers in his Train, to desire of them to make no Peace with *England* without his Consent. He brought with him forty thousand

and *French* Crowns to press Soldiers; and besides, by large Promises, he brought over the Nobility to his Opinion. They received the Money and divided it among themselves, but levied no Soldiers, only they carried on the War by light Incursions as they were wont to do. As soon as the *English* heard of this, they almost laid all *Lothian* desolate, which had been cruelly harassed before. To revenge this Wrong, *Patrick Dunbar* and *William Douglas* gathered a good Body together as privately as they could, and placed themselves in Ambush, but sent out *William Ramsay* of *Dalhousie*, a noted and gallant Soldier, with Part of the Army to burn *Norham*, a populous Town upon the Banks of *Tweed*. When *Ramsay* had accomplished his Design, the *English* were trained on to the Ambush, where some were surprised and killed; at last, being not able to resist so great Odds, the *English* surrender themselves. This Success heartened the *Scots*, and for that Reason the same Generals uniting their Forces together, *Thomas Stuart*, Earl of *Angus*, resolves to attack *Berwick*: And to do it privately, he hired Vessels, Ladders, and other Implements used in scaling the Walls of Towns, wherever he could procure them; he acquaints *Patrick* with his Coming, meets him at the Hour appointed, and made up to the Walls with as little Noise as they could; however the Centinels saw them, whom, after a sharp Conflict, the *Scots* repulsed, and became Masters of the Town, but not without Loss on their own Side; the Castle was still kept by the *English*, which they attempted, but in vain.

WHEN the King of *England* heard how Matters went in *Scotland*, he gathered together a powerful Army, and in quick Marches hastened thither. The *Scots* hearing of his Coming, and not being provided with Materials for a long Siege; plundered and burnt the City, and so returned home; *Edward* employed all kind of Workmen and Artificers, to repair what the Flames had consumed; in the mean while he himself quartered at *Roxburgh*. *Baliol* comes to him thither, and surrenders up the Kingdom of *Scotland* to him, desiring him earnestly not to forget the Injuries offered him by the *Scots*. *Edward*, as it were in Obsequiousness to his Desires, invades *Lothian* by Land and Sea, and makes a farther Devastation of what was left after the former Ruin. He determined in that Expedition so to quell all *Scotland*, that they should never recover Strength to rebel again. But his Purpose was disappointed, by means of a most terrible Tempest, which so dispersed, shattered and tore his Ships that carried his Provisions, that very few of them ever met again in one Port; so that he was forced to return home for Want of Provisions, only he vented his Spleen upon *Edinburgh*, *Haddington*, and other Towns of *Lothian*. *Edward* and

his Army being gone for *England*, *Douglas* drove the *English* out of *Galway*; *Roger Kirkpatrick* out of *Nithsdale*; and *John Stuart*, Son of the Regent, out of *Annandale*; and thus those three Countries were recovered by the *Scots*.

ABOUT the same time, *John*, King of *France*, was overthrown by the *English* in a great Battle in *Poitou*, and he himself taken Prisoner. *Edward* having two Kings his Prisoners at once, passed the Winter merrily amongst the Congratulations of his Friends; and the *Scots* thinking that his Mind being fated with Glory, might be more inclined to Equity, they sent Ambassadors to him to treat about the Release of their King. *Bruce*, that the *Scots* might have easy Access to him, was sent to *Berwick*; but, inasmuch as they could not agree about the Conditions, he was carried back to *London*. Not long after the Pope's Legates were sent, who took great Pains to make a Peace between the *English* and *French*; they also transacted the same for *Scotland*, upon the Promise of the Payment of an hundred (as our Writers say, or as *Froissard*, of five hundred) thousand Merks of *English* Money to the *English*; Part of which was to be paid in hand, the rest by Parcels. To make up that Sum, the Pope gave the Tenths of all Benefices for three Years; in the meantime a Truce was made, and many young Nobles given for Hostages, who died almost all in *England* of the Plague.

HEREUPON *David* returned the eleventh Year after he was taken Prisoner. The first Thing he did was to punish those who had been the forwardest to fly in the Battle of *Durham*. From *Patrick Dunbar* he took away a great Part of his Lands; he cut off all Hopes from *Robert Stuart*, his eldest Sister's Son, of succeeding in the Kingdom, and substituted *Alexander*, Son of the Earl of *Sutherland*, by his second Sister, and made the Nobility swear Fealty to him. This young Man's Father distributed large and fruitful Lands amongst the Nobility, to engage them more firmly to his Son. But, *Alexander* dying soon after, he was reconciled to *Robert Stuart*; and in a full Assembly of the Estates, he was by a general Suffrage named Heir presumptive of the Crown. But this was done some Years after.

THE King past the next five Years in appeasing the Discords at home, in which time there happened two great Calamities: One reached but to a few, by an Inundation of Water; for there were such great Rains, that *Lothian* seemed to be all in a Flood; and the Force of the Water was such, that it carried away Bridges, Water-mills, Country-houses, with their Owners and Cattle, into the Sea; it rooted up Trees, and almost quite destroyed the Towns which stood near the Banks of Rivers. This Misery was seconded by another, a terrible Pestilence, which consumed many of all Ranks and Ages.

IN the Year 1363, the State of Things grew calmer, and then, in the Assembly of the Estates, the King propounded to the *Lords of the Articles*, That the King of England, or else his Son, might be sent for into Scotland, to succeed him in the Kingdom if he should chance to die. This he did, either being quite wearied of War, or foreseeing that it would be for the Good of both Kingdoms; or, (as others think), because of his Oath which the *English* had made him swear; but his Speech was so unacceptable and offensive to them all, that before every one's Vote could be asked in order, they all confusedly cried out upon it as an abominable Proposition; and it was almost come to that, that they who had most freely spoken against it, fearing his Displeasure, were meditating a Revolt. But he understanding their Fears, abated his Anger, and received them into Favour. When he had quieted all Things elsewhere, the *Highlanders* continued still in Arms, and did not only commit Outrages upon one another, but also made Havock of the adjacent Countries. The King tried all probable Means to bring them to a mutual Concord; but being not able to do it, his next Design was to suborn some crafty Fellows, to foment and heighten their Diffensions; that so when the fiercest of them had destroyed one another, the rest might become more tractable and pliant. The King having performed these Exploits, both at home and abroad, departed this Life in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, on the seventh Day of *May*, in the forty seventh Year of his Age, about the thirty ninth of his Reign, and of our Lord 1370.

HE was certainly a Man eminent in all kind of Virtue; but especially in Justice and Clemency; and though he had been exercised with good and bad Events alternately, yet still his Fortune seemed rather to fail him than his Industry.

ROBERT II. the hundredth King.

AFTER *David's* Decease the Nobles met together at *Linlithgow*, to congratulate *Robert* at the Beginning of his Reign, who had before been designed King by his Uncle; but here the Ambition of *William Douglas* had almost thrown Things into a Sedition and Uproar. For he demanded the Kingdom as his hereditary Right, because he was descended from *Baliol* and the *Cumins*. But finding that his Suit was unacceptable to them all, and especially to his most intimate Friends, the two Brothers, *George* and *John Dunbars*, of which one was Earl of *March*, and the other, of *Murray*; as also to *Robert Erskine*, Governor of the three well fortified Castles of *Dunbarton*, *Stirling* and *Edinburgh*, he desisted, and promised to obey *Robert* as his

liege King; and the King, to oblige him in a more strict Bond of Friendship, espoused his Daughter to Earl *William's* Son.

THIS Year the Truce made for fourteen Years was broken by the *English*. There was a great Fair usually kept on the eleventh of *August*, to which Place vast Numbers of both Nations, even from the remotest Parts, used to resort; thither came the Inhabitants of *March*, and it happened, that one of *George Dunbar's* intimate Friends was killed. *George*, according to the Law which was observed among the Borderers, sent *Heralds* to demand the Murderers to be given up to him, or else that they would punish them themselves; but perceiving that *Favour did outvy Equity*, he dissembles the Affront, and against the next Day appointed for the Fair, secretly prepared a Band of Men, and setting upon the Town unexpectedly, he slew all the young People, burnt the Houses, and returned home with a great Booty. The *English*, to revenge this Injury, with like Cruelty ravaged all the Lands of *John Gordon*, a noble Knight; and not long after, *Gordon* entered *England*, and brought away a great Booty both of Men and Cattle; but as he was returning home, *John Lilburn* met him with a far greater Force: A terrible Fight then began between them, and *Victory* seemed a long time to flutter over both Parties with doubtful Wings; but at last she inclined to the *Scots*. The Commander of the *English* Forces was taken Prisoner, with many of his Allies and Tenants.

HENRY PIERCY, Earl of *Northumberland*, a Man of a great Spirit, being then Lord Warden, or Governor of the Eastern Marches or Borders, resented this Injury to his Countrymen; and immediately gathered together a Body of above seven thousand Men, and encamped at a Village called *Duns*, remarkable for being the Birth-place of *John Scotus*, surnamed *Subtilis*, rather than for any thing else. There the Countrymen and Shepherds gathered themselves together, having no other Arms, but such Rattles with which they used to frighten the Deer and Cattle which feed there up and down, without any Keeper; and by Night placed themselves on some Risings of the *Lamormore* Hills, which were near to the said Village of *Duns*. The Form of the Rattle is this; on the Top of a long Spear or Pole, they fasten some Ribs of Wood, bent into a Semicircle; all over them they stretch a Skin after the same Form as the Lanterns, which the common People of *Paris* call *Falots*, are made; in this Skin they put small Stones, but very hard ones, which when they are stirred, and tumbled up and down, make such a rattling Noise, as drives away the Beasts and Cattle from the Corn. With these rattling Instruments they made a mighty Noise on the Hills hanging over *Duns*, at which
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the *English* Horses were so affrighted, that they broke the Head-stalls they were tied with, and ran up and down the Fields, and so were taken by the Countrymen: And in the whole Army there was such a tumultuous Bustle, that they cried out *Arm, Arm*; and thinking the Enemy had been at their Heels, they passed that Night without Sleep. But, in the Morning, perceiving their Mistake, and having lost many of their Baggage-horses, as well as those for Service, they retreated six Miles (for that Place is so far distant from *England*) on Foot, like Men routed and flying, leaving their Baggage behind them.

THE same Day that *Piercy* retired back from *Duns*, *Thomas Musgrave*, Governor of *Berwick*, came out of his Garrison with some Troops, to join *Piercy*; *John Gordon* had notice of his March, and laid an Ambush for him, into which he fell; and imagining his Enemy to be more numerous than he was, began to fly, but was taken with his Party in the Pursuit, and brought back again. In the Western Borders, *John Johnston* so managed it, that he got both Honour and Booty too; for he so exercised his neighbouring Foes with small, but frequent Incursions, that he did them as much Mischief as a great Army would have done.

THUS all Things succeeded prosperously with *Robert*, for the first two Years of his Reign; but in his third Year, *Euphemia*, Daughter to *Hugh*, Earl of *Ross*, died. The King had three Children by her; *Walter*, afterwards made Earl of *Strathearn*; *David*, Earl of *Athol*; and *Euphemia*, whom *James Douglas* married, as I said before. *Robert*, not so much for the Impatience of his unmarried State, as for the Love of his Children which he had before by *Elizabeth More*, made her his Wife. This Woman was exceeding beautiful, the Daughter of *Adam More*, a noble Knight; the King fell in love with her when he was young, and had three Sons and two Daughters by her, and gave her in Marriage to one *Gifard*, a Nobleman in *Lothian*. It happened that *Euphemia* the Queen, and *Gifard*, *Elizabeth's* Husband, died about one and the same Time. Upon which the King, either induced by the old Familiarity he had with her, or else (as many Writers report) to legitimate the Children she had by him, married her, and presently advanced her Sons to Riches and Honour. *John* the eldest Son was made Earl of *Carrick*; *Robert*, of *Monteith*, and *Alexander*, of *Buchan*, to which *Badenoch* was adjoined. Neither was he content with this Munificence, but he prevailed upon the Assembly of Estates, met at *Scone*, to set by the Children of *Euphemia*, and to observe the Order of Age, in making his Son King after him; which

which Matter was in Aftertimes almost the utter Ruin of that numerous Family.

DURING the next two Years, there was neither certain Peace nor open War, but light Incurfions, or rather Plunderings on both fides: In the mean time, *Edward III.* died, and *Richard II.* his Grandchild by his Son *Edward*, born at *Bourdeaux*, fucceeded him, being eleven Years of Age; at which Time Ambassadors were fent by *Charles V.* King of *France*, into *Scotland*. The Cause of their Embaffy was, to renew the antient League with *Robert*, and to defire him to invade *England* with an Army, and fo take off the Strefs of the War from *France*. In the mean time, whilst they were treating with the Affembly, *Alexander Ramsay* (as the *English* Writers report, out of *Frofsard*) attended with forty young Men, in the Middle of the Night, when the Centinels were afleep, took the Castle of *Berwick*; all that were in it being either killed, or made Prifoners. The Townfmen, being amazed at this fudden Surprize, fent for *Piercy*, who came and laid Siege to the Castle with ten thousand Men. When the News of this Action was brought to the Affembly of the Eftates at *Scone*, *Archibald Douglas*, being concerned for the Danger his Kinfman was in, took with him a flying Body of five hundred Horfe only, and haftened thither; but all Paffages to the Befieged were cut off and ftopped, fo that he was forced to return again, without any Action. And the Castle, after a valiant Defence for fome Days, was at laft taken by Storm, and all put to the Sword, except *Alexander* alone: Thus the *English*; but our Writers fay, that the Castle was taken by the Help of fix Country People of *March*, who, not being able to keep it, were obliged to deferit it. Not long after the Affembly, *William*, the firft Earl of *Douglas*, gathered together an Army of twenty thousand Men, and entered *England*, and coming fuddenly to a Town called *Penrith*, on a fair Day, he took, plundered, and burnt it, and then fe curely marched his Army back again laden with much Spoil and Booty; but withal, he brought the Peftilence home with him, which was greater than any before, fo that it raged over all *Scotland* for the Space of two Years.

THE *English*, to be even with the *Scots*, paffed over the *Solway*, and entered *Scotland*: *Talbot* a fierce General, commanded them, being fifteen thousand Men, with which Number he made a terrible Havock and Devaftation far and near; and as his Army was turning back laden with Spoil, he pitched his Tents in a narrow Valley, not far from the Borders of *England*; in thofe Streights by night, whilst they thought themfelves fe cure, about five hundred *Scots* came upon them, being unprovided, and moft of them without their Arms; and at the
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first Assault they killed all who were in their Way; so that the Tumult and Fear diffusing itself, they were entirely put to flight; many were killed upon the Spot, two hundred and fifty taken Prisoners, and a great Number, in such a sudden Consternation, taking the River, were drowned; the rest left their Prey behind them, and ran home the nearest Way they could.

IN the mean time, the *English* carried on a strong War, both by Sea and Land, against the *French*; but as Part of their Forces were sent into *Portugal*, it was resolved by the Parliament, That *John*, Duke of *Lancaster*, the King's Uncle, should be sent Ambassador into *Scotland*, to treat about a Peace; to the end, that being engaged in so many Wars, they might have Quiet on that Side at least, which lay most exposed and open. The *Scots* being made acquainted with his Coming by an Herald, appointed *William*, Earl of *Douglas*, and *John Dunbar*, Earl of *Murray*, to treat with him; a Truce was made for three Years. But whilst they were treating about a Peace there, a dreadful civil War broke out in *England*. The first Author of it is said to be one *John Ball*, a Priest: He, perceiving that the Commonalty was enraged, because Poll-money of four *English* Pence a Head was laid on them, first of all secretly, and in private Confessions, Discourses and Meetings, inflamed the Minds of the Commons against the Nobility; and perceiving that his Discourse was well accepted, he talked more openly: Besides this new Occasion, there was also another of older Date, viz. that the greatest Part of the Commons were made little better than Slaves to the Lords. A great many Tradesmen and Day-labourers came in to them, and others also, who, in Estate or Credit, had nothing to lose; insomuch that they raised so great a Tumult and Combustion, that the whole Frame of the Government seemed to be very much in Danger. These Things were known at the Meeting of the Ambassadors; yet both of them dissembled the Matter till they had treated, and concluded what they came about. Then *Douglas* told *John* of *Lancaster* that he knew, from the Beginning, in what State the Affairs of *England* stood, but they were so far from laying hold on the Opportunity, either to make War, or to hinder a good Peace, that they offered him, even then, to stay securely in *Scotland*, till the Tumults of *England* were appeased; or, if he would return, that he should have five hundred *Scots* Horse for his Convoy. *Lancaster* gave them great Thanks, yet he hoped at present, that he had no need to accept of either of the Conditions. But, as he was returning home, the Governor of *Berwick* shut him out of the Town, so that he, upon the publick Faith given, returned into *Scotland*, and there kept himself, till the Se-

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dition of the Commons was quelled in *England*. When the three Years Truce was ended, in the Year 1384, in the Month of *January*, *Archibald Douglas* of *Galway*; with the Assistance of *William*, Earl of *Douglas*, and *George*, Earl of *March*, laid Siege to the Castle of *Lochmaben*, situate near a Lake of the same Name; and from whence daily Inroads were made upon the neighbouring Country. The Governor of the Castle, being struck with this sudden Misfortune, articted with the Enemy; *That unless he were relieved in eight Days, he would surrender the Castle*; whereupon, after the Scots had endured great Hardship, by reason of the Winter-storms, and continual Showers, the Castle was surrendered according to Covenant, on the ninth Day after Summons, which was the fourth of *February*. They who lived near *Roxburgh*, fearing lest that Castle might be also taken, took care that one *Graftock*, a noble and wealthy Person, and much famed for his warlike Skill, should be made Governor of it; whereupon, as he was sending in great Provisions thither, and also all his own Household-goods, imagining, that they could nowhere be better kept from his Enemy's Use, or secured for his own; *Dunbar*, being informed by his Spies of the Day of his March, and the Way he was to go, laid his Ambushes in convenient Places, and so suddenly attacked a long confused Train, made up of Soldiers, Waggoners, and a promiscuous Multitude, that without any fighting he took the Booty, and the Owner of it too, and presently retreated back. The *English*, in revenge of their Losses, and to prevent future Incurfions by some memorable Exploit, send *Lancaster* into *Scotland* with great Forces, both by Sea and Land. *Lancaster* himself came through *March* and *Lothian* as far as *Edinburgh*: His Fleet was sent to lay waste the maritime Parts of *Fife*.

THE Soldiers were desirous to burn down *Edinburgh*; but the General remembering that but a few Years before, he had been kindly and hospitably entertained there, when he was excluded by his own People, absolutely forbad them. But his Sea Forces shewed not the same Civility; for entering into the Isle of *Inch-corm*, they plundered a Monastery of Monks, and burnt it; using the like Cruelty in all Places where they landed, till *Nicholas* and *Thomas Erskines*, *Alexander Lindsay*, and *William Cuninghame* met them, killed many, took some, and forced the rest to fly in such Fear to their Ships, that besides the other Loss received by their hasty Flight, they suffered forty of their own Men, hanging upon one of their own Ships Ropes, after the Rope was cut, to be drowned before their Eyes. *Lancaster* was scarce returned home, before *William Douglas* trod almost on his Heels, partly sacking, partly demolishing.

molishing all the Castles which the *English* held in *Scotland* after the Battle of *Durham*. He reduced all *Teviotdale*, except *Roxburgh*, to the *Scots* Obedience; and restrained Robberies, which the Licentiousness of the Wars had multiplied and encouraged; and he himself did not long outlive these noble Actions, but died of a Fever in the Castle of *Douglas*. His Son *William Douglas* succeeded him; one every way worthy of so great and virtuous a Father.

IN the mean time, when a Truce for a Year was made between the *French*, *English*, and *Scots*, near *Boulogne*, in the Low Countries; the *French*, who were obliged to give the *Scots* notice of it, had neglected so to do: the *English* Nobility, who bordered upon *Scotland*, thinking now they had a fit Opportunity to give their Enemy some notable and unexpected Overthrow, and not leave them any time for Revenge; they, before the Truce was published, gathered together ten thousand Horse, and six thousand Archers; and entering *Scotland*, under the Command of the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Nottingham*, made a terrible Havock of the Country, especially on the Lands of the *Douglasses* and *Lindsays*. The *Scots*, who, upon the Rumour of a Truce, had laid aside all Thoughts of War, were exceedingly offended, both at their own Negligence, and at the Perfidiousness of the Enemy, and resolved upon Revenge, as soon as they could. In the mean time, the Noise of the *English* Invasion of *Scotland* alarmed the *French*, who were to give notice of the Truce, and put them in mind of their Non-performance. They, endeavouring by a late Forwardness, to make amends for their former Omission, came to *London*, even in the very Height of the Invasion, where they were nobly treated, and detained so long by kind and friendly Invitations, till it was known that the *English* were returned out of the Enemy's Country: Then they were dismissed, and came into *Scotland*, where they declared their Message, as they were commanded. Whereupon, almost all the Nobility, especially those who had felt the Loss sustained by the late Inroad, murmured and cried out, *That this foul Dealing of the English was not to be endured*. The King in vain endeavoured to pacify them, for he was willing to observe the Truce; but they so long debated on, and delayed the Matter, till their Friends had privately levied almost fifteen thousand Horse; and then, on a Day appointed, *Douglas*, *Lindsay* and *Dunbar*, went privately from Court, and joining their Countrymen, invaded *England* with a powerful Army: They wasted *Northumberland* as far as *Newcastle*, and returning through the Lands of the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the *Moubrays*, they destroyed all, by Fire and Sword, that they could not carry away. Then they returned home

with a great Booty, and many Prisoners, and presently caused the Truce to be proclaimed.

ABOUT the End of the Truce, in the Year 1385, Monsieur *John de Vienne*, Admiral of the *French* Navy, was sent over by the King of *France*, with about two thousand Auxiliaries, of which an hundred were Cuirassiers, armed *Cap-a-pee*, and two hundred which flung Darts out of Engines, since called *Cross-bows*; the rest were Foot of a promiscuous kind: They brought with them Money for six Months Pay, besides many Gifts and Presents; and amongst the rest, four hundred Suits of compleat Armour, to be divided among the bravest Men. Having first waited on the King, he and *James Douglas* entered *Northumberland*; and, having demolished three Castles, they would have proceeded farther, but so much Rain fell that Autumn, that they were forced to return. Besides, they heard a Report that *Richard II.* of *England* was coming against them, which hastened their Retreat. His Anger was more inflamed now against the *Scots* than ever; because they had not only made a dreadful War upon his Kingdom themselves, but had also sent for Foreigners to their Aid; and that in such a Juncture of Time, when the *French* themselves designed also to land a vast Army in *England*; whereupon he gathered a very powerful Army together, consisting, as the *English* Writers say, of sixty thousand Foot, and eight thousand Horse; with this Force he resolved to humble the *Scots*, that they should not, in many Years after, be able to levy any considerable Army. Besides this, he fitted out a great Navy, which were to bring Provisions into the *Forth*. For he knew that Part of *Scotland*, where he was to make his Descent, had been exhausted for many Years by continual Wars: And, if any Provisions were left in it, that the Inhabitants would convey them away into the neighbouring, or other remote Places. As to the *French*, he was secure of them, for he knew that they would not put to Sea in a stormy Winter. With those Forces he entered *Scotland*, spared no Place, neither sacred nor profane; nor any Age, nor Degrees of Men, if they were capable to bear Arms. In the mean time, Monsieur *Vienne*, being more mindful of his King's Commands to him at his parting from him, than of the present Posture of Affairs in *Scotland*, was earnest with *Douglas* to come to a Battle. He still answered him, that the *Scots* forbore to engage, not out of any Disaffection to the *French*, but only as being conscious of their own Weakness; and thereupon he took him up into an high Place, from whence he might safely take a View of the Enemy: He then perceiving the long Train of the *English* in their March, soon altered his Sentiments. Upon which they both concluded, that, in the present Circum-

Circumstances, the best and only Way for them to incommode the Enemy, was to gather together what Force they could, and so to invade *England*. Thereupon they entered far from the *English* Army into *Cumberland*, and made a great Havock, both there and in the neighbouring Counties. The *English*, Winter being now at hand, and the Country of *Lothian* being spoiled by the War, (for they durst not go far from their Ships, lest Provisions should fail them), consulted about their Return: Some were of Opinion, that it was best to follow the *Scots* in the Rear, and, in their Return, to compel them to fight, whether they would or no. But those who knew the Ways better, through which they were to march, replied on the contrary, that there would be great Difficulty in passing over such Marshes and Mountains, and sometimes narrow Places, wherein there was so much Want of every thing, that a very few light armed Men could scarce carry Provisions enough with them, though but for a few Days; and besides, if they should overcome those Difficulties, yet the next Country which was to receive them, was not overfruitful of itself; and that it had likewise been wasted by the War. Again, if they should wade through all those Inconveniencies, yet they had to do with a nimble and shifting Enemy, whom it would be more difficult to find, and to bring to a Battle, than to overcome; and, if they could find him out, yet he would not be compelled to fight, but in his own Places of Advantage. That *Edward III.* King *Richard's* Grandfather, had Experience of this, to the great Detriment of his own, and little Inconvenience of the *Scots* Army. Upon hearing of this, as reflecting on what Miseries they might suffer in an Enemy's Country, in a cold Winter, and, in the mean time, leave their Wives, Children, and what else was dear to them, comfortless at home; they changed their Minds, and marched back directly the same Way they came. Thus both Armies had a free Time of plundering in their Enemy's Country; and each of them returned home again, without seeing any Enemy.

THE *Scots* well knowing that the *English* could not attempt another Expedition till the next Summer, resolved to attack *Roxburgh*, a neighbouring Town, and the Garrison there, which very much annoyed the Country thereabout. When they were come thither, a Dissension arose between the *Scots* and the *French* about the Town, even before it was taken. The *French* alledging, that seeing, by a large Experience in Wars at home, they were more skilled in the Methods of taking Towns, than the *Scots*; and besides, that they had expended a great deal of Money in this War: They therefore thought it but just, that if the Town were taken, it should be theirs, and remain under

the Jurisdiction of *France*. On the contrary the *Scots* urged, that it was very unjust that Auxiliaries should reap the Reward and Benefit of the whole War; and for what Expences they had been at, it had been laid out rather for themselves than the *Scots*, it being in order to distract and divide the Forces of *England*, and so to avert Part of the War from *France*; and if the friendly Offices on both sides were put in the Balance, the *Scots* might, upon juster Grounds, demand the Charge of the whole War of the *French*, than the *French* could challenge any Reward for their Assistance, especially such a Reward, as no History in the Memory of Man doth relate, either to have been demanded, or given by Allies one to another: Nay, the Unjustness of their Demand appeared by this, that the *Scots* might have sat still in Peace, without being prejudiced by the *English*; and so might have been Spectators only of the Wars betwixt two potent Kings; but the *French* could not have obtained the same Quiet, unless they would have yielded up a good Part of their Country. Neither could they see of what Use that Town would be to the *French* if they had it, except only to be as a Bridle; that so the Arbitriment of War or Peace might be at their Disposal; and if that were their Intent, it were more for the Profit, and for the Credit too, of the Kings of *Scotland*, to be quiet without the Town, than on a trivial Occasion to give up themselves to a voluntary Service: But if, by so unjust a Request, they thought to excuse their Return home, which they, sometime before, attempted, there was no need at all of such a *Blind*, for as they freely came, so they had Liberty, always at their Pleasure, freely to depart; neither was it adviseable in the *Scots* to stay them, in regard they might easily foresee, their Service would be but small, if they were detained against their Wills.

HEREUPON they departed from *Roxburgh* without attacking it; and whereas there had been grievous Complaints on both sides before; so (if Matters should still continue at that Pass) open Enmity seemed likely to arise. The Original of the Diffension grew from the different Custom and Carriage of either Nation, in the Management of War. For the *Scots* and *English* pay honestly for what they have at their Quarters, and carry it amongst their Countrymen as modestly and regularly in War as in Peace. But the *French* quite otherwise; where-ever they march, *all's their own*, as if they had publick Permission to rob and spoil; for they, having been accustomed to this kind of Life, think they may lawfully do that which Custom hath inured them always to do heretofore. And therefore before this, there had often Quarrels, and sometimes Blows, happened between the *Scots* and *French*; these endeavouring to practise
their

their wonted Rapacity, and the *other* not submitting to such an accustomed Servility; so that as *one* snatch'd away what was none of his, the *other* laboured to defend his own. After this Disgust and Alienation of Minds at *Roxburgh*, the *French* Commissaries used greater Licentiousness than ever, in gathering Provisions, as intending shortly to depart; and the Countrymen disdaining to be made a Prey to a few Men, and those Strangers too, many Times took away their Baggage and their Horses; and the Officers and straggling Soldiers sent out to forage, were sometimes wounded, sometimes killed outright. When Complaints hereof were brought to the Council, the Countrymen answered with one Consent, *That they were treated more coarsely, and robbed by the French, who called themselves Friends, than by the English their professed Enemies; and therefore they resolved, that they should not depart the Land, till they had made them Recompence for their Losses;* neither could this obstinate Humour of theirs be stopped by the *Douglasses*, though they were the most popular Men of that Age. Hereupon the Army was sent back, but the General was detained till full Payment was made. The *French* set sail the first of *November*; the *Scots*, either tired with the military Toil of the last Year, or satiated with the Spoils of so many prosperous Expeditions, sat still all that Winter. But the next Spring *William Douglas*, the Son of *Archibald* Earl of *Galway*, sailed over into *Ireland*, both to revenge at present the often Descents of the *Irish* upon the Coasts of *Galway*, and also to restrain them for the future.

THIS *William* was a young Man of the greatest Qualifications, both in Mind and Body, amongst all the *Scots*. He was of great Stature, and had Strength accordingly; and his Stature was accompanied with a graceful Dignity of Presence, (which seldom happens in Bodies of that Bulk) and his Success in War very much recommended him; for very often with a small Number he would attack a greater Body of his Enemies, and come off a Conqueror; neither was he ever employed in any Expedition, but he gave evident Proofs of his Valour. These Excellencies, which, in some, are Matter of Envy, yet in him, by reason of his Affability, Complaisance and courteous Modesty, were acceptable to all. And, upon the account of those Virtues, though the King knew him to be base-born, yet he bestowed his Daughter *Ægidia* upon him in Marriage, a Woman of the greatest Beauty in those Times; and one who had been courted by many of the young Nobility of the Court. With her he gave *Nithsdale*, the next Country to *Galway*, as a Dowry.

He landed his Men at *Carlingford*, a rich Town in that Country, and the Suddenness of the Invasion struck such Terror

ror into the Townsmen, that they presently sent out to him to treat about Conditions of Surrender. *Douglas* entertained them courteously, and, in the mean time, as secure of the Enemy, he sent out *Robert Stuart*, Laird of *Disdeir*, with 200 Soldiers to bring in Provisions into his Ships. The Townsmen having gotten this Time for Consultation, sent for Aid from *Dundalk*. Five hundred Horse were sent, with which Addition they divided themselves into two Bodies, and so drew forth against their Enemy; for, because they were so much increased in Number, they thought presently to put them all to the Sword, and so to become Masters of their Ships too. But both their Bodies were routed, the Town taken, plundered and burnt; fifteen Ships which rode in the Harbour, were laden with the Spoils of the City; and in his Return home, he plundered the *Isle of Man* by the Way, and so arrived at *Loch-Rian*, which divides Part of *Galway* from *Carrick*. In this Place *Douglas* heard, that his Father was gone in an Expedition against *England*; whereupon he hastened after him as fast as he could. That Expedition was undertaken chiefly upon this Ground; *Richard of England*, having entered *Scotland* the Year before, and spared nothing, either sacred or profane, at his Return home met with a domestick Sedition, which had changed the State of his whole Kingdom. To heal this Mischief, he transferred the Government of the Counties, and the Management of lesser Matters, (as is usually done in such Cases) from one to another; and by this means the Fire of Hatred was not so much quenched as covered in the Ashes, and likely soon after to break out again: But, on the contrary, *Scotland* enjoyed a great, but yet uncertain Tranquillity. For it was full of young Soldiers fit for War, and as fruitful and well stored with good Officers as ever before. So that the Nobility were desirous of a War, and in all their Assemblies and Meetings, they still muttered, that so gallant an Opportunity to be revenged on the *English* for their old Injuries was not to be neglected, and that the *English* would never have omitted it in reference to *Scotland*, if the Affairs there had been in the like Confusion.

BUT King *Robert* being a Man of a quiet Disposition; and besides, by reason of his growing and unwieldy Age, not so forward for War, seemed not to be sufficiently concerned at the publick Injuries: And his eldest Son *John* was naturally slow, and besides, lame with the Stroke of an Horse, so that he was not well able to endure the Hardships of a Camp. And therefore the Nobles made their Addresses to *Robert* the next Son, Earl of *Fife*; to whom they complained of the deplorable State of the Publick, and they all presently concluded, that the Wrong lately received was to be revenged, and therein every one

one promised his chearful Assistance; so that it was agreed, that a Levy of Soldiers should be made against the fifth Day of *August* next, but so secret, that neither King, either *Scots* or *English*, should know of it.

BUT the *English* were quickly advertised by their Spies, of the Time and Place of Meeting; so that they resolved to prevent their Enemy with the like secret Management. For the Lords advised the rest, with all their Followers, to be in a Readiness, not at any one Day, but whenever there was need, that they might draw to their Colours. Matters being thus resolved on, when they heard that the *Scots*, to the Number of 30000, or as *Froffard* will have it, of 40000, were met together in *Teviotdale*, not far from the Borders; they resolved farther, that (seeing they were not able to encounter such great Numbers) they would attempt nothing before the Coming of the Enemy upon them. And, in the mean time, to conceal their Intent the better, every Man was to stay at his own home, till they saw upon what Country so great a Storm would fall; and then, according to the Enemy's Motion, they would steer their Course, and (as the *Scots* had done the Autumn before in Reference to *England*) so now they would enter into *Scotland* another Way, and repay Loss for Loss.

IN the mean time they sent a Spy to inform themselves fully of the Enemy's Advance, who was now near them; for they counted it highly conducive to their Affairs, to know not only the Design, but even the very last Words, Resolves, and Actions of their Enemies. He that was sent differed nothing in Speech, Habit or Armour from the rest, and so was easily taken for a *Scotchman*. So that having found out every Thing which he desired to know, he was going to a Tree, where he had tied his Horse, to fetch him, and so to be gone; but he found that some Body had stolen and carried him away before; so that he was forced in his Boots, Spurs and Riding-suit, to take his Journey on Foot. Hereupon the Matter began to be suspected, and when he was gone a great Way, some Horsemen were sent after to bring him back as a Deserter; when they came up to him, and demanded who, or what he was, and why he went from his Colours in that Manner; he not being able to give a ready Answer, they brought him back to the chief Officers of the Army, to whom, for Fear of a greater Punishment, he discovered all the Designs of the *English*. When the *Scots* heard this, they also changed the Order of their Designs, they divided their Army so, that the greatest Part of it should march toward *Carlisle*, and that the King's two Sons, the Earls of *Fife* and *Strathern*, should command it; to whom were joined *Archibald Douglas* of *Galway*, and the Earls of
Mar

Mar and *Sutherland*. The other Part was to enter *Northumberland* under the Command of *James Douglas*, and the two Brethren, *Dunbars*, *George* and *John*; the one Earl of *Murray*, the other, of *March*. Their Party consisted of 300 Horse and 2000 Foot, besides Servants and Attendants on the Horse; for every Horseman hath at least one Servant, who, being lightly armed, can run almost as fast as a Horse, and when Occasion is offered, can encounter an Enemy.

WHEN their Forces were thus divided, they who marched towards *Cumberland* and *Carlisle* carried all before them, by reason of their numerous Army, and met with no Enemy at all. But *Douglas*, in the Devastations which he made in the other Circuit, had not the same Fortune; for he had so ordered the Course of his Expedition, as to take great, and yet secret Marches; and so passing over *Tyne* to penetrate beyond *Durham*, before he gave his Army Leave to spoil and plunder. This he did with such Secrecy and Speed, that the *English* did not know where their Enemies were, but by the Smoak of the Fires they had made. *Piercy* the elder was the greatest Man in *Northumberland* and the adjacent Counties, both for Wealth and Power. When the News was brought to him, he sends two of his Sons, *Henry* and *Ralph*, very active young Men, before to *Newcastle*, commanding the rest to follow them thither. His Intent was to intercept the *Scots* in their Return home. But they, having spoiled the wealthy County of *Durham*, returned home with a great Prey, and repassed the *Tyne* about three Miles above *Newcastle*. There the Commanders, being nobly descended in their own Country, as desirous of Glory; and besides, elevated with their present Success, thought it an inglorious Thing to strike Terror only into Rusticks and Plebeians, if they did not also affright Cities; whereupon they marched to *Newcastle*, and threatening to besiege it, they endeavoured by Contumelies and big Words to draw out the Enemy.

When they had staid there two Days, and some light Skirmishes, with various Success, had passed between them; there was one Combat, which, towards the Evening of the last Day, attracted the Eyes of all the Spectators: And that was a Duel between the two Generals; for they being in a Manner equally matched in respect of Birth, Power, Age, and Courage, had a mind to encounter each other in the Sight of both Armies. Hereupon a Challenge was sent, and they, both *James Douglas* and *Henry Piercy*, entered the Lifts, and ran at one another with their Spears. *Piercy* was unhorsed at the first Encounter, and *Douglas* got his Spear, but he could not touch his Person, because the *English* came in to his Assistance; he shook the Spear, and cried out aloud, so as he might be easily heard,

That

That he would carry that as a Trophy into Scotland. The Combat being ended, the *Scots* kept very diligent Watch, in regard they were near a City well peopled, and full of Enemies. The Day after they retired towards *Scotland*, but very slowly, as being laden with Booty. As their Prey moved leisurely on, they themselves attacked a neighbouring Castle of the Enemy's, took and demolished it; and from thence they marched to *Otterburn*, about eight Miles distant from *Newcastle*. There they took Counsel concerning the rest of their March. The major Part were of opinion to march towards *Carlisle* to meet the other Army, and so not to fight singly (as was at first agreed), but to wait the Conjunction of both Armies. But *Douglas* had a mind to stay two or three Days in that Place, that he might make a real Confutation of the Vaunts of *Piercy*, who had boasted, *That they should never carry his Lance into Scotland.* In the mean time, that they might not be idle, they would attack the neighbouring Castle. This Opinion, though it was judged by many none of the best, yet for *Douglas's* sake they all submitted to it. And therefore they fortified their Camp for the present Occasion, which on one Side was sufficiently guarded by Marshes, and then proceeded to besiege the Castle. But *Piercy*, being of a fierce nature, that he might blot out the Ignominy he had received, would have followed them presently upon their Retreat, with those Forces which he had about him; but the graver sort detained him, for Fear of an Ambush; for they did not think it probable, that so small a Number of *Scots* would have appeared before so strong a Town; unless they had more Forces near at hand, hid in some secret Place. That Day and the next, they were busy in making Discoveries; but finding that there was no Danger of the greater Army, as being far distant from *Douglas's* Party, *Piercy* immediately, with ten thousand fighting Men, put himself upon the March, without staying for the Bishop of *Durham*, who, that very Night, was expected with some Forces; for he thought he had Force enough to overcome his Enemies, who were not half so numerous. When the *English* came in Sight, some of the *Scots* were at Supper; others being wearied at the Leaguer of the Castle, had composed themselves to Rest; but presently an Alarm-word was given, *To your Arms!* Whilst the rest were arming themselves, the major Part of the Foot, and many of the Horse-men's Servants, making use of that slender Fortification they had, bore the Brunt of the *English* Assault. But the Horse had a great Advantage, in that they were sensible of the Thing before; for disputing among themselves how they should entertain the Enemy when he assaulted them, (for an Assault they expected) they saw that a neighbouring Hill would be of great Use

Use to them. This therefore they encompassed, and whilst the *English* were attacking the Passage into the Camp, they fell upon their left Flank, and made a great Slaughter, but a greater Noise: Yet the *English*, having Men enough, brought up their Reserves, and quickly made good their Ranks again; however, that Disorder did this good to the *Scots*, that the Fight before the Camp was managed more remisly, so that they had Liberty to draw out, and range their Army in order of Battle.

WHILST these Things were doing, the Night drew on, but it was a short one, as it useth to be in *July*, in the Northern Countries especially, and the Weather also chanced to be fair; so that the Moon shining all Night, it was as bright as Day. The Fight was maintained gallantly, as between two noble Champions, who were more solicitous for their Honour than for their Lives. *Piercy* endeavoured to redeem his Credit, and *Douglas* to maintain his by a new Atchievement; so that there was as much Eagerness on the one side as on the other, though their Numbers were unequal, and so the Fight continued till it was late at Night. And then the Moon began to be clouded, that *Friend* could not be discerned from *Foe*; whereupon they rested a while to take a little Breath; and as soon as the Moon brake forth from the Clouds, the *English* pressed hard upon the *Scots*, so that they gave Ground, and *Douglas's* Standard was like to be lost: When the two *Patrick Hepburns*, Father and Son, from the one Wing, and *Douglas* from the other, brake through the Ranks of their own Soldiers, and penetrated to the Front, where the main Danger was; and there they began so fierce an Assault, that they gave and received many Wounds; and, in fine, brought back their Men to their former Ground, from whence they had been driven. Neither was *Douglas* content therewith, but with his two Friends and Followers, *Robert Hart*, and *Simon Glenduning* his Kinsman, he rushed in amongst the thickest of his Enemies, and being of a stout Spirit, as well as strong Body, made a great Slaughter where-ever he came. His Friends strove earnestly to come up to him; yet, before they could do so, he was mortally wounded in three Places, and lay upon the Ground; *Hart* lay dead by him, having a great many Wounds about him; and the Priest who had accompanied him in all his Dangers, when he fainted, defended his Body from Injury. In this Condition his Kinsmen *John Lindsay*, and the two *Sinclairs*, *John* and *Walter* found him, and asked him, *How he did?* *Very well*, said he, *for I do not die like a Sluggard upon my Bed, but as almost all my Ancestors have done; and I have three (my last) Requests to make to you: First, That you will conceal my Death both from Friends and Foes. Secondly, That you would not suffer my*
Standard

Standard to be beaten down. Thirdly, *That you would revenge my Death: If I may hope for the Performance of these Things, I shall bear the rest more contentedly.* Whereupon they, in the first place, covered his Body with a Cloak, that it might not be known, and then they set up his Standard, and cried out, (as the Custom is) *A Douglas! A Douglas!* At that Cry, there was such a Concourse made, and they ran in upon the Enemy with such Alacrity and Courage, that they drove him far away from the Place of Battle: For at the Name of *Douglas*, not the common Soldiers only, but *John Earl of Murray* came in, as thinking Things to be there in the greatest Danger. For he had before routed that Part of the Enemy's Army which stood against him, and taking *Piercy* the younger, who was much wounded, and sent him into the Camp, to be dressed of his Wounds; so that the Service being not so hot in other Parts of the Army, the *Duglassians* which had run in to the Standard, routed the *English*, who were wearied with their Day-toil and Night-fight; and in the Heat of Action, *Henry Piercy* their General was taken Prisoner. When he was lost, the rest betook themselves to a confused Flight. There were slain of the *English* in that Battle 1840, about 1000 wounded, and 1040 taken Prisoners. Of the *Scots* there were 100 slain, and 200 taken Prisoners, in regard a few in Pursuit followed a great Number of their Enemies. *James Lindsay* perceiving *Matthew Redman* Governor of *Berwick* to be one of the straggling Flyers, judging him, by the Goodness of his Armour, to be one of the principal Commanders, rode presently after him: When he had fled three Miles, his Horse being weary, he thought he could not escape by Riding, and so he dismounted, and came upon his Feet. *Lindsay* did the same; at last, after a pretty long Skirmish betwixt them, the *Englishman*, not being so good at that kind of Weapon they used, yieldeth himself to *Lindsay*, who sent him home, having first taken his Oath, *That he would return in twenty Days.* This was then the Courtesy of the neighbouring Nations towards their Prisoners, which to this Day, is punctually observed amongst the Borderers. And if a Man do not return at the Day appointed, this is his Punishment: In the Meetings which are made for Reparation of mutual Damages, he that complains how he was deceived, holds up the Shape of an Hand or Glove on a long Spear, that it may be seen of all; that is counted the highest Brand of Infamy upon any Man; so that he who hath thus violated his Faith, becomes thereby detestable to his own Friends and Relations to such a Degree, that no Man of any Quality will eat, or drink, or talk with him, or so

much as harbour him in his House. *Lindsay* having dismissed his Prisoner on the forementioned Terms, perceived a great Body of Men before him, and marched up to them; he knew them not to be Enemies till he was so near that he could not retreat, but was taken Prisoner. These were the Forces of the Bishop of *Durham*, who, coming late to *Newcastle*, and not being able to overtake *Piercy*, not thinking that he would engage till the next Day, made an Halt to refresh his Men, and after they had supped he renewed his March. But he had not gone far from the Town, before those that run away, informed him of the Loss of the Day. Whereupon he returned into the Town, and advised with his Friends concerning his following of the *Scots*. The Resolution was, that about Sun-rising they should all be in Arms; and consequently in the Morning there were ten thousand Horse, besides a promiscuous Multitude of Foot from all Places round about. These encouraged the Bishop to march the nearest Way to the Enemy, and to give them Battle, alledging, that they were so wearied with Yesterday's Fight, and so many were wounded, and the rest secure by reason of their late Victory, that he might obtain an easy Conquest over them. The Earl of *Murray*, upon whom the Eyes of all were fixed, when *Douglas* was gone, was advertised of the Bishop's Coming by his Scouts; whereupon he consulted with his chief Commanders about the Prisoners: To kill them in cold Blood, after they had given them Quarter, seemed cruel; and to save alive a Number of Enemies, almost equal with their own, seemed dangerous. The Resolution was, that they should all swear not to stir whilst the Battle was fighting, and though their Friends might come to release them, yet they should continue and own themselves as Prisoners still. Upon these Terms they were left in the Camp with a small Guard, who were commanded to fall upon them all, if any one stirred. This Matter thus settled, the *Scots* being full of Courage, by reason of their former Victory, marched out with their Army, being fortified and secured in the Rear with Marshes, and, on the Right and Left, with Trees which they cut down; and besides, the Word of Command was given, that as soon as the Enemy drew near, every Man should blow his Trumpet, made of an Ox-horn, which he carried hanging at his Neck, which would make such a mighty Noise and Din, as was terrible of itself; but being multiplied by the Repercussion and Echo of the neighbouring Hills, gave forth the Representation of a greater Force than indeed they were. The *English*, who had marched very fast, and were to fight
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amongst the dead Bodies of their own Men; being astonished at that horrible Noise, and also at the Alacrity of their Enemies, who stood in good Order over against them; and besides, having no skilful Commander over so tumultuary a Body, nor the Commander much confiding in such a raw Soldiery, they presently turned their Colours, and marched back as they came. In the mean time *Lindsay*, who, as I have said, was taken Prisoner, and left at *Newcastle*, being seen and known by *Redman*, was courteously treated by him, and set at Liberty without Ransom. The *Scots* having passed over this sudden Brunt so easily, resolved to return home; but first they dismissed *Ralph Percy*, who was much wounded, so that he could not endure the Jogging of a Horse, and sent him to *Newcastle* to be healed of his Wounds; upon his Promise, that as soon as ever he was able to ride, he would wait on the Earl of *Murray* where he pleased to appoint; and engaging his Faith thereto as the Manner is, he departed: Six hundred other Prisoners followed his Example, and were released on their Parole upon the same Terms. Many of the common Soldiers, who were like to be more burdensome than beneficial, were dismissed *gratis*. Of the nobler Sort *Henry Percy*, and almost 400 more, were detained, and carried into *Scotland*; and shortly after, upon Payment of such a Ransom as they set upon their own Heads, they were all set at Liberty; so that in that Age, as *Ennius* says, Men did not huckster out a War, but fought it out, as contending mainly for Liberty and Glory. Three Days after, the Bodies of *Douglas*, and the other great Commanders that fell, were carried to *Mulrofs*, and there with military Pomp interred. When the News of these Matters was brought to the other Army, which was wasting *Cumberland*, it disturbed all their Mirth; so that the Joy conceived for their good Success, was turned into bitter Mourning. The Loss of *Douglas* did so affect all the Soldiers, that not only that Army which followed him, but this other also returned home in Silence and Sadness, as if they had not been Conquerors but Conquered. The publick Sorrow was also further increased, that he died without Children, and in the Flower of his Age; and that almost he alone was deprived of the Fruit of the Victory which he had gotten. His Estate fell to *Archibald* Earl of *Galway*, surnamed the *Austere*, who also was a brave Cavalier in his Days. This is that memorable Fight of *Otterburn*, remarkable, not only for the Magnanimity and Hardiness of the Commanders and Soldiers, and their Modesty in Victory, but also for the various and changeable Event of it: That the Conqueror in the highest Expectation of his Glory, was taken off by Death, and could not enjoy the Fruit

Fruit of his own Labour ; and the conquered General, though then discomfited and made a Prisoner, yet outlived this Battle many Years, in great Glory and Splendor. It was fought the 21st of *July*, in the Year of our Lord 1388.

By this Victory, Matters were more composed and quiet both at home and abroad : But in regard the King, by reason of his Age, was not fit to manage Business, and withal, understanding the Reflexion that was made upon him by reason of the late Expedition, which was undertaken without him ; and his eldest Son *John* being of a slow Nature, and addicted more to Ease, than to difficult Enterprises ; he therefore called an Assembly of the Estates, and made *Robert* Earl of *Fife*, Viceroy of the Kingdom, by the Name of *Governor* ; yet they who managed that Office before him, were usually called *Custodes*, i. e. Guardians. When *Henry Percy*, eminent both for his Quality and Actions, was Prisoner in *Scotland*, the Earl of *March*, commonly called Earl *Mareschal*, a Man fiercer in his Words than Actions, was put in his Place : He undervaluing the *Scots* Valour in the Fight of *Otterburn*, and also severely blaming the Cowardice of the *English*, incurred thereby the Hatred of both Nations. And indeed, *Robert* Vice-king of *Scotland*, was so offended at his insolent Boasting, that he thought it a just Cause to make an Expedition against him. Hereupon he entered the Enemy's Country, and with *Archibald Douglas*, then Earl of *Douglas*, marches directly towards the Enemy, who was reported to expect him with a great Army ; when he came near him, he gave him Opportunity to engage ; which he declining, he sent a Trumpeter to him, to challenge him to try it out in a plain Field ; but the *Mareschal* kept himself in his Fastnesses and Places inaccessible, and would give no Answer to the Trumpeter ; so that *Robert*, after he had shewed his Army some Hours to the Enemy, sent them forth to pillage in the Neighbourhood ; and he ranfacked those Places especially which the *Mareschal* was wont to have his Residence in ; and afterwards he marched them back laden with Booty, without any Fight at all. This Expedition, though undertaken upon slight Grounds, yet was very pleasing both to the *English* and the *Scots*, who both rejoiced to see the proud Vanity of the Man to be thus humbled ; but he, to excuse the Matter, as often as Mention was made of it, alledged, that he did it for the Love of his Countrymen, as being unwilling to expose them to needless Danger.

At this Time a Truce was made, and Hopes of Peace between *France* and *England*, by the Mediation of the Pope and the neighbouring Princes, on this Condition, that the Al-

lies of both should be comprehended by Name, viz. the *Portuguese* of the *English* Side; the *Scots* and *Spanish Castilians*, of the *French*. King *Robert*, against the Advice of his Counsel, gave his single Assent thereto, but upon no solid Ground; for he was able to make neither Peace nor War, but by the publick Advice of the Estates; neither could he promise any firm Truce, without their Decree in the Case. Nor could the Nobility conceal any longer that hidden Resentment and Disgust which they had conceived against the *French*, who had only done them this Courtesy (the backward Way) that when they were to do Service against an Enemy, they would strike the Weapons out of their Hands, and so take away the Fruit of a former Victory, and also the Hopes of a new. At last, after much Dispute and Quarrelling, the *French* Ambassador gained this Point, but with much ado, that the *Scots* should send Ambassadors into *France* about the Matter, that so the Hopes of a Peace so near at hand, might not be hindered by their Obstinacy. King *Robert* lived not long after, but departed this Life in his Castle called *Dundonald*, in the Year of Christ 1390, the 19th of April. He lived 74 Years, and reigned 19 Years and 24 Days. This King carried on his Wars by his Deputies, and usually with good Success; he was present in few Battles himself, which some impute to his Age, others to his Cowardice; but all say, that he was a very good Man, and in the Arts of Peace, comparable with the best of Kings. He administered Justice diligently and impartially to all; he severely punished Robberies. In his Actions he was constant; in his Words faithful. He came to the Government in troublesome Times, yet he settled Things at home, appeased Discords, and governed with great Equity and Justice; and he obtained such Conquests over his Enemy, that he reduced all the Castles they had, except three.

AFTER his Death Tumults arose where they were least expected. *Alexander* Earl of *Buchan*, the youngest of the King's Sons by *Elisabeth* More, fell into a mortal Feud with the Bishop of *Murray*, upon a light Occasion; and when he could not come at him to kill him, he wreaked his Fury upon the Church of *Elgin*, (which was then one of the fairest in all *Scotland*), and burnt it down to the Ground. The same Year *William* Douglas, Earl of *Nithsdale*, (who, as I said before, for his Valour was made the King's Son-in-law), was slain at *Dantzick* on the *Vistula*, by some *Russians*, who were hired to perpetrate the Murder by *Clifford* an *Englishman*. For *Douglas*, when Matters were quieted at home, that he might not ly idle, set out for the *Holy War*; and in *Prussia* gave such Proof of his Valour, that he was made Admiral of the whole

whole Fleet, which was very great and magnificent, and withal well accommodated. But a Quarrel arising between him and *Clifford*, grounded upon old Emulations, because he grudged him that Honour, he sent him a Challenge to fight with him Hand to Hand. But the Challenger, considering into what an hazardous Adventure he had run himself by that Challenge, before the set Time came, caused him to be murdered by Assassins, which he had hired for that Purpose.

THE

T H E

H I S T O R Y

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S C O T L A N D.

B O O K X.

R O B E R T III. *the hundredth and first King.*

R O B E R T II. was succeeded by his eldest Son *John*, on the 13th of *August*, and in the Year of our Lord 1390. He was called *John* till that time; but then, by the Decree of the *Estates*, his Name was changed to *Robert*: Whether this Change of Names was occasioned by the Misfortunes and Calamities of two Kings, called *John*, one of *France*, the other of *England*; or, whether it was for the eminent Virtues and Felicity of two *Roberts*, both in Peace and War, who lately reigned in *Scotland*, Authors remain silent in that Point, and therefore I shall not take upon me to determine.

THE Excellence of this *Robert* consisted in this, that he was rather unblemished by Vice, than signalized for any illustrious Virtues; so that the Name of King was vested in him, but the Management of all publick Affairs rested on *Robert* his Brother. In the Beginning of his Reign, there was Peace abroad, by reason of the three Years Truce made with the *English*; which a while after was prolonged for four Years more. But a Sedition was begun at home by *Duncan*, or *Dunach*, *Stuart*. He was the Son of *Alexander* Earl of *Buchan*, the King's Brother; a fierce Father, and a fiercer Son; who, upon the Death of his Grandfather, imagining now that he had a fit Opportunity for Rapine, gathered a Band of Pillagers at his

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Heels, and descending into *Angus* spoiled all, as if it had been an Enemy's Country. *Walter Ogilvy* and *Walter Lichton*, his Brother, endeavouring to oppose him, were killed, together with sixty of their Followers. They, elated with this Success, afflicted the Country more grievously than ever; but hearing of the Approach of the Earl of *Crawfurd*, whom the King had sent to restrain their Insolence, the nimblest of them fled speedily, and hid their Heads in Holes and Corners; of those who made not so much Haste, some were slain, some taken, and afterwards put to Death. Thus the Wickedness of these unquiet and turbulent Set of Mortals being hindered from spreading over the Champaign Countries, they fell out amongst themselves at their own Homes: And especially two Families of them exercised great Cruelties upon one another. They refused to end their Feuds by Course of Law; or to refer them to indifferent Arbitrators; so that the King sent two Earls to suppress them, *Thomas* Earl of *Dunbar*, and *James Lindsay*, his Father being dead, now Earl of *Crawfurd*: These Commanders, considering they were to engage a fierce and resolute People, who not only despised Pleasure, but even Death itself; so that they were not likely to subdue them by Force, without great Slaughter of their own Men; they therefore resolved to try what they could do by Policy. And accordingly they discoursed the Heads of both Clans apart, and represented to them what Danger would accrue to both by their mutual Slaughters of one another; and if one Family should extirpate the other, yet that was not likely to be effected, without great Damage, even of the conquering Side; and if it might, yet the Contest would not end so; for then the Conquerors were to engage the King's Forces, (though they were weakened before by their mutual Conflicts), of whose Anger against them both, they might be justly sensible, because he had sent Forces to destroy them both, even before they had disabled one another. But if they would hearken to those who were more desirous of their Preservation than their Ruin, they would shew them a Way, how they might be reconciled honourably, with Amends, and to the King's Satisfaction. When they desired to hear how this Condition was proposed, That 30 of each Side should try it out in Fight before the King, armed only with their Swords; they that were conquered, should have a Pardon for all past Offences, and the Conquerors should be honoured and respected by the King and his Nobles: both Sides were well pleased with the Terms; so that a Day was fixed for the Combat; and at the Time appointed the Heads of the Families, with their Parties, came to Court, and Part of a Field on the North Side of the
Town

Town of *Perth*, which was severed from the rest by a deep Trench, was appointed for the Place of Combat; and Galleries built round for Spectators. Hereupon an huge Multitude was assembled together, and sat ready to see the Dispute; but the Fight was delayed a while, because one of the 30 of the one Party, had hid himself for Fear, and their Fellows were not willing to engage without having just an equal Number with their Adversaries; neither was any one found to supply the Place of him who was absent; and of the other Party, not a Man would be drawn out, or exempted from the Fight, lest he might seem less valued, and not so courageous as the rest. After a little Pause, an ordinary Tradesman comes forth, and offers to supply the Place of him that was absent, provided, that if his Side conquered, they would pay him down half a Gold Dollar of *France*, and also provide for his Maintenance afterwards as long as he lived. Thus the Number being again equalled, the Fight began; and it was carried on with such great Contention, both of Body and Mind, as old Grudges, inflamed by new Losses, could raise up in Men of such fierce Dispositions, accustomed to Blood and Cruelty; especially, seeing Honour and Estate was propounded to the Conqueror, Death and Ignominy to the Conquered: The Spectators were possessed with as much Horror, as the Combatants were with Fury, as detesting to behold the ugly and deformed Mutilations and Butcheries of one another's Bodies; the lopping off their Limbs; and, in a word, the Rage of wild Beasts under the Shape of Men. But all took notice, that none carried himself more valiantly than that mercenary and supposititious Hireling, to whose Valour a great Part of the Victory was to be ascribed: Of that Side that he was of, there were ten alive, besides himself, but all of them grievously wounded: Of the contrary Faction, there remained only one, who was not wounded at all; but as there was so much odds, and he would be forced singly to encounter with so many, he threw himself into the River *Tay*, which ran by; and his Adversaries not being able to follow him, by reason of their Wounds, he escaped to the other Side. By this Means, the forwardest of both Parties being slain, the promiscuous Multitude being left without Leaders, gave over their Trade of Sedition for many Years after, and betook themselves to their Husbandry. This Combat happened in the Year 1396.

ABOUT two Years after, in an Assembly of the States at *Perth*, the King made *David* his Son, Earl of *Rothsay*, being eighteen Years old, and *Robert* his Brother, long since Earl of *Monteith* and *Fife*, Dukes of *Albany*. This vain Title of Honour was then first celebrated in *Scotland*, a great Increase of

E e e 2

Ambition,

Ambition, but none at all to Virtue; neither did it afterwards thrive with any who enjoyed it. The King would have bestowed the same Title upon the Earl of *Douglas*; but he being a grave and solid Person, absolutely refused that nominal Shadow of empty Honour; and if any Man told him that he should be a Duke, he rebuked him sharply for it. Some say, that the Name of Governor, which was given by his Father to *Robert* the King's Brother, was this Year confirmed by the King; as also that the Family of the *Lindsays* had the Earldom of *Crawfurd* added to their former Honours: But they are not fully clear, whether the Name of the first Earl of that Family was *Thomas* or *David*.

THE next Year after, *Richard II.* King of *England*, was forced to resign the Crown; and *Henry IV.* succeeded him. In the Beginning of his Reign, before the Truce was quite ended, new Seeds of War with the *Scots* were sown. *George Dunbar*, Earl of *March*, had betrothed his Daughter *Elisabeth* to *David*, the King's Son, and had already paid a good Part of her Dowry. *Archibald* Earl of *Douglas*, storming that so powerful a Man, and his Rival, should be preferred before him, alledging that the Consent of the Estates was not obtained in the Case, (which no Man ever remembered to be done in any of the King's Marriages before), offered his Daughter *Mary*, with a larger Dowry; and by means of *Robert* the King's Brother, who could do all at Court, he brought it about, that the Condition was accepted, and the Marriage was consummated by the Decree of the Estates. *George* was much affected at this Injury, as well as Reproach, and sharply expostulated with the King about it; but seeing what was once done, could not be undone, he desired at least the Repayment of the Dowry. This his just Demand being denied, and perceiving that he was not like to obtain any Right, for that the Minds and Ears of all the Court were prepossessed by his Rival, he departed upon very angry, nay, threatening Terms; and so giving up the Castle of *Dunbar* to *Robert Maitland*, his Sister's Son, he went for *England*. *Robert* presently yielded up the Castle to an Herald, sent by the King to demand it, and *Douglas* was admitted into it with a Garrison, so that when *George* returned home, he was denied Entrance. Upon that, he took his Wife, Children, and some intimate Friends, and returned into *England*. Being there, as he was a Man powerful at home, and famous abroad, he joined Counsels with *Piercy*, a mortal Enemy to the Name of the *Douglasses*; and in regard he was well beloved by the bordering *Scots*, of which many were either his Tenants, Allies, or otherwise obliged to him, he made an Inroad into the whole Province of *March*,

March, and drove great Preys from the Country, especially from the Lands of the *Douglasses*. The King of *Scots* first proclaimed *George* a publick Enemy, and confiscated all his Estate; next he sent an Herald to the King of *England*, to demand that he might be given up as a Fugitive, according to the League made betwixt them, and also to complain of the Violation of the Truce. *Henry* of *England* gave a peremptory Answer to his Demands, that he had given the publick Faith to *George* for his Protection, and that he would not break his Royal Word; as if a private Engagement with a Renegado was more religiously to be observed, than that which had been publickly confirmed by Ambassadors and Heralds; for the Days of the Truce made with *Richard* were not yet expired. In the meantime, *Henry Percy* the younger, called *Hot-spur*, and *George Dunbar*, ceased not to infest the neighbouring Lands of the *Scots* with their Incurfions. Which when they had often and successfully done, their Boldness increased with their Success; so that gathering two thousand Men together, they entered *Lothian*, and made great Havock about *Haddington*. They besieged *Hales-Castle*, but in vain. When they came to *Linten*, (a Village situate on the *Tayne*, a River of *Lothian*), they were so disturbed at the sudden Coming of *Douglas* against them, that they left their Booty, and all their Baggage behind them; and ran away in such Fear, that they never stopped till they came to *Berwick*. These Things were done about the Beginning of *February*, in the Year 1400.

THE same Year, upon the Return of the Herald, War was denounced against *England*; and then also *Archibald Douglas*, surnamed the *Austere*, a Man inferior to none of his Ancestors in all kind of Praise, fell sick and died, in a very bad Time for his Country, which had lately lost, by divers Misfortunes, so many brave Generals before. His Son, of the same Name, succeeded him. On the 13th of *August*, the *English* King with great Forces entered *Scotland*. When he came to *Haddington*, he staid there three Days, and then marched to *Leith*; and staying there as many Days, he laid Siege to the Castle of *Edinburgh*. The Governor led an Army against them, but very slowly; so that it easily appeared, that he did not much care if the Castle of *Edinburgh* was taken by the *English*; and in it *David*, the King's Son. For by this Time his wicked Ambition began to shew itself: For he undervalued his Brother, as an effeminate Person, and sought the Destruction of his Children as much as he could, that he might enjoy the Kingdom himself; so that their Loss he counted his Gain. But the King of *England* and his Army, on the contrary, acted the Enemy with a great deal of Moderation, as if, by an Ostentation of War,

War, they had only fought for Peace; for having made some slight Onset on the Castle, he raised the Siege, and returned home, without doing any considerable Damage to the Places through which he marched; inasmuch that in his Marches both backward and forward, he got the Praise and Commendation of being a mild, clement, and moderate Enemy: He was courteous to those that surrendered themselves; he offered no Violence to consecrated Places; and he even rewarded those bountifully, who had formerly entertained his Father. All these Practices ingratiated him more, and rendered the Governor more odious; in regard he did not prosecute the War with any Eagerness, as against an Enemy, nor yet endeavour to make so easy and beneficent a King his Friend. After *Henry* was returned for *England*, *George Dunbar* continued still to invade the Borders, but the Inroads he had were more frequent than they were considerable. To suppress him, there was more Need of a diligent, than numerous Force, and therefore *Douglas* divided the Forces of each County into small Bands, and appointed Commanders over them; who, by turns, were to stop the Enemy, or, if they saw Cause, to fight him. The first Lot fell upon *Thomas Halyburton* of *Dirlington*, who took a great Booty from the Enemy out of the Lands near *Bamburgh*. But *Patrick Hepburn*, who wandered farther abroad with a greater Band of Men, had not the like Success; for trusting too much to the Numbers of his Men, and not being very wary in his Retreat with his Prey, he was cut off by the *English*, and with him all the Flower of the *Lothian* Soldiery. *Archibald Douglas*, to revenge the Slaughter of his Friend, by the Consent of the Governor, gathered above ten thousand Men together: Abundance of the Nobles accompanied him in his March, and among them, *Murdo*, the Governor's Son: When they came to *Northumberland*, at *Newcastle* upon *Tyne*, they passed the River, and put the Country to Fire and Sword; but there encountering with *Henry Percy* the younger, and *George Dunbar*, in a pitched Battle, they were overcome, many of the Nobles were slain, *Douglas* was taken Prisoner, having lost one of his Eyes; so were also *Murdo* Earl of *Fife*, *Thomas* Earl of *Murray*, and *George* Earl of *Angus*, with many other noble and illustrious Persons. And indeed the Strength of *Scotland* was not so much weakened in any one Fight for many Years before, as it was in this. It was fought at *Homeldon*, a Town in *Northumberland*, on the 7th of *May*, in the Year of Christ 1401.

PIERCY, having obtained so signal a Victory, resolved to subject all the Country, which lay betwixt *Northumberland* and the *Forth*, to the *English* Scepter; and he thought it would be a Work of no great Difficulty to compass, in regard most of the

the Nobility of those Countries were either slain in the Fight, or else his Prisoners. Pursuant to this Resolution, beginning with *Cocklaw*, a Castle in *Teviotdale*, the Governor agreed, *That unless the Castle was relieved by the Scots in fifty Days, he would surrender it up.* When these Conditions were brought to the King, and then to the Governor, some were of opinion, that the Castle should be surrendered, in regard it was not of that Consequence, as for the sake of it, to hazard the Strength of the Kingdom a second time, which had been so dreadfully shaken and weakened in the late Fight. This Dejection of Spirit proceeded, not so much from any Fear of the Enemy, as from the Perfidiousness of the Governor, whose Mouth watered after the Kingdom. He, on the other side, to avert all Suspicion from himself, in high and confident Words, affirmed, that this Cow-heartedness and Confession of publick Fear, would more encourage the Enemy, than the Loss of a Battle. And if any one thought, that the *English* would be contented with the taking of one Castle, they were very much mistaken; for as Fire is more increased by a light Aspersions of Water, so the Desire of the *English*, upon Surrender of *some* Places, would not be extinguished, but rather inflamed to the taking of *more*; so that what was given up at first, would be but a Step to a farther Progress: But, (*says he*) if all of you refuse to march out, for the Relief of the Castle, I myself will go alone; for as long as I live, and am in health, I will never suffer such a Mark of Disgrace to be branded on the *Scottish* Name. Upon this gallant Speech of the Governor's, the rest, either extinguishing or dissembling their Suspicion, cried out, *That they would follow him.* But Fortune decided the Controversy, and blew off that Danger; for *Piercy* was recalled to the Civil War in *England*, and so the Siege was raised without Blows.

WHILST these Things were acting abroad against the Enemy, Matters went no better at home: For shortly after the Death of *Archibald Douglas*, the Year before, there immediately followed the Decease of the Queen *Annabella*, and of *Walter Trayle*, Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, insomuch that all Mens Minds did presage a great Change of Affairs. For the Splendor of military Matters was upheld by *Douglas*; the Ecclesiastical Authority and Resemblance (in some sort) of antient Discipline, by *Trayle*; and the Dignity of the Court, by the Queen, as did soon appear by what happened after her Death. For *David*, the King's Son, was a young Man of a fierce Disposition, and inclined to Wantonness and Lust. The Indulgence of his Father increased those Vices; for though he had not Authority enough to maintain the Reverence due to him, yet by the diligent Admonition of those, who were appointed

pointed to be *David's* Tutors in his Youth, but much more by the Counsel and Advice of his Mother, his youthful Heats of Temper were somewhat restrained; but when she was dead, he, as now freed from this Curb, returned to his own Manners and lustful Courses; for laying aside all Shame and Fear, he took away other Mens Wives by Force, nay, and Virgins too, though well descended; and those that he could not persuade by fair Means, he ravished by Compulsion; and if any one endeavoured to abridge him in his debauched Courses, he was sure never to come off without suffering for it. Many Complaints were brought to his Father about these his Exorbitancies; so that he wrote to his Brother, the Governor, to keep him with him, and to have a strict Eye over his Conversation, till that Spirit of Lewdness should abate; and till he gave some Hopes of his Amendment of Life. The Governor had now an Opportunity put into his Hands, to effect what he most desired, and that was, to destroy his Brother's Issue; so that meeting *David* three Miles from *St. Andrew's*, he carried him into the Castle there, which he kept in the Nature of a Garrison, after the Archbishop's Death: After a while, he took him from thence, and carried him to his own Castle of *Falkland*; and there shut him up close Prisoner, intending to starve him. But that miserable Death, to which his Uncle's Cruelty had designed him, was protracted for a few Days, by the Compassion of two of the Female Sex; one was a young Maid, whose Father was Governor of the Castle and Garrison. She gave him Oat-cakes made so thin, that they could be folded up together, (as 'tis usual in *Scotland* to make them) and as often as she went into the Garden near the Prison, she put them under a Linen Vail or Hood, which she did, as it were, carelessly cast over her Head, to keep her from the Sun, and thrust them into the Prison to him through a small Cranny, rather than a Window. The other was a Country Nurse, who milked her Breast, and, by a little Canal, conveyed it into his Mouth. By this mean Fare, which served rather to increase, than assuage his Hunger, his wretched Life and Punishment was lengthened out for a little while; till, at length, by the Vigilance of the Guards, they were discovered and put to death: The Father mightily abhorring the Perfidiousness of his own Daughter, whilst he endeavoured to manifest his Fidelity to an unfaithful Regent. The young Man being thus left destitute of all human Support, having, by Force of Hunger, gnawed and torn his own Flesh, died at length more than a single Death. His End was long concealed from his Father, though it was commonly known abroad, because no Man durst be the Messenger of such sad Tidings to him.

BUT

BUT to return to the Affairs of *England*, as far as they ly intermingled with our own. When *Piercy*, and a great Number besides of the Nobility, had conspired to make War upon their own King, he agrees with *Douglas*, whom he still held Prisoner since the Battle of *Homeldon*, that, if he would improve his Interest, by assisting him against the King, as strenuously and as faithfully as he had before done against him, he would set him at Liberty without Ransom; which *Douglas* frankly promised him to do, as being willing to omit no Opportunity of Service against the *English* King. Hereupon he gathered some of his Friends and Tenants about him, and prepared himself for the Fight, wherein he behaved himself as stoutly, as he promised to *Piercy*; so that, without Regard to the common Soldiers, his Mind and Eye was wholly intent upon the King only; and there being several Commanders clothed in Royal Attire, which was done on purpose by the *English*, either to deceive the Enemy, if they should press hard upon the King; or else that the Soldiers, in more Places than one, might find him a present Witness of their Courage or Cowardice: *Douglas* took notice of one of these, who had fine Armour, and rushed in upon him with all his Might, and unhorsed him. But, he being relieved by those who were next, he did the same to a second, and to a third, who were all attired as Kings, (and this *Edward Hall*, the *English* Writer, affirms, as well as ours) so that he was not taken up so much with the Apprehension of his own Danger, as an Astonishment, from whence so many Kings should start up at once. At length, after a terrible and bloody Fight, Fortune turned about, and the King won the Day; *Douglas* was sadly wounded, and taken amongst the Prisoners; and whereas many urged to put him to death, the King saved him, and did not only commend his Fidelity to his Friend, but also rewarded him for his Valour; and when his Wounds were cured, after he had staid some Months with him, upon the Payment of a great Sum of Money he was released.

IN the mean time, the *Scottish* King heard of the Death of *David* his eldest Son, by the unnatural Cruelty of his Uncle. The Author was sufficiently pointed at by private Whisperings, though no Man dared publicly to accuse so potent a Man. Whereupon the King sends for his Brother, and sharply expostulates with him concerning the Matter. He had prepared his Tale beforehand, and charges others with the Guilt of the young Man's Death; as for him and his, they were ready, forsooth, whenever the King pleased, to plead and assert their Innocency, in a due Course of Law; but as for the Murderers, some of them he had taken already, and the rest he would make diligent Search after. Thus the Matter being brought to

Examination according to Law, the Author of the Wickedness summons a Council, sets up Accusers, and he, who was impleaded as guilty, was by them acquitted as innocent of the Murder. The King imprecated a most dreadful Punishment from the God of Heaven above, to be poured down on him and his Posterity, who had committed that horrid Wickedness: And thus, being overpressed with Grief and bodily Weakness, he returned to *Bute* whence he came, suspecting more than ever, that his Brother had committed the Parricide, though he was too powerful to be brought by him to Justice and Punishment for the same. But he, like a strong Dissembler, brings the supposititious Authors of the Wickedness out of Prison, and put them to cruel Deaths; 'tis true, they were lewd Persons, yet innocent of that particular Fact for which they suffered.

In the mean time, the King advised with his Friends, how he might preserve *James* his youngest Son, for whose Safety he was very solicitous, and whom he had left in the Custody of *Walter Wardiloe*, Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, an honest Man and faithful to him: They gave their Opinion, that he could not be safe in any Part of *Scotland*, and that therefore it was best to send him over to *Charles VI.* King of *France*, the old Ally, and only Friend of the *Scottish* Nation; for he could be educated no where more safely and honourably than there. The fresh Example of *David Bruce* stuck yet in their Minds, who, in dubious and troublesome Times at home, had there, for some Years, an honourable Retreat and Entertainment. Hereupon a Vessel was prepared, and he put on board at the *Bass*, a Rock rather than an Island. *Henry Sinclair*, Earl of the *Orkades*, was sent with him as his Guide or Rector; whilst they were coasting by the Shore, he landed at the Promontory of *Flamburgh*, either driven in by Tempest, or else to refresh himself on Shore, after having been very Sea-sick: There he was detained by the *English*, till they sent to their King, who commanded that he should be brought up to Court; so that neither the Law of the Truce, which was made a little before, for eight Years, nor the supplicating Letters of his Father prevailed, but he was kept as a lawful Prisoner. For his Father, at his Departure, had sent Letters by him to the King of *England*, (if possibly he should be necessitated to land there) wherein he made complaining, and lamentable Discourses, both of his own, and also of the common Fortune of all Mankind. But, though the King of *England* was not ignorant of the Inconstancy of human Affairs, yet the old Grudge against the Nation of the *Scots* more prevailed with him, than either the Respect of the Youth's innocent Age, or the Tears of his grieved Father, or the Dignity of the kingly Name, or the Faith of the Pacification

Pacification and Truce. For having referred the Matter to his Council, how he should treat the Son of the King of Scots being arrived in his Dominions, those who had any Regard to Equity, and were weary of the present War, inclined to the milder Opinion, *viz.* that the Royal Youth, who fled from the Cruelty of his own Countrymen, and was now their Suppliant, should be hospitably and friendly entertained, that so a fierce Nation, and unconquered by the War of so many Ages, might be won and wrought over to a Reconciliation by Courtesy. For this, they thought, *the most solid and firm Victory, not when Liberty is taken away by Force, but when Minds are united by the indissoluble Bond of Amity.* Others were of a contrary Opinion, that he might be lawfully detained as a Prisoner, either because many of the Scots Nobility had personally assisted *Piercy* in the Insurrection which he made against the King, or because his Father had entertained and relieved *Piercy* the elder, when he was banished and condemned as a Traytor in *England*.

THIS Opinion (as commonly the worst Counsels do) prevailed, though they that were present at the Consultation knew well enough, that those Scots who fought against the *English* King in *Piercy's* Insurrection, were not sent by any publick Commission from the King, but came out of their private Affection to *Douglas*, who was then also in *Piercy's* Power. They might also have remembered, what *Henry* himself had answered to the Scots, a few Years before, when they demanded *George Dunbar* to be given up; yet notwithstanding, they stuck to this last Opinion, as commonly in the Courts of Princes, a false Pretence of Advantage weighs down honest and righteous Counsels: Yet in one Thing, *Henry* dealt nobly and royally with his Captive, that he caused him to be educated in Learning, and good Discipline: This Calamity of the Son was brought to his Father's Ears, whilst he was at Supper, and did so overwhelm him with Grief, that he was almost ready to give up the Ghost in the Hands of his Servants, that attended him; but being carried to his Bed-chamber, he abstained from all Food, and in three Days died of Hunger and Grief at *Rothsay*, which is a Town in the Island *Bute*, in the sixteenth Year of his Reign, on the 1st of *April*, and Year of Christ 1406. He was buried at the Abbey of *Paisly*. This *Robert*, for Tallness of Stature, and for the Beauty and Composition of his whole Body, was inferior to very few of his Contemporaries. His Life was very harmless, and there was no virtuous Accomplishment, fit for a private Man, wanting in him, so that it may be truly said of him, that he was a better Man than a King.

AFTER the King's Death, the Government of the Kingdom was settled upon *Robert* his Brother, by the Decree of all

the Estates; who had many Things in him worthy of that Office and Dignity, if, out of a blind Ambition to rule, he had not used unjust Courses to hasten to the Throne. He was valiant in War, prudent in Counsel, just in Judgment, liberal to the Nobles, and tender in levying Taxes on the Commons. The same Year, *Piercy* the elder again entered into a Conspiracy against the King, to revenge upon him the Deaths of his Brother and two Sons, who had been slain; but his Design was discovered, many of his Accomplices taken and put to death, and he himself for Fear fled into *Scotland*, that from thence he might go over into *Flanders* and *France* to procure Auxiliaries, and renew the War. In the mean time, *Henry*, the King of *England's* Son, made great Incursions into *Scotland*, both by Land and Sea: When he was returned home with a great Booty, the Castle of *Fedburgh*, which the Enemy had kept, from the Fight at *Durham*, to that Day, was taken by the Commons of *Tewiotdale*, pillaged, and then, by the Governor's Order, wholly demolished: And *George* Earl of *March*, who had done much Damage to his Countrymen, in behalf of the *English*, being not able to procure from them Aid to recover his own, nor an honest Maintenance amongst them neither, pacified the Governor by his Friends, and so returned home; yet he lost Part of his Patrimony, viz. his Castles in the *Lochmaben*, and *Annandale*, which were given to *Douglas*, for the Losses he had sustained: And thus all Offences were forgiven on both sides, and he passed the rest of his Life in great Concord with his Neighbours, and faithful Subjection to his King.

THE next Year *Piercy*, after he had made a vain and fruitless Tour over *France* and *Flanders*, returned into *Scotland* to his old Friend the Earl of *March*; by whom he was courteously entertained and accommodated according to his Estate: There he transacted by private Messengers, about returning into his own Country, and amongst the rest, he wrote to *Ralph Rokesby*, his antient and faithful Friend, as he thought, that he did not want Force, both of *Scots* and *English*, who were ready to assist him to recover his antient Patrimony; provided that he would join his Assistance with them. This *Ralph* was at that time Sheriff of *Yorkshire*, so they there call the Officer which presides in chief over juridical Assemblies. He enticed *Piercy* to him upon pretence of giving him Aid, and then discovered the Conspiracy to the King. Thus the Friend was betrayed, his Head cut off, and sent to the King at *London*.

THERE was also at that time a certain *Englishman* in *Scotland*, who called himself *Richard II.* but falsely, as I suppose,

pose. For when *Piercy* the elder did often and earnestly desire to speak with him, he would not by any Persuasion be induced thereunto, fearing, as may be guessed, lest his Imposture might be detected by a Man, who so well knew his King. Yet he was for some Years treated as one of the Blood-royal: And that he might live more securely, he feigned himself most averse from any Desire of enjoying the Kingdom. But at last dying, he was buried in the Church of the *Franciscan Fryars* at *Stirling*; the Title of King of *England* being inserted in his Epitaph. Not long after, *Fastcastle*, a very strong Castle (as the Name intimates) in *March*, was taken from the *English* by *Patrick Dunbar*, Son to *George*, and therein *Thomas Holden*, Governor thereof, who had infested all the neighbouring Places of *Lothian*, with continual Robberies. And moreover, in *Teviotdale*, *William Douglas*, and *Gavin Dunbar*, youngest Son to the Earl of *March*, had broken down the Bridge of *Roxburgh*, and burnt the Town; but they attempted not the Castle, because they were destitute and unprovided of all Things necessary for a Siege: But the next Year after, which was 1411, *Donald* the *Islander*, Lord of the *Æbuda*, claiming *Ross* as the next Heir (for so indeed he was) as unjustly taken away from him by the Governor, when he could get no Right, he levied 1000 *Islanders*, and made a Descent on the Continent, and so easily seized on *Ross*, the whole Country being willing to return to the Subjection of their own just Master: But this Facility of the *Rossians* in submitting to him, gave him (whose Mind was greedy of Prey) Encouragement to attempt greater Matters. For he passed over into *Murray*, and there being no Force to defend it, he reduced it to his Obedience, and then passed farther in his Depredations into *Strathbogy*, and threatened *Aberdeen*. Against this sudden and unexpected Enemy the Governor gathered Forces; but in regard the Greatness, and the near Approach of the Danger did not admit the Expectancy of slow-paced Aid, *Alexander* Earl of *Marr*, the Son of *Alexander* the Governor's Brother, and almost all the Nobility beyond the *Tay*, at a Village called *Harlaw*, set themselves and their Men in Battle-array against him. The Fight was cruel and bloody; for the Valour of many Nobles did then contend for Estate and Glory against the savage Cruelty of the opposite Party; at last the Night parted them, and it may be rather said, that they were both weary with fighting, than that either Party had the better; so that the Event of the Fight was so uncertain, that when both Sides had reckoned up how many they had lost, each counted himself the Conqueror. In this Fight there fell so many eminent and noble Personages, as scarce ever perished in one Battle against a foreign Enemy for
many

many Years before: And therefore the Village which was obscure before, grew famous from it, even to Posterity.

THIS Year also publick Schools began first to be opened at *St. Andrew's*, which was effected rather by the Consent of learned Men, who offered themselves to be Professors of Learning, than occasioned by any private or publick Stipend. The next ten Years there was hardly any memorable Thing acted betwixt the *Scots* and *English*, either because there was a Truce made, which yet Authors are silent in; or because *Henry IV.* dying on the 21st Day of *March*, and his Son *Henry V.* presently succeeding him; being all the rest of his Life intent on the Affairs of *France*, the *English* abstained from offering any Injury to the *Scots*. And besides, the Governor of *Scotland* did not dare to stir on his side, for Fear lest the *English* should bring back upon them the true Heir of the Crown, whom he knew many of the *Scots* would close with, out of Commiseration of his Misfortunes. Therefore what Inroads were made at that time, were rather Robberies than Wars. For both *Penrith* in *England* was burnt by *Archibald Douglas*, and *Dumfries* in *Scotland* by the *English*: And likewise there was an Exchange of Prisoners made, *Murdo* the Governor's Son, taken at *Homeldon* Fight, was exchanged for *Piercy*, who, when his Grandfather's Party was subdued in *England*, was brought into *Scotland*, and left with the Governor; but upon the new King's coming to the Crown, he was restored to the Dignity of his Ancestors. He, though he was not properly a Prisoner by the Law of Arms; yet the unjust Detention of *James*, Son to the King of *Scots*, stopt the Mouths of the *English*, that they could not justly complain of any Injury in the Case: As for *Piercy* himself, he was so far from resenting it, that as long as he lived, he acknowledged the Civility and great Friendship of the *Scots* to him, in all kind of mutual Service.

MOREOVER the same Year an Embassy came from the Council of *Constance*, the Head whereof was the Abbot of *Ponteniack*; and another from *Peter Lune*, who had seized on the Papacy, and as obstinately kept it. He, by *Henry Harding*, an *English Franciscan*, had wrought over the Governor to his Party, but in vain; for the whole Body of the Priesthood was against him; for they having assented to the Council of *Constance*, had subscribed to the Election of *Martin V.* In the mean time, the King of *France*, by means of a violent Disease, became lunatick, and his Distemper was increased by the Monks, who pretended to cure him. By this means *France* was divided into two Factions. The Head of the one was the Duke of *Burgundy*, who, having slain the King's Brother, drew him to the *English* Party. The Head of the other was the

the King's Son, who being disinherited by his distracted Father, was called by his Enemies in a Jeer the King of *Berry*; because he usually kept himself at *Bourges* in *Berry*, a Town of the *Bernois*. He, being forsaken by a great Part of his own Countrymen, and destitute also of foreign Aid, in the Year 1419, sent the Earl of *Vendosme* his Ambassador to the Scots, to demand Aid of them, according to the League made betwixt the two Nations. The Assembly of the Estates ordered him seven thousand Men: and indeed at that time, in regard the Soldiers were increased by reason of the long Peace with *England*, it was no hard Matter to make up such a Number of Men, being only Volunteers. *John* Earl of *Buchan*, the Governor's Son, was made General of the Forces, and many eminent Persons followed him; but *Archibald* Earl of *Wigton*, the Son of *Archibald* the second Earl of *Douglas*, was far more eminent than all the rest. When they came into *France*, they were sent by the Dauphin (so they call the eldest Son of the King of *France*) into *Touraine*, a Country very plentiful in all Sorts of Provision, and near to the Enemy: For the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to the King of *England*, was then in *France*, instead of the King himself, and made great Havock of the Country of *Anjou*, whose Inhabitants remained in their Obedience to the *French* King. And it was thought he would have come as far as the Town of *Baux*. This was done two Days before *Easter*; whereupon the Scots thinking, that the General would cease from any military Action those few Days of that Feast (as the Custom is), and apply himself to Ecclesiastical Duties; or (as others say) presuming upon an eight Days Truce which was made, carried themselves more securely, than otherwise they were wont to do. The Duke of *Clarence* was informed of this, either by *Andrew Fregose* an *Italian*; or else by some Scots Foragers, whom his Horse had taken Prisoners; and, having got a fair Opportunity for Action (as he thought), he rose up presently from Dinner, and with his Horse only marched toward the Enemy; he himself, besides his other gallant Furniture and Armour, wore on his Head a Royal Diadem set with many Jewels. Some few *French* who were quartered nearest the Enemy, in a Village called *Little Baux*, being terrified with his sudden Approach, fled into the Tower of a Church adjoining; whilst he was assaulting of these, the Alarm was given to the rest of the Army, and presently in great Dismay they all cried out, *To your Arms*. The Earl of *Buchan*, while the rest were fitting themselves, sent out 30 Archers to take Possession of a Bridge, which was the only Passage over a neighbouring River. There a Skirmish begun, and *Hugh Kennedy*, who quartered in a Church hard by, came in to them, with one hundred Men, who

who in such a Surprize were but half-armed. This Party with their Arrows hindered the Horse from passing over; whereupon *Clarence*, with the forwardest of his Men, leap'd from his Horse, and maintained the Combat on Foot; so that in a lusty Charge they repelled the *Scots*, who were some unarmed, and some but half-armed, from the Bridge, and this opened the Passage for his Men. In the mean time, whilst *Clarence* was mounting his Horse, and his Men were passing the narrow Bridge a few at a Time, the Earl of *Buchan* was at hand with 200 Horse; and now both Sides being very earnest to shew themselves, a sharp Fight began with equal Courage and Hatred: For the *Scots* were glad, that they had got an Opportunity to give the first Proof their Valour, and so to refute the Reproaches of the *French*, who were wont to upbraid them, as *Men given more to eating and drinking, than to fighting*. The like Reproach the *French* are wont to cast upon the *Britains*; the *Spaniards* on the *French*; and the *Africans* on the *Spaniards*. On the other side, the *English* took it in great Disdain, that they should be attacked by such an implacable Enemy, not only at home, but even beyond the Seas; and so they fought stoutly, but none more fiercely than *Clarence* himself; he being known by his Armour, *John Swinton* ran at him, and with his Lance grievously wounded him in the Face; and the Earl of *Buchan* also smote him with a Truncheon, and struck him from his Horse: when he was fallen, the *English* ran away, and were slain in the Pursuit even till Night. This Battle was fought the Day before *Easter*, when the Days are short in cold Countries, a little after the *Vernal Equinox*. There fell of the *English* in the Fight above 2000, amongst which were twenty six of eminent Rank. Many Prisoners were taken of good Account in their own Country; and especially some of the Duke's Allies: Few of the *Scots* or *French* were lost, and those of no great Note. This is the most common Report concerning the Death of *Clarence*; but the *Pluscarty Book* says, that he was slain by *Alexander Maccastrand*, a Knight of *Lennox*, who took off the aforesaid Diadem from his Head, and sold it to *John Stuart* of *Darnly*, for 1000 Angels of Gold; and he again pawned it to *Robert Huston*, to whom he owed 5000 Angels; this, he says, was the vulgar Opinion: The chief Praise of this Victory was ascribed to the *Scots*, neither could their greatest Detractors deny it. Whereupon *Charles* the Dauphin created the Earl of *Buchan* Lord High Constable, which is the highest Office in *France* next the King: The rest of the Commanders had also Honours bestowed on them, according to their Ranks and Valour.

WHILST

WHILST these Things were acting in *France* in the Year 1420, *Robert* Governor of *Scotland*, died the same Year, on the third of *September*, and fifteen Years after the Death of King *Robert III.* His Son *Murdo* succeeded in his Place, a Man of a sluggish Disposition, and scarce fit to govern his private Family, much less the Commonwealth: So that either by his Slothfulness, or else his too much Indulgence, he so spoiled his Children, (for he had three) that, in a short time, he brought both them and himself into great Calamity, and at last to Destruction. This Change of domestick Affairs caused the Earls of *Buchan* and *Wigton*, with many of their Kindred, to return from *France*: But, Matters being soon settled at home, the *Dauphin* recalled the Earl of *Buchan*, who, with his Wife's Father *Archibald*, *James* his Son, and the Flower of the *Scottish* Soldiers, sailed into *France*, leaving his other Son the Earl of *Wigton* behind him, who being grievously sick, could not follow him: They landed with 5000 Soldiers at *Rochelle*, and so came to the *Dauphin* at *Poitou*, where they were joyfully received, and *Douglas* was made Duke of *Touraine*.

WHEN *Henry* of *England* heard of the Death of *Clarence*, he substituted *John* Earl of *Bedford*, his other Brother, in his Place, and sent him before into *France* with 4000 Horse and 10000 Foot. He himself followed soon after, and took with him *James* King of *Scots* in the Expedition: thinking by that means either to insinuate himself with the *Scots*, who fought against him in *France*; or else to render them suspected to the *French*: But he obtained neither of his Ends, nor could he prevail with them, at the Desire of their own King, so much as to return home, and to stand Neuters, and be Spectators only of the War: For addressing to all the Garrisons held there by the *Scots*, they made him one general Answer, That they could not acknowledge him for their King, who was under the Power of another Man: *Henry* being offended at their Peremptoriness and Constancy, having taken the Town of *Meaux* by Storm, hanged up twenty *Scots* that he found there, alledging, That they bore Arms against their own King. Soon after, he and *Charles VI.* King of *France*, died, immediately one after another. About two Years after, the *English* prevailed in a Battle at *Vernevil*, where there were slain of the prime *Scots*, the Earl of *Buchan* and *Douglas*, one Duke of *Touraine*, the other Master of the Horse to the *French* King; and also *James Douglas* his Son, *Alexander Lindsay*, *Robert Stuart*, and *Thomas Swinton*; and of common Soldiers above 2000. And, about three Years after, the Auxiliary *Scots* received another great Overthrow at *Beaux*, when they were carrying Provisions to *Orleans*. They set upon the *English* in the Way, in which Fight there were slain of *Scots* of Note, *William Stuart*

with his Brother, and two eminent Knights of the Family of the *Douglasses*, whose Posterities do yet enjoy two Castles, and large Possessions about them in *Scotland*, viz. one of them the Castle of *Drumlanerick*, and the other the Castle of *Lochlevin* in *Fife*. Thus have I briefly touched upon the Actions of the *Scots*, performed in a few Years in *France*, as external and foreign Occurrences; the further Explication of them is to be had in the *French Annals*, which though they be not quite alien from the Affairs of *Scotland*, yet I had not stepped out of my Way to mention them, if the Calumny of some *English* Writers had not compelled me to it. For they endeavour to undervalue and speak Evil of what they dare not deny; which if Histories did not mention, yet the Munificence of the Kings, the Decrees of the Cities, and the honourable Monuments at *Orleans* and *Touraine* do sufficiently declare them. What then can they here object? The *Scots*, say they, are too poor to maintain so great a Force in a foreign Country. I answer, first, That if their Poverty be a Fault, it is the Fault of the *Soil*, not of the Men; neither would I have taken this for a Reproach, if it did not appear by their Writings, that the *English* intended it for such; and therefore I shall only answer them with this, That these poor and beggarly *Scots* (as they call them) have got many great and famous Victories over the opulent and wealthy *English*: And if they do not believe me in this Point, let them consult their own Histories; and if they suspend their Belief of them also, let them not require of us to receive them for true in other Things. But to return to the Affairs of *Scotland*.

MURDO being set up, as I said but now, in the Place of his Father, he kept a very loose kind of Discipline in his own House; his Children (whose Names were *Walter*, *Alexander* and *James*) despised their Inferiors, and consequently oppressed them with many Injuries, and they infected the Youth with those Vices, to which they themselves were addicted; and seeing their Father did not curb nor restrain them, at last he was punished himself for giving them such bad Education. The old Man highly prized a certain Bird he had of that Sort of *Hawks*, which they call *Falcons*: *Walter* had often begged him of his Father, and was as often denied; so that upon a Time he caught it out of his Father's Hand, and wrung off its Neck. To whom his Father replied, *Because thou can'st not find in thy Heart to obey me, I will bring in another, that both thou and I too shall be forced to obey*. And from that time forward, he bent his Thoughts to restore his Kinsman *James*; an eminent Man of *Argyle*, Chief of the Country, named *Calen Campbel*, whom before *Walter* had affronted and wronged, approving

approving his Design, and assisting him in it; so that he assembled the Estates at *Perth*, and a Consultation being held concerning the Revocation of their King; they all, either out of Favour to the true Heir of the Kingdom, or out of Weariness of the present Posture of Affairs, willingly agreed to send an Embassy to procure his Restoration. Some Nobles were chosen Ambassadors, who coming into *England*, found the *English* more inclinable to it than they expected: For the Duke of *Gloucester*, who, in the King's Minority, governed the Affairs of *England*, called the Council together, and easily persuaded them, that *James*, Son to the King of *Scotland*, should be sent back, at the Desire of his People, into his own Country; seeing he was not at present of so great Authority amongst them, as to be able to recal the *Scots* Auxiliaries out of *France*, or to draw any Part of the Kingdom to an Alliance with *England*. And besides, he thought to make another Advantage of him, that he would not only be his sure and fast Friend, but would always be under the Power and Influence of *England*; for if *James* should marry *Joan*, the Earl of *Somerset*'s Daughter, the most beautiful Woman of her Time, (with whom he was mightily in Love at that time) he persuaded himself, that, by her means, the League with *France* might be easily undermined; and, if he was once set at Liberty, either he would be made a Friend to *England* by that Courtesy, or else, whilst he was revenging the Wrongs his Kindred had done him, he would entangle his Country in a dismal intestine War; and by that means it would come to pass, that either the *English* would be made stronger by the Addition of such a Friend, or, if their *Scottish* Enemies disagreed amongst themselves, they should be more disengaged, and readier for a foreign War. And indeed these were no imprudent Considerations, if they themselves, by the Narrowness of their Spirits, had not marred their own Markets. For, seeing they demanded a greater Sum of Money for his Redemption, than the *Scots*, in their present Circumstances, either durst promise, or were able to pay, a Compromise was made, that the Dowry of his Wife should be retained, as for one half, and that the Sons of some Noblemen should be given in Hostage, for the Payment of the other. *James*, being set at Liberty upon these Terms, returned home, eighteen Years after he had been a Prisoner, in the Year of our Lord 1423.

AMIDST the great Concourse of People which flocked in to see him, and to congratulate his Return, he was soon taken up with the Complaints of those who grievously lamented what Wrongs they had sustained since the last King's Death, partly by the Negligence, and partly by the Injuries of the late

Governors: *Walter* the Son of *Murdo*, *Malcolm Fleming*, and *Thomas Boyd*, were highly accused, who, to pacify the Commons for the present, were committed to several Prisons, until the next Convention of the Estates, which was appointed to be on the twenty seventh Day of *May*: but *Fleming* and *Boyd*, upon Payment of Damages, and some kind of Compensation; and also upon laying down a round Sum, which they were fined at, into the King's Exchequer, were set at Liberty.

JAMES I. *the hundredth and second King.*

IN the mean time, the King with the Queen was crowned on the 20th Day of *April*; he being placed in the Chair of State by his Cousin *Murdo*, (an Office belonging to the Earls of *Fife*): A while after, many profitable Laws were enacted for the Good of the Publick, but especially to restrain Robberies; which by the Licentiousness of former Times, had grown to such an Height, that Laws and Magistrates were despised, as if all Right had only consisted in the Power of Arms. Afterwards they consulted how to raise the Money due to the *English* for the King's Ransom; for seeing the publick Treasure was very low, by reason of so many Wars, and domestick Seditions following upon the Wars, the Governors having pardoned the Offenders, and bestowed Rewards on good Patriots, so that the King's Revenue was mortgaged, and Money taken up upon it, he could not pay it of his own, but was forced to crave Aid of his Subjects: and indeed the Nobles, whose Sons were left Hostages, easily obtained, that an Act should pass to that Purpose; but in the Payment of the Money there was not so ready an Obedience. For upon a Valuation of all Moveables, a twentieth Part was imposed, which, in so great a Want of Money, yet Plenty, and consequently, Cheapness of other Things, seemed intolerable to Men, who were not accustomed to Taxes; and who also were more concerned at the Example that might prevail on future Times, than for the present Damage: And moreover, the higher Sort were calumniated by the Vulgar, as if they had laid too much of the Burden upon the Shoulders of the Poor. But that which troubled the Commons most, was the short Day appointed for the Payment of the Tax, for it was commanded to be brought in within fifteen Days; and if any one did not pay, his Cattle were to be seized upon, either by the Lord of the Manor, or the Sheriff of the County. And, if any one alledged his being in Debt, or in Arrears of Rent to his Landlord, the Exception did not avail to abate his Contribution: And the Mischief was increased by the Severity and Harshness of the Collectors, who

who did not only thus vex the People; but, by false Reckonings, or upon the account of Charges, they deducted a great Part of the Money, which was collected for the publick Use: Besides, the Imposition seemed more intolerable, because the former Governors had been very remiss and moderate in their Levies and Cessments, that so they might insinuate themselves into the Love of the Commons, and by that means keep them off from designing the Restitution of their lawful King: And for that Cause it was, that when the Assembly had given Liberty to *Robert* the King's Uncle, to levy a Tax, he, to ingratiate himself with the Commonalty, refused to let it pass into an Act; affirming, *That he had rather pay down so much Money of his own, than that the Commons should be burdened on such an account.* When the King had exacted the first Payment, which came in very hardly, and with the Ill-will of the People, who complained, that besides the Burden of the Wars, they had these new Taxes imposed upon them, he forgave the rest.

IN this Assembly, *Murdo* Duke of *Albany*, *Walter* and *Alexander* his Sons, *Dunac* Earl of *Lennox*, his Wife's Father, and *Robert Grame*, who, some Years after, killed the King, were taken and committed to Prison; so were twenty four more of the chief Nobility, but the rest were, in a little time after, set at Liberty; *Murdo* only, with his Son, and Wife's Father, being retained in Custody. The same Day that *Murdo* was taken, the King seized upon his Castles, as *Falkland* in *Fife*, and *Down* in *Monteith*, out of which his Wife was carried to the Castle of *Tintallon* in *Lothian*. *James* his youngest Son, hearing of the Havock that was making among his Family, gathered a Band of Men together, and burnt the Town of *Dumbarton*, and slew *John Stuart* (the King's Uncle) surnamed *Rufus*, and thirty two of his Followers; and then he fled into *Ireland*, where he died shortly after. There also *Finlaw*, Bishop of *Lismore*, one of the *Dominican* Order who fled with him, and was his Counsellor in all his Affairs, departed this Life. The Wife of *Walter*, with her two Sons, *Andrew*, and *Alexander*, and *Arthur* a base-born Son, fled likewise into *Ireland*, who, in the Reign of *James III.* returned again, and were endowed with great Honour. The same Year, in an Assembly of the Estates at *Stirling*, *Murdo*, with his two Sons, and Wife's Father, were brought out of Prison, to be tried according to Law; the Proceedings were after the Custom of the Country, which was thus: Some Man eminent for Wisdom and Authority is chosen out to be President of the Court, and he hath at least twelve Assessors joined with him, who are to hear the Crimes objected, and to pass Sentence

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on the Prisoner, or Party accused, according to their Oaths. These Judges are usually of the same Quality with the Party accused; or at least, of the next Condition to him, as near as may be: The Prisoner hath Power to except against his Judges, when the Number of twelve, and sometimes more, is completed; and when the Crimes are weighed, the Sentence is pronounced according to the Majority of Voices. In this Case, Judges being chosen according to Custom, it is not material to mention their Names, (but certainly they were Persons of Repute, and some of them nearly related to the accused) the Prisoners were condemned of high Treason. The two young Men were put to death the same Day; their Father and Grandfather, by the Mother's Side, the Day after, on a little rising Hill, over against the Castle of *Stirling*. There goes a constant Report, though I find it not mentioned in History, that the King sent to *Isabella*, Wife of his Cousin-german, the Heads of the Father, Husband, and Sons, to try whether so fierce a Woman, out of Impatience of Grief (as it sometimes comes to pass) would not reveal the Secrets of her Mind: But though she was much disturbed at the sudden Spectacle, yet she gave no intemperate Language, only answered, *That if the Crimes objected were true, the King had done justly and according to Law.*

WHEN the Assembly was ended, *John Montgomery*, and *Humphry Cunningham*, were sent by the King to take a Castle in *Marin-Island* in *Loch-Loumond*, which was held in the name of *James Stuart* the Fugitive; and they reduced it accordingly. And, not long after, *John Stuart* of *Darnly*, (who when the Scots Commanders in *France* were several ways destroyed, was made General of the Horse amongst them) together with the Archbishop of *Rhemes*, came into *Scotland*, to renew the antient League with the *French*, and to contract a Marriage between *Lewis* the Son of *Charles VII.* and *Margaret* Daughter of *James*, both of them but Children at that Time. These Matters being accomplished, the next Year, which was 1426, all *Scotland* was subdued within the Mount *Grampius*: And the King took Heart to proceed farther in his Conquests. And first he caused the Castle of *Inverness* to be repaired, which is situate in a convenient Place in the farthest Part of *Murray*. Two Years after going thither to administer Justice, and suppress Robberies, he sent for the Chief of all the Families, especially of those who were wont to issue out with great Troops, and fetch in Booties from the neighbouring Countries, raising Contributions upon them in Times of Peace, and forcing the poor People to supply them with Victuals while they lived an idle Life. Some of those Robbers

Robbers had 1000, some 2000, some more Partizans at their Command, by which means good People were kept under for Fear of Danger; and the bad, who found a sure Refuge amongst them, were made more bold to commit all Manner of Wickedness. The King had got most of them into his Power, some by Threats, others by Flatteries; but he committed about forty of the Chief of them to Prison, and upon Trial, two of the most villanous, *Alexander Macrory*, and *John Macarthur*, were hanged up; *James Campbel* was likewise put to death for the Murder of *John the Islander*, one of Note in his Country; the rest were divided into several Prisons, of which some afterwards suffered Death, and others were freely set at Liberty. Thus the Heads of the Faction being either slain or kept Prisoners, the King judged the common Sort, thus deprived of their Leaders, would not stir, and therefore he persuaded them by kind and gentle Words, to do what was just, and to place the Hopes of their Safety in nothing else but the Innocency of their Lives. If they would do so, he would be always ready to honour and reward them; if not, they might take Example by the Punishment of others, and most certainly expect the like themselves.

WHEN other Matters were thus composed; yet the King had still with him *Alexander the Islander*, one of the most potent Persons in the Land, next the King himself; for he commanded over all the *Ebudæ*; and besides, he had an Accession of the fertile County of *Ross*, by means of his Mother, who was Daughter to *Walter Lesly*, late Earl of *Ross*. He, having committed many cruel and flagitious Acts, was thereupon in great Fear of the King, whom yet he found very exorable by the Mediation of his Friends; insomuch that he was courteously invited to Court, and kindly entertained there; and having obtained a Pardon for what was past, great Hopes of Favour were propounded to him, if he would inure himself to a more quiet and obedient Carriage and Deportment for the Time to come, and so he was sent home. But he was so far from being thankful to the King for his Pardon, and afterwards for his Liberty, that he thought he had great Wrong done him, that he was kept some Days in Prison. And therefore, as soon as he was returned to his old Comrades, he gathered a Company of them together, who were accustomed to live upon the Spoil, and went to *Inverness*, in a seemingly peaceable Manner; where, being hospitably entertained, he suffered his Followers to pillage the Town, and after he had set Fire to the Houses, he laid Siege to the Castle; but hearing of a Force coming against him, was compelled to raise his Siege, and marched in great Haste to *Lochabyr*: There, by reason of the
Advantage

Advantage of the Place, he resolves to put himself upon the Fortune of a Battle, with that Army which he had with him, which were ten thousand Men, hardened to the Wars. But two Tribes or Clans, of those who followed him chearfully to the Plunder, when they heard of the King's Preparations made against them, deserted him; to wit, the *Catans* and the *Cameron*s, called vulgarly, *Clan-Chattan*, and *Clan-Cameron*.

BEING thus deprived of Part of his Strength, and having no great Confidence in the Fidelity of the rest, he began to think of hiding himself again; and so, dismissing his Army, he retired with some few into the *Ebudæ*, and there consulted concerning his Flight into *Ireland*. But presuming, that even *there* he could not be safe from the Wrath of the King, he thought it best to fly to his last Refuge, *viz.* the King's Mercy and Clemency, which before he had so largely experienced. But here his Thoughts were at a Loss, betwixt Hope and Fear, when he considered, what Mischiefs he had done at his first Revolt; and after the King had graciously pardoned him, with what Perfidiousness and Cruelty he had again broke forth, and so had cut off all Hopes of farther Indemnity; and therefore was in great Doubt and Perplexity, whether he should commit himself, his Life and his Fortunes, to the King's Anger; that was so justly grounded against him. In these Circumstances he resolved to take a middle Course, between being a Fugitive and a Surrenderer, which was, to send Agents to Court to beg Pardon for his Offences, and to incline the King's Heart to Lenity towards him. And for this Service he chose quiet, moderate Men, and not at all infected with the same Villanies of which he himself had been guilty; and on that account not unacceptable to the King; yet notwithstanding they could obtain no other Answer from him, but that he would hear nothing unless *Alexander* would put himself into his Hands; neither would he treat with him as long as he was absent. *Alexander* cast up all his Dangers in his Mind, and foreseeing that he could be safe nowhere from the King's Fury, resolved to chuse a fit Time and Place, and so to throw himself upon his Mercy; for he thought he would count it a Shame to injure, or punish, an humble Suppliant. Accordingly he comes privately to *Edinburgh*, where the King then was, and on *Easter-Day*, when our *Lord's Resurrection* is celebrated with great Solemnity, he threw himself at the King's Feet, having a linen Cloak, or Plaid about him, with which he was rather covered than clothed; and in a Speech composed to excite Compassion, put himself into his Hands, and begged his Life and Estate. His Habit, the Place and Time, and so great and sudden a Change of Fortune, much affected the Persons then present. The

Queen

Queen and the Nobles, who were there, interceded with the King for him, and did so far incline and affect his Mind, that they were commanded to stay till their Devotions were ended. In the *interim*, the King pondered every thing with himself, and thought it not safe to dismiss so perfidious, so potent, and so factious a Person, without any Punishment at all; and yet, on the other hand, to make some Gratification to the Request of the Queen, he thought it best to keep him alive in safe Custody; for, by this means, he might gain an Opinion of Clemency, and, at the same time, prevent his Opportunity to do farther Mischief; provide for the Security of the common People, and withal terrify others by his Example. Upon this he was sent Prisoner to *Tintallon-Castle*, and his Mother, a fierce Woman, was banished into the Island of *Inchcolm*. For it was thought, that she would have excited him to new Attempts.

THE Licentiousness of *Alexander* being thus repressed, yet were not all Things quiet in the Northern Countries. For the Men of *Caithness* and *Cameron*, who, the Year before, had deserted *Alexander*, fell out grievously amongst themselves; and fought one another with so great Eagerness, that many of *Caithness* were slain, but the *Cameronians* almost all lost. In the *Æbudæ* likewise, where 'twas thought Things would be quiet by reason of *Alexander's* Exile, new Commotions were raised by *Donald Balock*, Cousin-german to *Alexander*, on pretence of revenging the Wrong done to his Kinsman. To quell this Insurrection, *Alexander* and *Alan*, both *Stuarts*, one Earl of *Caithness*, the other of *Marr*, gathered some of their Countrymen together, and went into *Lochabyr* to meet *Donald*, (for the Report was, that he would make his Descent there) where they waited his Coming. He, perceiving that they kept no Order, but were without Tents or Guard, in the fourth Watch, landed his Men without any Noise, and so set upon them unexpectedly, whilst they were half asleep, and made a great Slaughter amongst them. *Alan*, with almost all his Brigade, was lost there; and *Alexander*, with a few, saved his Life by Flight. *Donald* was exalted with this Success, and so wasted all *Lochabyr* with Fire and Sword, no Man daring to oppose him; but, at length, hearing that the King was making towards him with a greater Force, he packed up his large Bundles of Pillage, sent them a Shipboard, and returned into the *Æbudæ*. The King marched as far as *Dunstafrage* after him, and there saw the Ruin and fearful Devastation which had been made: It put him to an Excess of Rage, and he was about to pass over into the *Islands*, but the Chiefs of their Families came with their humble Supplications to him, alledging, that there was no

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general Guilt in the Case, because nothing had been acted by publick Advice, but all the Fault lay at the Door of *Alexander*, and of some indigent and lewd Persons that sided with him. The King answered, he would not admit of their Excuse, unless they would apprehend the Authors of those wicked and pernicious Practices, and deliver them up to him to be punished: when they had promised to do their Endeavour in it, the King let some of them go to find out the Robbers; the rest he kept in the Nature of Hostages: Those who were dismissed, slew many of the Thieves, and brought three hundred of them Prisoners to the King (*Donald* himself, for Fear of Punishment, being fled away), who caused them all to be hanged.

THOUGH this Punishment of the Robbers made Things a little more quiet in the *Æbudæ* and the neighbouring Parts, just for the present; yet the unquiet Dispositions of some wicked and turbulent Men would not suffer that Calm to be long-liv'd. The King, at the Desire of his Nobles, had released two of the *Angus's*, *Duffus*, and *Murray*, Commanders of the Thieves. These turned their Fury upon one another, meeting in equal Numbers (for each of them maintained about 1500 Partisans out of the Spoils of the People). They fought so obstinately, that there was scarce any one left on either side, to be Messengers of the Slaughter; for some say there were but twelve, others but nine, left alive; so that the King, who was equally angry with both, had scarce any of them left to inflict a Punishment upon.

AND yet their Calamity did not restrain one *Macdonald* from his wonted Savageness. He was a noted Robber, born in *Ross*, whose wicked Disposition was excited by the Impunity of the former Times; so that he (as we say) kinged it a long time among his Neighbours. Amongst the rest, they say, he committed one Fact superlatively cruel. A Widow Woman that was robbed by him, bemoaned her Case in a most lamentable Manner, and ever and anon cried out, that she would complain to the King. Wilt thou so? says he: Then to the Intent thou mayst the better perform thy Journey, I myself will assist thee; and so, calling a Smith, he caused him to nail Horse-shoes to the Soles of her Feet; and not contented with that Act of Cruelty, he added contumelious Speeches, and played upon her with Words of Mockery and Contempt, telling her, that she was now more fenced against the Roughness of the Ways; and he shewed her, thus shod, as a Laughing-stock to those that passed by. The Woman, being of a fierce and stern Disposition, and rather enraged than terrified by his Reproaches, as soon as she was able to go, went to the King, and laid before him the whole Matter of Fact. The King had heard the same before

before from others; and having then the Offender in Prison, bid the Woman be of good heart; for she should speedily see the same Punishment inflicted on the Inventors of it; and accordingly, he caused *Macdonald*, and twelve of his Complices, to be brought out of Prison, and to have their Feet shod with Iron Nails, and so to be carried three Days about the City, a *Cryer* going before, and declaring the Cause of this new Punishment; then the Captain was beheaded, and his twelve Associates hanged, all their Bodies being set upon Gibbets in the Highways.

THESE new Crimes, which a Pardon once obtained had not prevented, made the King more eager to find out *Donald* the *Islander*. And therefore, being informed that he lay concealed in a Nobleman's House in *Ireland*, he sent Messengers to him to deliver him up to Punishment: The Nobleman fearing, that if he should send him away alive, through so long a Tract both by Land and Sea, he might possibly make his Escape, and then his Enemies might alledge, that it was done by his Connivance, caused him to be slain, and sent his Head to the King by his own Messenger. Open Robberies being thus diligently suppressed, the King endeavoured to extirpate some secret Crimes and evil underhand Practices; and, in order to accomplish this great and good Work, he made choice of eminent Persons, much commended for their Prudence and Sanctity, giving them Power to travel all over the Kingdom to hear Complaints; and if there were any Offences complained of to them, which ordinary Judges, either, for Fear, durst not, or, for Favour and Affection, would not intermeddle with, then they themselves should hear the Case, and determine it. And moreover, he added one to their Number, who was to correct and rectify Weights and Measures, a Thing very necessary; seeing then, not only every City, but almost every House, used a different kind of Measure: In a Parliament he made wholesome Laws to this Purpose, and caused Iron Measures to be set up in certain Places, and sent out one to all Markets and Fairs, who was to regulate all the Measures according to that Standard; and a heavy Punishment was to be inflicted on him who used any other Measure, than that which was thus signed with a publick Mark.

WHILST he was transacting these Things for the publick Good, in the Year 1430, the 14th Day of *October*, his Queen was brought to bed of Twins, which occasioned a Day of publick Rejoicing; and the King, to add something to the popular Mirth, forgave former Offences to Noblemen, the Chief of whom were *Archibald Douglas*, and *John Kennedy*, who, because they had spoken too rashly and unadvisedly concerning

the State and Government of the Realm, had been made Prisoners, *Douglas* in the Castle of *Lochlevin*, and *Kennedy* in the Castle of *Stirling*. And as a further Testimony of his Reconciliation to *Douglas*, he made him Godfather (as we call him) at the baptizing of his Children, which is wont to be accounted a Matter of great Honour, and a Token of intimate Friendship; and moreover, he made his Son one of the Knights which were created, as so many Witnesses of the publick Joy on this Occasion. The other Parts of his Kingdom being thus purged and amended, he next turned his Thoughts to the reforming of the Ecclesiastical State; but the Priests could not be corrected by the Civil Magistrate; for the Kings of *Europe* having been long engaged in mutual Wars, the Ecclesiastical Order had, by little and little, withdrawn themselves from their Obedience, and obeyed only the Pope of *Rome*; and he indulged their Vices, partly because he was a Gainer by them, and partly because he might make Kings the more subject to his Pleasure, by reason of the great Power of the Clergy in their Kingdoms. Hence it was he resolved to prevent their Tyranny, the best and only Way he was able; for seeing it was not in his Power to amend what was past, nor to turn out unworthy Men from those Preferments, which they once were possessed of, he thought to provide the best he could for the future; which was to set up publick Schools for Learning, and liberally to endow them; because these would be Seminaries for all Orders of Men; and whatsoever was excellent or noble in any Commonwealth, took from thence its Origin as from a Fountain. Thus he drew learned Men to him by Rewards; nay, he himself would be sometimes present at their Disputations; and when he had any Vacation from Civil Affairs, he delighted to hear the Conferences of the Learned; endeavouring by that means to eradicate the false Opinion which many Nobles had imbibed, *viz.* That Learning drew Men off from Action to Sloth and Idleness, and softened military Spirits, either breaking, or at least weakening all their vigorous Efforts; so that the Study of Letters was only fit for *Monks*, who were immured as it were in a Prison, and good for no other Use. But alas! the Monks, as they had degenerated from the Simplicity and Parsimony of their Ancestors, so they had turned themselves wholly from the Culture of their Minds, to the Care of their Bodies: and Learning was as much neglected by the rest of the Priesthood also; and especially for this Cause, *That Benefices were bestowed on the most slothful, and worst Persons of Noblemens Families, which were unfit for other Employments; or else they were intercepted by the Fraud of the Romanists; so that a Parsonage was nothing else but a Reward for*
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some Piece of Service, and that sometimes none of the best. And besides, there was another Mischief which added much to the corrupting of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and that was, the Orders of *Begging Friars*. These Friars, at the Beginning, pretended greater Sanctity of Life; and so easily imposed upon the People to hear them rather than their Parish-priests, who were commonly gross-bodied and heavy-headed Fellows. Nay, those Parish-Curates or Priests, as they grew rich, did scorn to do their own Work themselves, but would hire these Friars (for so they called themselves) for a small yearly Stipend, to preach a few Sermons in the Year to the People. In the mean time, they withdrew into Cities, and there chanted out their idle Songs, as it were, after a magical Manner, not knowing what they said; and there was none of them that hardly ever turned an Eye towards his own Parish, but when his Tithes were to be collected. By degrees they even withdrew themselves from this Office of singing at certain Hours in Cathedrals and Churches; which, though it were but a light, was yet a daily Service; and hired some thread-bare beardless Drudges to supply their Places in singing Masses and other Prayers; and so by muttering and mumbling out a certain Task and Jargon of *Psalms*, which was appointed every Day, they made a collusive kind of a Tragedy; sometimes contending in alternate Verses and Responses, other while making a *Chorus* between the Acts, which at last closed with the Image or Representation of the Death of *Christ*. And the Friars, their Hirelings, on the one side, did not dare to offend their Masters, on whom their Livelihood depended; neither yet, on the other, could they bear their Insolence, joined with so much Avarice; so that they pitched upon a middle Way, that they might engage them to make easier Payment of their Pensions: They oftentimes bitterly inveighed against their Lust and Avarice before the People, who gave Ear to their Doctrine; and when they had raved enough in their Sermons, to keep them in Fear, and also to conciliate the Minds of the Vulgar, they took up, and consulted for themselves also in time, seeing they were likewise in Ecclesiastical Orders. They told them, that whatever the Disorders were, yet the Order of Priesthood was a *sacred* Thing, and that the Temporal or Civil Magistrate, had no Power to punish them: they were only responsible to *God*, and to the *Pope*, (who had almost equal Power with *God*); and because, their Avarice increasing with their Luxury, they thought they should not squeeze Gain enough from the People, therefore those Friars set up a new kind of Tyranny, holding forth in their Sermons the Merit of Works. Hence arose *Purgatory*, and the *Cleansing* of Souls (which the *Pope* was pleased to detain there) by the *Sacrifices* (forsooth)

(forsooth) of the *Mass*, by the sprinkling of *holy Water*, by *Alms* and *Pensions* given or offered, by *Indulgences*, *Pilgrimages*, and *worshipping* of *Relicks*: The Friars being exercised in this kind of bartering Trade and Chaffer, in a little time claimed the Power to themselves, both over the *Living* and the *Dead*.

IN this ill Condition *James I.* found Church-affairs in *Scotland*; and therefore he thought it the most compendious Way to restore the old Discipline, if good and learned Men were admitted to Benefices. And to increase the Emulations of young Scholars, he told the Masters and Governors of Universities and Schools, that because he himself was hindered by the publick Affairs of State, so that he could not consider every Student's particular Merit, they should therefore be very careful to commend learned and virtuous young Scholars to him, that he might gratify them with Church-preferments; who being thus advanced, might not only be useful to the People by their Doctrine and Example, but also might assist the meaner and poorer Sort of those that were designed for Church-men with their Substance; and so far to relieve their Poverty, that good Wits might not be compelled for Want, to break off their Studies and Course of Learning, and betake themselves to mechanick, sordid, or mercenary Trades and Employments. And, to the end that good Men might, with more Diligence, apply themselves to Learning, and the slothful might know, that their only Way to Preferment was by Virtue, he distinguished Students by their Degrees, that so every one might know, what Preferment he was qualified for. And truly, if succeeding Kings had followed this Course, we had never fallen into these Times, when the People cannot endure the Vices of the Priests, nor the Priests the Remedy of those Vices. Neither was the King ignorant, that the Church was incumbered with those great Mischiefs under which it then laboured, by reason of its immoderate Wealth; and therefore he did not approve the Prodigality of former Kings, in exhausting their Treasury to enrich Monasteries; so that he often said, *That though David was otherwise the best of Kings, yet his profuse Piety, so praised by many, was prejudicial to the Kingdom*; but however, he himself, as if he had been carried away by the rapid Torrent of evil Custom, could not withhold his Hand from building a Monastery for the *Carthusians*, near *Perth*; nor from endowing it with large Revenues. One thing was very admirable in him, that, amidst the greatest Cares for the high Affairs of the Publick, he thought the most inferior and private Matters not unworthy of his Royal Notice, provided any Benefit accrued to the Publick from them. For as *Scotland* had been exercised with continual Wars, from the Death of *Alexander III.* for almost 150 Years together,

together, during which long Space of Time, her Cities had been so often spoiled and burnt, and her Youth generally made Soldiers, so that other Trades were much neglected, he invited Tradesmen of all Sorts to come over from *Flanders*, proposing great Rewards and Immunities to them; by which means he filled his Cities (almost empty before, in regard the Nobility resided, according to antient Custom, in the Country) with this Sort of Men; neither did he only, by this means, render the Towns apparently more populous; but he likewise engaged a great Number of idle and vagrant People to turn to the Works of Industry and honest Labour; and it came from hence to pass, that what was with small Cost made at home, needed not, with far greater, be fetch'd from abroad.

YET, while he was thus strengthening all the weak Parts of his Kingdom by proper Remedies, he got the Dislike of his Subjects to a great Degree, especially for two Reasons. The *one* seemed light in Appearance, yet it was that which is the Beginning of almost all Calamity to a People. For when Peace was universally settled; Idleness, Luxury, and the wanton Lust of ruining, first the Peace itself, and then other Blessings, were its immediate ill Consequences. Hence arose sumptuous Feastings, Drinking, Caresses by Day and Night, Masquerades and Balls, Delight in strange Apparel, Stateliness of Houses, not for necessary Use, but to please the Eye; a Corruption of Manners, falsely called Politeness, and in all Things a general Contempt of the Country Customs; so that nothing (forsooth) was accounted handsome or comely enough, but that which was perfectly novel, and out of the Way. The Commonalty were willing to shew, that the Fault of these Innovations lay not at their Door, they put the Blame on the *English* Courtiers who followed the King; and yet they did not inveigh against such wanton and pleasurable Courses, more bitterly in their Words, than they studiously practised them in their Lives. But the King obviated this Michief as much as he could, both by wholesome Laws, and also by his own good Example; for he kept himself in his Apparel and Frugality, within the Rate of the richer Sort of private Men; and if he saw any thing immoderate or extravagant in any body's Way of living, he shewed by his Countenance, and sometimes by his Words, that it was displeasing to him. By this means, the Course of increasing Luxury was somewhat restrained, rather than the new Intemperance extinguished; and the old Parsimony restored. His *other* Fault was talked off abroad by his Enemies, and afterwards broke forth into a publick Michief. *Robert* the King's Uncle, and *Murdo* his Cousin-german, who had the Regency of the Kingdom for many Years, aspiring

aspiring to the Throne, and yet not knowing how to remove *James* out of the Way, they did (what was next to it) so engage the Affections of Men to them, that the better Sort might not miss a King very much, nor have any ardent Desires after him: For they used such great Moderation in the Management of Affairs, that their Government seemed to many, not only tolerable, but very desirable, if *Walter, Murdo's* Son, had but carried it with the like Popularity and Moderation. For they so engaged the Nobles to them, by their Liberality and Munificence, that some enjoyed the Crown-lands by Connivance; to others they gave them outright; and, in favour of some particular Men, they cancelled Proceedings and Judgments in Law, and restored some who had been banished, and amongst them, one eminent and potent Person, *George Dunbar* Earl of *March*; who, during his Exile, had done much Mischief to his Country; and by this means they hoped to ingratiate themselves to such a Degree with the Nobility, that they would never so much as think of calling home the King; and then if *James* died without Issue, the Kingdom would come to them without any Competitor: But if he should chance to return from his Banishment, yet their Faction would be so powerful, that if the King bore them a Grudge, they were able to defend themselves by Force against him. But when the King did actually return, the old Favour and Respect borne to the Uncle, seemed to be almost extinguished by the new Injuries and Flagitiousness of his Son *Walter*; so that it plainly appeared, that *nothing was more popular than Justice*. And therefore the People were not only consenting, but also contributed their Assistance to the Execution of *Murdo* the Father, and his two Sons, and to the Banishment of a third; so that the King's Revenue was augmented by the Confiscation of their Estates: And also by the Accession of the Estates of *John* Earl of *Buchan*, who died childless in *France*, and of *Alexander* Earl of *Marr*, who was also childless and a Bastard, who died at home; concerning whom I shall speak a few Words by way of Digression.

THIS *Alexander* was the Son of *Alexander*, Son to King *Robert*: In his Youth, by the ill Advice of some bad Men, he turned to be a Commander amongst Thieves; but when he came to Man's Estate, he was so reformed, that he seemed plainly to be quite another Man; so that his Vices gradually decreasing, by the Benefit of wholesome Counsel, he so managed Things, both at home and abroad, that he left a Memory behind him precious to Posterity. For at home he quelled the Insurrection of the *Islanders* at *Harlaw*, making great Slaughter of them: And so he extinguished a dangerous War, in the very Rise and Bud; and though he had great Wealth well-

well-gotten, and had bought many good Estates, infomuch that he exceeded his Neighbours, yet he addicted not himself to Idleness or Pleasure, but went with a good Party of his Countrymen into *Flanders*, where he followed *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, against the *Luick-landers*, or People of *Liege*: in which War he got both Estate and Honour, and besides, he married richly in *Holland*, an Island of the *Batavians*; but the *Hollanders*, not being able to bear the Government of a Stranger, he returned back, and provided a Fleet with great Cost, yet to no great Purpose, because it was against Men, who were very well provided both with Land and Sea Forces. At length he set upon their numerous Fleet, returning from *Dantzick*, which he took and pillaged, and slew the Mariners, and burnt the Ships, so that he repaid the Enemy for the Loss he received from them, with very great Interest; nay, he so subdued the Fierceness of their Minds, that they desired a Truce for an hundred Years, and obtained it: he also caused a noble Breed of Mares to be brought as far as from *Hungary* into *Scotland*, whose Race continued there for many Years after.

THESE excessive rich Earls dying without Issue, *Buchan* and *Marr*, their patrimonial Inheritances descended rightfully to the King. And moreover, he alone enjoyed all the Possessions of the three Brothers, Sons to King *Robert II.* by his last Wife; but not without the Grudges of the Nobility (who had been accustomed to Largeſſes) that he alone should enjoy all the Prey, without sharing any Part of it amongst them. Further, they conceived another, and a fresher Cause of Offence, that the King had revoked some Grants made by *Robert* and *Murdo*, the last Regents, as unjust. Amongst those Grants there were two very remarkable, *George Dunbar*, who was declared a publick Enemy, was afterwards recalled by *Robert*; and Part of his Estate restored to him. His Son *George* succeeded him in it, to the Joy of many; who were well pleased, that such an antient and noble Family, which had so often deserved well of their Country, were restored to their antient Dignity. But the King, who looked narrowly (and perhaps too pryingly) into his Revenue, was of Opinion, that the Power to restore Incapacities, to recal Exiles, and to give back their Goods forfeited for Treason, and so brought into the King's *Exchequer*, was too great for one that was but a Guardian of another Man's Kingdom, and chosen but as a Tutor only, especially, since Largeſſes made in the Minority of Princes, by the old Laws of *Scotland*, might be recalled, if not confirmed by their respective Kings, when they came to be of Age. And therefore *James*, that he might reduce the *March-men* into his

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Power

Power without Noise, in regard they were a martial People, and Borderers upon *England*, detains *George* with him, and sends Letters to the Governor of the Castle of *Dunbar*, commanding him, on Receipt of them, immediately to surrender it up to *William Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, and *Alexander Hepburn* of *Hales*, whom he had sent to take Possession of it. *George* took from thence a Handle to complain, that he was wrongfully dispossessed of his antient Patrimony for another's Fault; and such a Fault too as was forgiven by him, who then had the supreme Power. The King, to pacify him, and to proclaim his Clemency amongst the Vulgar, bestowed *Buchan* upon him. This Fact of the King's was variously spoken of, as every one's Humour and Disposition led him. And moreover, there was also another Action, which much hastened his End, the Beginning whereof is to be fetched a little higher.

I said before, that King *Robert II.* had three Sons by his Concubine, he had also two by his Wife *Euphemia*, *Walter* Earl of *Athol*, and *David* Earl of *Strathern*; yet when their Mother the Queen was dead, he married the Concubine before mentioned, that so he might by that Marriage legitimate the Children he had by her, and leave them Heirs to the Crown; and accordingly, at his Death, he left the Kingdom to the eldest of them: to the second he gave great Wealth, and the Regency also: the third was made Earl of several Counties. In this Matter, though his other Wife's Children thought themselves wronged, yet being younger, and not so powerful as they, they smothered their Anger for the present. And besides, their Power was somewhat abated, by the Death of the Earl of *Strathern*, who left but only one Daughter behind him, afterwards married to *Patrick Graham*, a young Nobleman, and one of a very potent Family in that Age, by whom he had *Meliss Graham*; his Parents were but short-lived, and the Child a few Years after, being yet a Stripling, was sent as an Hostage into *England*, till the Money for the King's Ransom was paid. But the Earl of *Athol*, though every Way too weak for the adverse Faction, yet never gave over his Project to cut off his Kindred, nor laid aside his Hopes of recovering the Kingdom; and, because he was inferior in open Force, he craftily fomented their Divisions and Discords, and invidiously made use of their Dangers to promote his own Ends, so that by his Advice that large Family was reduced to a few. For many were of Opinion, that he gave the Counsel to take off *David*, King *Robert's* Son; and *James* had not escaped him neither, unless he had past a good Part of his Life in *England*, far from home; for he gave Advice to the Earl of *Fife*, that seeing his Brother

ther was a Drone, he himself should seize on the Kingdom. When the King had lost all his Children, and was obnoxious to his Brother's Will, and not long after died of Grief himself, there was then only the Regent of the Kingdom with his Children, that stood in bar to his Hopes, in regard he was an active Man, of great Wealth, Power, and Authority, and moreover very popular, and had a great many Children. These Considerations, in some measure, retarded his Counsels; but when *Robert* died of a natural Death, and his Son *John* was slain in the Battle of *Vernevil*, then he resumed his former Project with greater Earnestness than ever, and bent all his Mind and Endeavours how to restore *James* to his Liberty, and set him at Variance with *Murdo*, and his Children. And, seeing they could not all of them stand safe together, which soever of them fell, he foresaw, that his Hope would be advanced one Step higher to the Kingdom. And when *James* was returned into his Country, *Athol* turned every Stone to hasten *Murdo's* Destruction; he suborned Men fit for the Turn, to forge Crimes against him, and he himself sat Judge upon him and his Sons. And they being cut off, there was only *James* left, and one little Son, a Child not then above five Years old. And if *James* was but slain by the Conspiracy of the Nobles, he did not doubt but himself, who was then the only remaining Branch of the Royal Stock, should be advanced to the Administration of the Government. *Athol* was taken up with these Thoughts Night and Day, yet he concealed his secret Purposes, and made a great Shew of Loyalty to the King, in helping to rid his Kindred out of the Way; for that was his only Contrivance, that by the ill Offices of others, he might increase his own Power, and diminish that of his Enemies.

IN the mean time, *Meliss Graham* (who, as I said before, was given in Hostage to the *English*) was deprived of *Strathern*; because the King making a diligent Inquiry into his Revenue, found, that it was given to his Grandfather by the Mother's side, upon Condition, that if the Male Line failed, it should return to the King, in regard it was a Male Fee, as the Lawyers term it. This innocent young Man's Loss, who was absent, and also an Hostage, moved many to commiserate his Case; but *Robert*, his Tutor, took it so heinously, that it made him almost mad. For he, taking the Case of his Kinsman more impatiently than others, ceased not to accuse the King openly of Injustice; and being summoned to answer for it in Law, he appeared not, and was for that Reason banished the Land. This made his fierce Mind more enraged for Revenge, as being irritated by a new Injury; so that he joined secret Counsels

with those, who had their Estates confiscated as well as he ; or who took the Punishments of their Friends, though justly inflicted, in great Disdain ; or who accused the King as a covetous Man, because he was so intent upon his Gain, that he had not rewarded them according to their Expectations : And besides, he lamented, that not only many noble Families were brought to Ruin, but that the Wardships of young Nobles, which were wont to be the Rewards of valiant Men, were now altogether in the King's Hands ; so that all the Wealth of the Kingdom was almost in one Hand, and others might starve for Misery and Want, under one who was so unjust and unequal, in putting a Value upon their Labours.

Now that for which he upbraided him concerning Wardships, was this : 'Tis the Custom in *Scotland*, *England*, and some Parts of *France*, that young Gentlemen or Nobles, when their Parents die, should remain under the Care of those, whose Feudataries they are, till they arrive at the Age of 21 Years ; and all the Profits of their Estates, (except the Charges necessary for their Education) and also the Dowry given with their Wives, comes to such their Tutors and Guardians. Now these Tutelages, or (as they are commonly called) *Wardships*, were wont to be sold to the next of Kin, for a small Sum of Money ; or sometimes well deserving Men were gratified with them ; who either expected Gain by the Purchase of such Wardships, or a Reward by the Gift of them. But now they were much vexed that the King took them all to himself ; neither did they conceal their Vexation and Displeasure. When the King heard of these Murmurings and Complaints, he excused the Thing, as done by Necessity, because the publick Revenue had been so lessened by former Kings and Governors, that he could not maintain his Family like himself, nor be decently guarded and attended, nor yet give any magnificent Entertainment to Ambassadors, without them. Besides, he alledged that this Care of the King, in providing Money by all just and honest Ways, was not unprofitable to the Nobility themselves ; whose greatest Damage was, to have the King's Exchequer low. For in such Circumstances Kings were wont to extort by Force from the Rich, what they could not be without ; nay, sometimes, they were forced to burden and vex the Commons too, by exacting Taxes and Payments from them ; and that the Parsimony of the King was far less prejudicial to the Publick, by putting a Restraint upon immoderate Donations, than his Profuseness was wont to be, for then he was still forced to seize on other Mens Estates, when his own was consumed. This Answer satisfied all those who were moderate ; but those who were more violent, and who rather sought after Occasions of Complaint,

Complaint, than any just Excuse for Excesses, were more vehemently enraged by it.

THIS was the State of *Scotland*, when Ambassadors arrived out of *France* to fetch *Margaret*, *James* his Daughter, who had before been betrothed to *Lewis*, Son of *Charles VII.* home to her Husband. That Embassy brought on another from the *English*; for, seeing that the Duke of *Burgundy's* Friendship was removed from them, and that he meditated a Revolt, and that *Paris*, and other transmarine Provinces, were up in a Tumult, the *English* fearing, lest, when all the Strength of their Kingdom was drawn out to the *French* War, the *Scots* should invade them on the other side; they sent Ambassadors into *Scotland*, to hinder the Renovation of the League with *France*, and the Consummation of the Marriage, but rather to persuade a perpetual League with them, who were born in the same Island, and used the same Language. And if they would do so, and solemnly swear, that they would have the same Friends and Enemies with the *English*, then they promised that their King would quit his Claim to *Berwick*, *Roxburgh*, and other Places and Countries, which were before in Controversy betwixt the Nations.

JAMES referred the Request of the *English* to the Assembly of the Estates then met at *Perth*; where, after a long Debate upon it, the Ecclesiasticks were divided into two Factions; but the Nobility cried out, that they knew well enough the Fraud of the *English*; who, by this new League, sought to break their old Band of Alliance with the *French*, that so when the *Scots* had lost their antient Friend, they might be more obnoxious to them, if at any time they were freed from other Cares, and could wholly intend a War with *Scotland*; and that the liberal Promises of the *English* aimed at no other End; but as for themselves, they would stand to their old League, and not violate the Faith which they had given. The *English* being thus repulsed, turn from Petitions to Threats, and seeing they refused to embrace their Friendship, they declared War; telling the *Scots*, that if their King sent over his betrothed Daughter into *France*, one that was an Enemy to the *English*, the *English* would hinder their Passage if they could, and even take them Prisoners, and their Retinue too, having a Fleet ready fitted for that Purpose. This Commination of the Ambassadors was so far from terrifying *James*, that he rigged his Navy, and shipped a great Company of Noblemen and Ladies for his Daughter's Train, and so caused them to set sail sooner than he had determined, that he might prevent the Designs of the *English*. And yet, notwithstanding all this Precaution, it was rather to be attributed to God's Providence, than to the
Care

Care of Men, that she came not into the Enemy's Hands; for when they were not far from the Place, where the *English*, concealing themselves, waited for their Coming; behold! upon a sudden, a Fleet of *Dutchmen* appeared, laden with Wine from *Rochelle* to *Flanders*. The *English* Fleet made after them with all their Sail, (because the *Burgundians* being, a little before, reconciled to the *French*, opposed their Enemies with all their Might) and their Ships, being swift Sailers, they presently came up with them, being heavy laden and unarmed, and as easily took them; but before they could bring them into Port, the *Spaniards* set upon them unawares, and took away their Prey, and sent the *Flandrians* safe home. Amidst such changeable Fortune betwixt the three Nations, the *Scots* landed at *Rochelle* without seeing any Enemy: They were met by many Nobles of the *French* Court, and were brought to *Tours*, where the Marriage was celebrated, to the great Joy and mutual Gratulation of both Nations.

UPON this Occasion, the *English* Writers, especially *Edward Hall*, and he that pilfers from him, *Grafton*, inveigh mightily against *James*, as ungrateful, perfidious, and forgetful of ancient Courtesies, who, being nobly entertained, among the *English*, for so many Years, honoured with a Royal Match, and large Dowry; and besides restored to Liberty from a long Imprisonment, suffered all these Obligations to be postponed, and preferred the Alliance with *France*, before that with *England*: But the Thing itself doth easily refute their Slanders. For first, their detaining of him, when he landed on their Coast, being against their League, and also the Law of Nations, was a Wrong, not a Courtesy; next, as to their not killing him, but putting him to a Ransom for Money, rather than imbrue their Hands in the Blood, not of an Enemy, but of a Guest, that was to be attributed, not so much to their Love or Mercy towards him, as to their Avarice: And, grant there were any Courtesy in it, yet what was it else but like that of Thieves, who would seem to give the Life, which they take not away? And, if he was engaged to the *English* on that account, it was a private, not a publick Debt. As for their bestowing Education upon him who was innocent, by reason of his Age, a Suppliant by his Fortune, and a King by Descent, though most unrighteously detained, it bears indeed some Shew of Humanity, which if they had neglected, they might have been justly blamed; and indeed it had been a commendable Piece of Kindness, if the Injury going before, and the Covetousness following after, had not marred it; unless you will say, that if you purposely wound a Man, you may require him to give you Thanks for his Cure; and so you imagine a light Compensation

penfation for a great Loss, is to be esteemed as a Courtesy ; or, because you have done a Man half a good Turn, you should be paid for a whole one. For he that takes care that his Captive should be educated in Learning, either for his own Pleasure, or that he may yield him a better Price ; though some Advantage accrue hereby to the Party educated, yet the Master doth not aim at the Good of the Slave, in his Institution, but at his own. But (says he) *the King honoured him with the Marriage of his Kinswoman, and thus the royal young Man was as royally bestowed.* But, what if that Affinity was as honourable to the Father, as the Son-in-law ? He would else have married her to a private Man, but now he made her a Queen, and ingrafted her by Marriage into that Family, on which the most famous of the *English* Kings had often before bestowed their Children, and from whom so many former Kings had descended. But, *he gave a very large Dowry with her* : To whom, I pray, was it given, but to the *English* themselves, who took it away before it was paid, and made a Shew of it in Words to the Husband, but indeed kept it for their own Use ? So that the Dowry was only spoken of, not given ; and so spoken of, that they would have the young Man, whom they also had otherwise unsufferably wronged, much indebted to them, that he carried his Wife away with him, without a Dowry. But, *they sent him home a Freeman*, say they : Yes, as a Pirate doth discharge his Captive, when his Ransom is paid : But how free, I pray ? Even, if we may believe the *English* Writers themselves, under the forced Obligation of an Oath, always to obey the *English* King as his Lord ; and so to bring a Kingdom, which he did not yet enjoy, into perpetual Servitude, which if he had actually enjoyed, he could not alienate ; and yet he must mancipate it, forsooth, before he received it. This is not to set one free, but to turn him loose with a longer Chain, and that, not as a *King*, but as a *Steward* only, or *Viceroy* of another Man's Kingdom. I forbear to add, that they compelled a Man in Captivity, and as yet under the Power of another, to make a Promise ; nay, a Promise of that which he could not perform ; neither could he compel those to perform it who had the Power of it. This is that high Piece of Liberality, which, they say, *James* was unmindful of. But let us suffer these unskilful Writers, and forgetful of all Moderation and Modesty in their Stories, to account *Profits received* as *Courtesies given* : How great must we think that Liberty of falsifying, or Desire of evil speaking to be, which they use against the Daughter of the aforesaid King ? For whereas such Men, otherwise impudent enough, had nothing to alledge against her Manners, they write, that she was unacceptable to her Husband,

Husband, because of her stinking Breath : Whereas *Monstrelet*, a contemporary Writer of those Days, doth affirm, that *she* was virtuous and beautiful ; and he who wrote the *Pluscartine Book*, who accompanied that Queen both at Sea, and at her Death, hath left it on Record, that as long as she lived, *she* was very dear to her Father and Mother-in-law, and to her Husband ; as appeared by the Inscription and Epitaph in *French Verses* at *Chalons*, by the River *Matrona*, where she died, which sound much to her Praise : it was then published, and afterwards turned into the *Scottish Language*, which most of our Countrymen have by them to this Day. But leaving these Men, who do so calumniate other Peoples Credit, and neglect their own, that they care little what they say of others, or what others think of them, let us proceed with our History.

WHEN the King, having been at the Charge to equip his Fleet, had tried to exact a Tax from the People, and the greatest Part plainly refused to pay a Penny, a few giving a small Matter with an ill Will, he commanded his Collectors to desist from levying the rest, and to restore what they had already received. And yet he did not hereby shun the Clamours of the People ; for some Malecontents, who were angry at some private Loss, incited every Day seditious Persons against him. At the same time, the *English* began to plunder *Scotland*, ravaging it both by Land and Sea, under the Command of *Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland* : *William Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, was sent against him, with near an equal Number of Forces, for they were about four thousand on either side ; of the *Scots*, there fell *Alexander Johnston* of *Lothian*, a Person of Quality, and of known Valour ; some write that two hundred, others, that only forty were slain of both Armies, and about fifteen hundred *English* taken Prisoners.

JAMES, having been twice provoked by the *English*, first by their Fleet, which lay in wait to intercept his Daughter ; and next, by the late ravaging of his Country, resolves to proclaim open War against them ; whereupon he listed as great an Army as he could, and made a fierce Assault on *Roxburgh* ; and, in a short time, he expected its Surrender, when the Queen came posting to him in as long Journeys as ever she was able to perform, to inform him of very disagreeable News, which was, that there was a dreadful Conspiracy formed against his Life, and unless he took special Care, his Destruction was unavoidable. The King, being dismayed at this sudden News, disbanded his Army, and returned home, but was very ill spoken of amongst the Populace, because, when *Roxburgh* was just upon the Point of Surrender, at the Persuasion of a Woman

man he retired, after the Kingdom had been at so much Charge and Trouble; so that he seemed to have sought for nothing by his Arms but Disgrace. After he returned, he went to the Convent of the *Dominicans*, near the Walls of *Perth*, to make a private Inquiry into the Conspiracy, as well as he was able; but his Design was found out, by Persons that watched all Opportunities to execute the Villany; for one of the King's Domesticks, who was in the Plot, (Historians call him *John*, but his Surname is not mentioned), discovered to his Complices what was doing at Court, which made them hasten their Design, lest their secret Cabals should be discovered, and proper Remedies applied against them. *Walter* Earl of *Athol*, the King's Uncle, though he was the Ringleader of the Conspiracy, yet did what he could to avert all Suspicion from himself: He sent for his Kinsman *Robert Graham*, (of whom I have spoken before), as fit for Execution, but rash in Counsel, and who bore an old Grudge to the King, because of his former Imprisonment and Banishment, and also upon the account of his Brother's Son, (to whom he was Guardian in Expectancy), who had *Strathern* taken from him; he joins with him *Robert* his Grandson, an active young Gentleman; he instructs them what he would have them to do, and that when the Fact was committed, he should be in supreme Authority, and then he would provide for their Safety. They freely promise to do their Endeavour, and accordingly hasten to perpetrate the Fact, before the whole Series of the Plot was made known to the King. Upon this, they privately gathered their Company together, and knowing the King had but a few about him in the Convent of the *Dominicans*, they thought they might surprise him, and dispatch him there with as little Noise as possible; and they persuade *John*, his Servant above mentioned, whom they had drawn to their Party, to be assistant to them. According to his Promise, he brings the Conspirators at Midnight into the Court, and places them privately near the King's Bed-chamber, and shews them the Door, which they might easily break open, since he had taken away the Bar. Some think that they were received into the Palace by *Robert*, Nephew of the Earl of *Athol*.

In the mean time, whilst they waited there, being solicitous how to break open the Door, which they thought would be their greatest Obstacle, Fortune did the Work without their Help; for *Walter Straton*, who a little before had carried in Wine, coming out, and perceiving Men in Arms, endeavoured to get in again, and cried out with as loud a Voice as he could, *Traitors! Traitors!* Whilst the Conspirators were dispatching him, a young Lady of the Family of the *Douglasses*, as most
K k k say,

say, though some write she was a *Lovel*, shut the Door, and not finding the Bar, which was fraudulently laid aside by the Servant, she thrust her Arm into the Hole or Staple, instead of a Bolt, but they quickly brake that, and so rushed in upon the King. The Queen threw herself upon his Body, to defend him; and spread herself over him as he lay, and could hardly be forced off, after she had received two Wounds. When he was abandoned by all, they gave him twenty eight Wounds, and some of them just in his Heart. Thus this excellent King came to his End, and that a most cruel one, by the Hands of Robbers, much lamented by all good Men. When his Death was divulged by the Noise and Lamentation which was made, a great Concourse of People came presently into the Court, and there past the rest of the Night (for the Parricides had made their Escape in the dark) in sad Complaints. There, every one spoke variously according to their several Dispositions, either severely in order to raise a greater Odium against the Parricides, or in lamentable Accents, to increase the Grief of their Friends: Every one reckoned up what Prosperities or Adversities the King had undergone: How in his Childhood he was exposed to the Treacheries of his Uncle; and endeavouring to escape him, was precipitated into the Hands of the *English*. Afterwards his Father dying, the rest of his Youth was spent in Exile among his Enemies: Then Fortune changed, and he had an unlooked for Restoration. How, after his Return, in a few Years the turbulent State of the Kingdom was changed into a perfect Calm. How at last, by a sudden Change of Affairs, he whom his Enemies had spared abroad, was now slain by the Treachery of his Relations at home; and that in the Flower of his Age, and in the midst of his Course of settling good Laws and Customs in his Kingdom. Then they gave him his deserved Elogies for all his rich Enduements both of Body and Mind; for Mens Envy was extinguished towards him now he was dead. His Stature was scarce of a full Size, yet he was robust and strong; insomuch that he exceeded all his Equals in Exercises of Agility and Manhood; and as to his Mind, he was endued with that Quickness and Vigour of Wit, that he was ignorant of no Art, worthy the Knowledge of a Gentleman; and could speak plain *Latin* Verses, according to that Age, *extempore*. Some Poems of his, written in the *English* Tongue, are yet extant; in which there appears Excellency of Wit, though perhaps not so polite in point of Learning. He was excellently well skilled in Musick, more than was indeed fit or expedient for a King; for there was no Instrument, but he could play upon it so harmoniously, that he might have been compared with the best Masters of that Art in those Days. But perhaps

perhaps some will say, these are but the Flowers of his Studies, where is the Fruit? These are more for Ornament, than Instruction or Use, or requisite for a Man of Business. Know then, that after he had learned other Parts of Philosophy, he studied the Regulation of Kingdoms, and of the Manners of Men. How great, and how ripe Abilities for Civil Government were in him, sufficiently appears by those Acts performed by him, and by the Laws which he made; by which he not only much benefited his own Age, but all Posterity. And his Death declared, that there is nothing more popular than Justice; for they, who were wont to detract from him, whilst he was alive, now he was dead, passionately revered his Memory. The Nobles, as soon as they heard he was murdered, came in of their own accord from their respective Countries, and, before a Trial was regularly decreed, they voluntarily sent out into all Parts, to apprehend the Murderers, and bring them to Justice. Many of them were taken; the Principals were put to new and exquisite kinds of Death; the rest were hanged. The chief Heads in perpetrating this Villany were reckoned to be *Walter* Earl of *Athol*, *Robert* his Grandson, and their Kinsman *Robert Graham*. The Punishment of *Walter* (because he was the chief Author, and Instigator of the whole Plot) was divided into three Days successively. In the first, he was put on a Cart, wherein a Stork-like Swipe or Engine was erected; and by Ropes let through Pullies, he was hoisted up on high, and then the Ropes being suddenly loosed, he was let down again, but stopt near the Ground, with intolerable Pains by reason of the Laxation of the Joints. Then he was set on a Pillory, that every one might see him, and a red hot Iron Crown set on his Head, with this Inscription, *The King of all Traitors*. They say, the Cause of this Punishment was, that *Walter* had been sometimes told by female Witches, (for which the Country of *Athol* was always infamous), that he should be crowned King in a mighty Concourse of People; For by this means that Prophecy was either fulfilled or eluded, as indeed such kind of Predictions do commonly meet with no other Events. The Day after he was bound upon a Hurdle, and drawn at a Horse's Tail through the greatest Street in *Edinburgh*. The third Day he was laid along upon a Plank in a conspicuous Place, and his Bowels were cut out, whilst he was alive, cast into the Fire, and burnt before his Face; afterwards his Heart was pulled out, and cast into the same Fire; then his Head was cut off, and exposed to the View of all, being set upon a Pole in the highest Place of the City. His Body was divided into four Quarters, which were sent to be hanged up in the most noted Places of the principal Cities of the Kingdom. After him

him his Grandson was brought forth to suffer ; but because of his Age, they would not put him to so much Pain ; besides, he was not the Author, but only an Accomplice in another Man's wicked Design, as having obeyed his Grandfather therein ; so that he was only hanged and quartered. But *Robert Graham*, who perpetrated the Villany with his own Hand, was carried in a Cart through the City, and his right Hand nailed to a Gallows, which was set up in the Cart, and then came the Executioners, who continually run red hot Iron Spikes into his Thighs, Shoulders, and those Parts of his Body, which were most remote from the Vitals ; and then he was quartered as the other. After this Manner was the Death of *James* revenged ; 'tis true, it was a barbarous one, but it was revenged by Punishments so cruel, that they seemed to exceed the Bounds of Humanity ; for such extreme kinds of Punishment do not so much restrain the Minds of the Vulgar, by the Fear of Severity, as enrage them to do, or suffer any thing ; neither do they so much deter wicked Men from committing such barbarous Actions, as lessen their Terror by often beholding them ; especially if the Spirits of the Criminals be so hardened, that they flinch not at their Punishment. For among the ignorant Populace, a *stubborn Confidence* is sometimes praised for a firm and *steady Constancy*. *James* departed this Life in the Beginning of the Year 1437, the 20th Day of *February*, when he had reigned thirteen Years, and in the forty fourth Year of his Age. So great Diligence was used in revenging his Death, that within forty Days all the Conspirators were taken and put to Death. He left one Son behind him, the younger of the Twins ; half of whose Face (see the various Operations of Nature) was perfect Scarlet.

The End of the first Volume.

AN ALPHABETICAL

TABLE

OF THE

PRINCIPAL MATTERS

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HISTORY.

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